FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 1 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 1

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

2887 pages

Section 1 of 19 sections

Bufile 100-439190

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Secret

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	3/20/64	2/11/64 - 3/18/64

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	ghb
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C	

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 6-27-77

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Atlanta, 2/7/64.

- P* -

CC TO: USIB
REQ. REC'D
DEC 1 1964
ANS
BY

LEADS (INFO OF FOLLOWING)

BALTIMORE, BIRMINGHAM, CHARLOTTE, CHICAGO, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DETROIT, EL PASO, HOUSTON, INDIANAPOLIS, JACKSONVILLE, KANSAS CITY, KNOXVILLE, LITTLE ROCK, LOS ANGELES, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS, MIAMI, MOBILE, NEWARK, NEW ORLEANS, NEW YORK, NORFOLK, OKLAHOMA CITY, PHILADELPHIA, PITTSBURGH, RICHMOND, ST. LOUIS, SAN ANTONIO, SAN FRANCISCO, SAVANNAH, TAMPA, WFO

One copy of this report is furnished to the above offices for one or more of the following reasons:

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

(1) The office is located in a state authorized a delegate on the Coordinating Committee;

Secret

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(For Additional Copies, See Cover Page B)

2 - Atlanta (100-6488)

100-439190-91 REC-100

REC-26

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT — NOTATIONS

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LEADS (Continued):

(2) Pertinent activity in that division has been reported herein;

(3) It is an office likely to have need of the info herein due to the racial or CP activity in that division.

The above offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any current CP members are engaging in considerable activities of SNCC or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating, and/or controlling SNCC. Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to the racial movement should not be reported under the caption of this case.

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any cominfil of SNCC.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	This report. 100-6488-1 100-6488-99
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	NY 100-147963 NY 97-1869

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
	NY 100-145842
	NY 100-22129
	100-6488-94
	100-6488-65

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	100-6341-9
[redacted],	NO 100-16890
[redacted]	100-5776-76 LA 100-59609
[redacted]	100-5776-76
[redacted]	ME 157-109 SF 61-369 100-6542-1
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[redacted]	
[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-6844-177

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

S E C R E T

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1 - CNI, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: March 20, 1964

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SECRET

[illegible] 100-6338

Secret

The pretext telephone call to VICTOR RABINOWITZ was made by [redacted] at [illegible] York on 5/2/63.

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DETAILS:

BASIS

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating that an apparent current member of the Communist Party, United States of America, is presently engaging in considerable activity, much in a leadership capacity in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party infiltration, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a specific target for infiltration. The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC when appropriate in this report.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on March 17, 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee office is presently located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, having been at that address since the late summer of 1963. [redacted] explained that the SNCC office was located at 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, from the fall of 1962 to the late summer of 1963.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

The October 6, 1960, issue of "The Atlanta Constitution," a daily newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "Negro Parley in Atlanta May Chart New Protest." The article states that a meeting sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) would be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 14 through 16, 1960, and formal activities of the session would center around the topic "Non-violence and the Achievement of Desegregation." The article states further that SNCC was formed in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960, by college students who had been participating in various sit-down demonstrations, and delegates at that meeting agreed to hold another meeting later in the year.

[redacted] advised on October 19, 1960, that the SNCC conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, October 14-16, 1960, was chaired by MARION S. BARRY of Nashville, Tennessee, who was Chairman of the SNCC. The conference adopted the establishment of a permanent Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to derive its authority and direction from the general conference and that committee would therefore be controlled by the conference. The Coordinating Committee was to consist of one delegate from each of the named states, elected by those states, and of six delegates at large elected by the conference. At least three of these delegates at large must have previously been members of the Temporary Coordinating Committee. There was to be no permanent chairman of the SNCC but instead a rotating chairmanship with each member of the Coordinating Committee being equally capable of speaking for the committee and for the Movement. The Coordinating Committee was composed of one delegate from each of the following states:

Arkansas;
Alabama;
Florida;
Georgia;
Kentucky;
Louisiana;
Maryland;
Mississippi;
Missouri;

North Carolina;
Oklahoma;
South Carolina;
Tennessee;
Texas;
Virginia;
West Virginia;
District of Columbia.

[redacted] reported on January 7, 1963, that the SNCC conference held at Nashville, Tennessee, November 22-25, 1962, was not a policy making convention but more of a leadership training institute. ( )

[redacted] reported on January 7, 1963, that according to the SNCC Constitution as revised in April, 1962, any southern protest group of at least ten members may affiliate with the SNCC with the approval of the Executive Committee. The Coordinating Committee shall consist of one representative elected by each local group and shall meet three times a year, immediately before and after the annual Easter conference and in the early fall. The Executive Committee consists of the following:

Eight students elected by the Coordinating Committee from among their number;

Two adults;

The Chairman and the Executive Secretary elected by the Coordinating Committee; and

Three members at large elected by the Spring Conference, who must be students presently or formerly engaged in the Movement.

Executive Committee serves between meetings of the Coordinating Committee and is directly responsible for the program, direction and supervision of the staff and policy. It meets five times a year, in May, in mid-summer, in the fall with the Coordinating Committee, during Christmas, at the annual spring conference, and it may meet other times when needed. The Executive Committee has the power to employ

the staff who are subject to annual review.

The April 14, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Journal-Constitution," which is the combined Sunday issue of "The Atlanta Journal" and "The Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "Civil Rights Youths Study Strategy Here." This article states the annual conference of the SNCC, held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 12-14, 1963, on the old Gammon Theological Seminary campus, was attended by about 300 young people, all allegedly taking part in four discussion groups on nonviolence, community mobilization, problems of the movement and social action.

[redacted] advised on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a pamphlet was made available regarding SNCC, which described SNCC as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

The June 29, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Inquirer," a weekly Negro newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "New SNCC Chairman Experienced Leader," which stated that at a recent meeting the SNCC voted to accept the resignation of its chairman, CHARLES McDEW, freeing him to further his education at an eastern university under a Brandeis fellowship. The article stated further that JOHN LEWIS, who was elected to succeed CHARLES McDEW, would be the civil rights group's third chairman, pointing out that MARION BARRY was SNCC's first chairman. The article also made reference to the fact that JAMES FORMAN was SNCC's Executive Secretary.

[redacted] reported on July 5, 1963, the following persons were members of the Executive Committee of SNCC:

JOHN LEWIS (Chairman);

COURTLAND COX (Howard University, Washington, D.C.);

MARION BARRY (University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee);

LONNIE MALONE (high school student, Rome, Georgia);

AVON ROLLINS (Staff Member, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia);

WORTH LONG (Little Rock, Arkansas);

GLORIA RICHARDSON (Cambridge, Maryland);

ROBERT WHITFIELD (Arkansas A and M, Pine Bluff, Arkansas);

HOWARD ZINN (Adult Member - Atlanta, Georgia);

ELLA J. BAKER (Adult Member - Atlanta, Georgia).

The June 1, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Inquirer" carried an article captioned "Spelman Professor Dismissed," stating the President of Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia, arbitrarily relieved Dr. HOWARD ZINN, Professor of History, of all duties effective June 30, 1963. The article described

ZINN as recently elected to the Executive Board of SNCC, which organization had protested the professor's dismissal.

[redacted] reported on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a pamphlet was distributed by SNCC listing the following officers:

Chairman: JOHN LEWIS;

Executive Secretary: JAMES FORMAN;

Staff Coordinator: WORTH LONG;

Communications Direcor: JULIAN BOND;

Project Directors:
Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES
Southwest Georgia: CHARLES SHERROD
Central Alabama: BERNARD LAFAYETTE
Arkansas: WILLIAM HANSEN
Eastern Shore: REGINALD ROBINSON

[redacted], advised on January 23, 1964, that he considered DEBBIE AMIS and JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, the main leaders in SNCC because they have been closely associated in recent civil rights activities and demonstrations in Atlanta, and he observed them conferring repeatedly during these demonstrations.

[redacted] stated on January 24, 1964, that DEBBIE AMIS has been very active in leading racial demonstrations in Atlanta in the past few months, but he does not believe she has a title position with SNCC and for some reason does not seem to care to hold a title position; however, he considers her to be third in command of SNCC after JOHN LEWIS, Chairman, and JAMES FORMAN Executive Secretary.

On February 13, 1964, [redacted] Atlanta, advised that [redacted]

[redacted] he has observed DEBBIE AMIS, a Negro female, as an active participant in these demonstrations. He further advised that from his observation, he has found DEBBIE AMIS generally to be the motivating force and leader of the demonstrative activities. He stated that wherever DEBBIE AMIS was, in the midst of these activities, she was constantly giving direction and guidance to the persons participating in the picket lines. [redacted] He advised that while he knew of no official title or position held by DEBBIE AMIS from his observations, it was apparent that she was the leader of these demonstrations on the scene.

An article appearing in the March 6, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" captioned "Fund for Integration Leader Raised From $300 to $7,000" identified DEBBIE AMIS as a Field Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The January 24, 1964 issue of the "Atlanta Daily World," a Negro newspaper published every morning except Monday in Atlanta, Georgia, contained an article stating SNCC had announced the appointment of Miss PRATHIA HALL as Coordinator of SNCC activities in Atlanta.

The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 11 and 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court, in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN, husband of ANNE BRADEN, testified that CARL and ANNE BRADEN were known to her as members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, which was during the period of her AHEARN's CP membership.

On May 2, 1963, it was determined by a pretext interview in New York, New York, that V[illegible]OR RAB[illegible] was self-employed as an attorney at 30 East 42nd Street, New York, New York, and had offices with LEONARD B. B[illegible]N.

advised on May 21, 1953, that LEONARD B. B[illegible]N was a member of the CP as well as the National Lawyers Guild [illegible] did not mention the dates of B[illegible]N's activities as a [illegible]

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild appears in the Appendix of this report.

The ... April, 1962, issue of the ... York ... self-described as the publication ... set forth the officers and members of ... National Executive Board of the NLG elected ... convention held in ... Michigan, from February 22-25, 1962. ... ded among the members of the Executive ...

... 1962, ... of the New York Guild ...

as Vice President and a member of the Board of Directors of the New York City Chapter of the NLG for 1962-1963.

SOURCES USED FOR CHARACTERIZATIONS IN APPENDIX

Socialist Youth Union

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Young Socialist Alliance
"Young Socialist"

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...tion of this report are being disseminated to ... for their information.

...ork airtel to Director 2/5/64 stated as

RESULTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY, INCLUDING CP AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

A characterization of the SCEF appears in the Appendix to this report.

[redacted] reported on July 2, 1963, that FRANK WILKINSON, leader of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, attended the June 29, 1963, session of a civil liberties conference held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia, from June 28-30, 1963. This conference was organized by the SCEF and attended by members of SCEF and SNCC, most of whom were students of college age. WILKINSON spoke on civil rights in general and the subject of abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Some of the individuals present at the June 29, 1963, session were JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, JULIAN BOND, Administrative Assistant of SNCC, ELLA BAKER of SNCC and the YWCA, Atlanta, and DOROTHY MILLER with SNCC and SCEF.

[redacted] advised on July 3, 1963, that SCEF, through DOROTHY MILLER, had planned a conference of a large group of civil liberties organizations to be held during the previous

spring in Atlanta, Georgia; however, this plan failed because other civil rights groups were staying clear of SCEF due to the belief that SCEF methods of operation do more harm than good for the advance of civil rights. Due to the above, SCEF then settled for the above-described conference held at the Interdenominational Center from June 28-30, 1963, and the only other group participating with SCEF was SNCC, which has always been very friendly with SCEF.

A characterization of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee appears in the Appendix to this report.

advised on April 17, 1963, that DOROTHY MILLER was at that time putting in time and effort daily at the SNCC office in Atlanta; therefore, it would be assumed that she was on the SNCC payroll. (U)

advised on August 12, 1963, that DOROTHY MILLER married JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER of the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 9, 1963, that ROBERT ZELLNER had received a scholarship to Brandeis College in Mississippi, and DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER planned to move there with her husband for the 1963-64 school term.

Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, advised on October 9, 1963, that JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER was in attendance at Brandeis and resides with his wife at 71 Chestnut Street, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

made available on October 12, 1961, a copy of a SCEF letter dated September 1, 1961, which stated that "out of the sit-ins, freedom rides and other forms of protest had come the organized, militant and dedicated upsurge of youth led by the Youth Non-Violent Coordinating Committee." The letter stated further that although a few southern white students had participated, the movement was almost entirely Negro. The letter continued, to improve the situation, the SCEF was making a grant of $5,000 to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which money was to be used to employ a field worker to visit white colleges and universities in the South to interpret the protest movement. The letter stated the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had selected [illegible] ZELLNER, 1961 graduate of Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama, as the field worker on this project and that ZELLNER would begin his work during that month.

On December 12, 1963,

Atlanta, Georgia, advised that Mrs. ELLA J. BAKER resides in Apartment 418 at the Waluhaje Apartments.

On April 23, 1958, [redacted] advised that [redacted] she had ascertained that one ELLA BAKER was closely associated with STANLEY D. LEVISON.

On November 4, 1963 while being interviewed in connection with another FBI investigation, advised that ROBERT MOSES was at that time Mississippi Director of SNCC; that the Greenwood office of SNCC was located at 708 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix to this report.

During a hearing conducted by the Subversive Activities Control Board during December, 1963, in New York City concerning the Advance Youth Organization, the counsel for Advance produced JAMES MONSONIS as a witness for Advance. MONSONIS testified that he was at that time on the staff of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in New York City, and had previously been employed by SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. On cross-examination, MONSONIS stated that officials of SNCC were aware of the fact he was testifying in behalf of the Advance Youth Organization.

The above hearing was being conducted on the basis of a petition filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Advance Youth Organization to register as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 in that the organization was a CP front.

A characterization of the Young Socialist Alliance and the "Young Socialist" appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] reported on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a Bill of Rights rally, sponsored by

the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, was held at Baces Hall, 1528 North Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, California. FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Director, National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, spoke urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. JOHN LEWIS of the SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke and said if being called a Communist means freedom and equal rights for Negroes and minority races he would be glad to be called a Communist.

AT 100-6488
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The February 2, 1964, issue of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

"2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds"

"The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist party members.

"Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist party-related activities.

"Thirty-five-year-old JAMES FORMAN of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities.

SNCC, a national antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent 'direct action' demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity.

"Among those arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College.

Mrs. ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY as a Communist party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show.

"Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs.

"Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-datelined story headlined 'Two Americans Blast U. S. at Peiping "Peace Parley:"'

"'The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific "peace" conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, San Francisco writer and former labor school teacher....'

"The Shanghai News of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the 'Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY,' datelined Peking. She was quoted:

"'Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the Exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean.'

"Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY in the report termed the Korean War a 'barbarism being committed in the name of our people...we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason.'

"Mrs. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by JANE ADDAMS. Mrs. CERNEY said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacteriological warfare against the Red Chinese.

"Mrs. CERNEY, who said she ran for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket in California in 1954, said 'Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial ISOBEL CERNEY is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children...and why there is violence.'

"She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination -- 'for peace and friendship.'

"Asked if she were a Communist, Mrs. CERNEY replied, 'I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: "I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience."'

"House committee reports cover Mrs. CERNEY's activities through 1961.

"Mrs. CERNEY participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27.

"She was arrested Jan. 27 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show.

"Police Supt. JIMMY BROWN said Mrs. CERNEY refused to identify herself when she was booked.

B. APPROX.

"Arrested the same day with Mrs. CERNEY were JAMES T. BISHOP, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, GLORIA, 21; MORRIS EISENSTEIN, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, FANNIE, and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show.

B. APPROX.

"All refused to give their names when booked.

"The day following Mrs. CERNEY's arrest a Soviet Union Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA).

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"(Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city 'on the way to Cuba.' According to BRADFORD LYTTLE, coordinator for the march, three marchers are 'former' members of SNCC and several others are 'inactive members' of Fair Play for Cuba).

"LYTTLE left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, professor of psychology.

"During their visit to Atlanta, according to LYTTLE, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken 'by Leb's' and to City Hall 'in hopes of viewing a demonstration.' They also visited The Atlanta Constitution.

"(LYTTLE said the U. S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by 'important people,' whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved.)

"Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ANNE KINNEY on Dec. 22, 1952.

"He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by ANITA SCHNEIDER, the FBI undercover agent. STEINMETZ testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance.

"The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. STEINMETZ in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948, records show.

"Neither Mrs. CERNEY nor Dr. STEINMETZ are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities.

"In October, 1962, Dr. STEINMETZ, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President JOHN F. KENNEDY's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island.

"Besides FORMAN, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman JOHN LEWIS of Troy, Alabama, one of the 'original freedom riders' and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator PRATHIA HALL of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary DEBBIE AMIS, also of Philadelphia.

"According to FORMAN, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N. C. FORMAN established national headquarters -- or 'The Central Office' as SNCC members refer to it -- in Atlanta in September, 1961.

"Before beginning large-scale demonstrations here, FORMAN participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga.; and Cairo, Ill.

"FORMAN says SNCC has about 145 paid employees scattered over the Southeast.

"According to FORMAN, money for SNCC's campaigns comes from 18 'Friends of SNCC' organizations established through the nation.

"The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to FORMAN.

"The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed $23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project.

"WILEY A. BRANTON, Director of VEP, said it is required that his organization's funds be restricted 'solely to voter registration activity...There have been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia during the past several months.

"'SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months,' BRANTON added.

"SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of 'Freedom Songs,' and 'Freedom Songbook' compiled by GUY and CANDIE CARAWAN, and by concerts given by folk-singer PETE SEEGER.

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities lists 'no evidence' of Communist party membership for SEEGER, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with nine Communist-front organizations.

AT 100-6488
CTH/evg

"GUY CARAWAN was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1957, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to the House committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that CARAWAN was 'now traveling in China as part of the group of 41 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves."

New York sources, as of February 27, 1964, in a position to furnish information concerning the CP's interest and involvement in racial matters, have furnished no information reflecting that DEBBIE AMIS has been instructed by the CP to take active participation in or give guidance to racial activities in Atlanta, Georgia.

The March 6, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article:

"BOND FOR INTEGRATION LEADER RAISED FROM $300 TO $7,000"

"Fulton Superior Court Judge Durwood Pye declared Friday that a $300 bond for a Negro integrationist charged with violating the state antitrespass law was 'worthless' and ordered it raised to $7,000.

"The order came as the repeatedly postponed trial of some 45 civil rights demonstrators was to get under way before Judge Pye Friday morning.

"Arguments arose, however, over the validity of the bond posted by Debbie Amis, 24, field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

"Both her trial and the trials of other integrationists charged with the antitrespass law were postponed again until Monday at 9:30 a.m.

"Miss Amis was to have gone to trial Friday, but in a surprise move, her attorneys, Negroes Donald Hollowell and Howard Moore, announced they were withdrawing from her particular case. They did not give a specific reason, but said it was 'improvident' to continue as counsel for her. They still will represent the other civil rights defendants.

"Immediately after the Negro attorneys' announcement, prosecuting assistant solicitor Paul Ginsberg made a motion to 'strengthen' the appearance bond against Miss Amis on grounds that the property put up as surety on the bond had a $4,000 outstanding loan on it.

"Mr. Ginsberg also argued that Miss Amis is an out-of-state resident with a permanent address in Philadelphia, and should therefore have a greater bond set in her case.

"Judge Pye examined the bond application and affidavit, signed by Negro property owner and Atlanta

civil rights leader, Jesse Hill, and described it as 'worthless.'

"He said the encumbered property 'could not be levied upon by the state except by paying off the loan...and the state has no authority to do so.'

"The Judge observed that Miss Amis' $300 bond had been forfeited last August when she failed to appear for arraignment on the charge she had trespassed June 18, 1963, during integration demonstrations at Leb's Restaurant at Luckie and Forsyth Streets.

"At a subsequent hearing, however, Miss Amis claimed she had been unable to appear because of an auto accident just prior to the arraignment. On her attorney's motion to vacate the forfeiture, the bond was reinstated.

"Asst. Sol. Ginsberg argued Friday, however, that new papers had not been drawn up on the renewed bond and it was therefore 'invalid.'

"Judge Pye then ordered bond reset on Miss Amis at $7,000 'to be approved by the presiding judge.' The Fulton County sheriff's office approved the original $300 bond.

"Miss Amis requested a hearing on the bond argument, however, and Judge Pye granted it and said the $7,000 amount will be 'subject to modification' after the hearing. The hearing will be held after Miss Amis secures new counsel. In the interval, she remains in the sheriff's custody.

"At one point during the morning's proceedings, Miss Amis, without counsel, took the witness stand to undergo questions by Mr. Ginsberg on the motion to strengthen her bond.

"Holding a March, 1962, American Legion newsletter entitled 'American Legion Firing Line,' Mr. Ginsberg asked Miss Amis if she was vice president of an organization known as the Socialist Youth Union. The American Legion newsletter described the SYU as a 'Marxist organization.'

"'Do I have to answer that question,' Miss Amis asked Judge Pye.

"The judge answered that she could obtain an attorney before going any further with the hearing. 'You have that right,' he said.

"She then came off the witness stand, but Judge Pye ordered her bond increased to $7,000 pending outcome of the bond hearing."

APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations," revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes this committee as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly

Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 3, 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

The CP and the SWP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1963, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA , held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House Of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27 and 28, 1963.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., revised and published December 1, 1961, describes the above organization as follows:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION OF PHILADELPHIA (SYU), aka Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP), Sunday Study Group, Winter Discussion Series 1957-1958

On December 5, 1960, a fourth source advised that the SYU had recently changed its name to Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP).

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1947.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not a [illegible] Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

YOUNG SOCIALIST

The "Young Socialist" (YS) is a monthly publication which maintains the mailing address of P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York. The initial issue of this publication dated October, 1947, appeared on September 15, 1957.

The initial issue contained an announcement stating that the YS is "written by and for young socialists.." and that the YS would provide a sounding board for radical youth of different tendencies, who would profit by the free exchange of ideas.

A confidential source advised on May 5, 1958, that the YS was the brainchild of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP); however, inasmuch as the YS purports to be representative of the independent, broad and militant policy utilized by the SWP to reach radical youth, the SWP would quickly disclaim its conception of the YS.

The January, 1959, issue of the YS disclosed that during December 27 - 28, 1958, a National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters was held at Detroit, Michigan. The article disclosed that the conference, called by YS Editorial Board, consisted of YS supporters from all parts of the United States and resulted in the formation of a National Committee of Young Socialist Supporters. The article further stated that a basis was laid for a "nation-wide revoluntionary socialist youth movement" which would be independent, broad and militant.

According to the above article, the YS, published in New York City, is now under the control of the organization effected at the above conference.

A confidential source advised on December 30, 1958, that although the above conference supporters publicly claimed independence, the conference was controlled and dominated by members of the SWP.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, Aka.
Young Socialist Forum

A confidential source advised on April 8, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was formed at a meeting held October 1, 1957, at New York City by individuals who were members of the elements formerly comprising the Young Socialist Forum in New York City. The Young Socialist Forum consisted of youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The Statement of Principle, set forth in the YSA Constitution, stated that the YSA: 1. Favored the abolition of our present capitalistic system; 2. Advocated the replacement of this system by a socialist system; 3. Firmly resolved to direct its activities toward bringing about this transition.

The stated purpose of the YSA, as set forth in the Constitution, was to bring together all young socialists in a broad, militant, independent, democratic organization.

Source advised that the membership of the YSA, after a series of minority resignations during 1958, became comprised almost exclusively of SWP members who followed the SWP line in YSA policies.

Source advised that although publicly declared as an independent socialist youth organization, the YSA in reality is the youth arm of the New York Local, SWP.

Source advised that the YSA holds meetings at the residences of individual members and maintains the mailing address of P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third confidential source advised on April 8, 1959, that, with the exception of two individuals, all members of the seven individuals comprising the Editorial Board of the YS are members of the New York Local, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

UN[ITED] STATES DEPARTMENT O[F] JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
March 20, 1964

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [redacted] [redacted] dated March 20, 1964, at Atlanta, Georgia

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	9/28/64	9/15 - 25/64

TITLE OF CASE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted] b7C — TYPED BY: cb

CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C

Portions excised and ~~ENCLOSURES~~ SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNDER COURT ORDER.

FCR#90-21 Classified by SP7MAC/PSE
Declassify on: OADR 11/30/89

DECLASSIFIED ON 1-29-80 BY 2842 PVD/E

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta, 3/20/64. (U)

-P-

b7C

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REQ. REC'D 7-6-66
JUL 14 1966
ANS.
BY: [illegible]

S. Stokely Carmichael

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16 SEP 30 1964

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NOTATIONS

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Re: Southern Regional Council

AT 100-6468

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AT 100-6468

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Copies of this report are furnished to the above offices for one, or more, of the following reasons: (U)

(1) The office is located in a state authorized a delegate on the Coordinating Committee; (U)

(2) Pertinent activity in that division has been reported herein or in referenced report; (U)

(3) It is an office likely to have need of the info herein due to the racial or CP activity in that division. (U)

Each of the above offices should advise whether or not an SNCC office, or local affiliate, is located within their division, or whether any SNCC activity suggesting Communist infiltration has taken place. (U)

If the above is answered in the affirmative, the following action should be taken, in accordance with Bureau instructions: (U)

(1) Determine identity of all officers and individuals in a leadership capacity. (U)

(2) The names of these individuals should be searched through office indices, and established informants and sources contacted for any information of a subversive nature concerning the individuals. (U)

(3) The Bureau, Atlanta, and any other interested office, should be advised of the results of this inquiry, and recommendations regarding the initiation of an investigation regarding any local affiliate submitted. (U)

Those offices having no SNCC office, or local affiliate, and no activity suggesting Communist infiltration, should send their negative reply to Atlanta only. (U)

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AT 100-6488 CONFIDENTIAL

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The above offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any current CP members are engaging in considerable activities of SNCC, or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating, and/or controlling SNCC. (Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to Civil Rights should not be reported under the caption of this case.) u

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any cominfil of SNCC. u

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted] is Los Angeles [redacted] (requested)	100-6488-1A5
[redacted] Washington, D. C. (requested)	WFO 100-17107
[redacted] (X)	[redacted] (X) b2 b7D Characterization of [DANNY RUBIN]
[redacted] (C) b1	CG [redacted] (C) b1
[redacted] (X)	100-6488-451 (X)
[redacted] (X)	[redacted] (X) b2 b7D
[redacted]	Characterization of STAUGHTON LYND

b2 b7D

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AT 100-6488

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Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted], NY, NY (Requested)	NY 100-145842-132
[redacted] NY, NY (Requested)	NY 100-22129
[redacted] (S)(u)	
[redacted] (S)	
[redacted] (S)	
[redacted] (u) (S)	
[redacted] (S)	[redacted] BA 100-35267
[redacted] Atlanta, Ga. (requested)	100-6488-65
[redacted] (u) (S)	[redacted] 100-6341-9
[redacted] Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. (requested)	
[redacted]	NO 100-16890
[redacted] (S)	[redacted] (S)
[redacted], Chicago, Ill. (requested)	CG 100-30538
[redacted] (S)	[redacted] (S)

b2
b2 b7D
b2 b7D

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-E-

(COVER PAGE)

AT 100-6488

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Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted] (X)	[redacted] (X)
[redacted] (X)	SA 100-7260 (X)
[redacted] (X)	
[redacted] Brooklyn, NY (requested)	
(U) [redacted]	[redacted] (U)
[redacted] Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga. (requested)	100-6488-94
[redacted] Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Ga. (requested)	100-6488-1, 99
[redacted] (X)	100-5776-76 LA 100-59609 (X)
[redacted] (X)	ME 157-109 SF 61-369 100-6542-1 (X)

b2, b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local intelligence agencies for their information. (U)

This report is classified SECRET since information furnished by [redacted] (U) could reasonably result in the identification of these sources, and thus impair the future effectiveness thereof, which impairment (X)

b2

-F-
(COVER PAGE)

CONFIDENTIAL

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would have an adverse effect upon the national defense of the United States. ~~(S)~~ u

The pretext telephone call to VICTOR RABINOWITZ was made by SA [redacted] at New York on 5/2/63. u

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed on 8/13/63 by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] u

b7C

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AT 100-6488

TABLE OF CONTENTS

u

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

Copy to:
1- G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1- ONI, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1- OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] b7C
Office: Atlanta
Date: September 28, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2846 PVD
REASON-FCIM II, 1.2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 9-28-84

Synopsis:

The national headquarters,"central office", of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 8½ Raymond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga. SNCC Headquarters was moved from Atlanta to Greenwood, Mississippi, and back to Atlanta during Summer of 1964, for purpose of emphasizing importance of SNCC role in Mississippi Summer Project. SNCC describes itself as not being a membership organization. Names of officers and advisors set forth herein. SNCC has received financial support from Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., New Orleans, La., Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, New York, New York, and Women's Peace and Unity Club, Chicago, Illinois. HOWARD ZINN, adult member, executive committee, SNCC, was member CP in 1935. ELLA J. BAKER, adult member, executive committee, SNCC, attended executive board meeting of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., on 1/30/60 and has associated with individuals known to be CP members. Information received in mid-December, 1963, that JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, was member of Fair Play for Cuba Committee. As of 6/29/63 DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER, New England representative of SNCC, was member of CP, NYC. Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, teacher at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga., ardent supporter of SNCC was CP member in 1955. Dr. [redacted] Atlanta, Ga., ardent supporter of SNCC identified as CP member in December, 1952. [redacted] not affiliated with SNCC since March, 1964.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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AT 100-6488
CTH:elt

b7C

On or about 2/22/64 [redacted] young Negro CP member from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, attempted to recruit individuals at SNCC headquarters in Atlanta to attend a "youth conference". As of 2/24/64 and 3/9/64 SNCC headquarters in Atlanta was receiving "The Worker". On 5/7/64 six volunteer workers for SNCC were arrested in Mississippi for reckless driving, at which time they were hauling books for SNCC in connection with Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) program for Mississippi in Summer, 1964. Among these books was an address book containing street addresses for such organizations as Communist Party, USA, New York, N.Y., Fair Play for Cuba ~~and the~~ National Council of American - Soviet Friendship, Inc., New York, N.Y. (U)

- P -

AT 100-6483
CTH:elt

SECRET

DETAILS:

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or whether the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a specific target for infiltration. U

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. U

For the purpose of brevity the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC when appropriate in this report. U

SECRET

AT 100-6428
CTH:elt

SECRET

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The national headquarters, "central office", of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, having been located at that address since the late Summer of 1963. The SNCC office was located at 6 Raymond Street from the Fall of 1962 until the late Summer of 1963, and the organization continues to utilize that space as well as that mailing address periodically. U

The June 13, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal", a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article: U

"SNCC Moving Headquarters From Atlanta U

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announced Friday that it will move its national headquarters from Atlanta to Greenwood, Miss. U

"Leaders of the militant anti-segregation organization said the move was decided upon during a three-day staff and executive committee meeting held here this week. U

"SNCC - in cooperation with several other civil rights groups - plans a massive anti-segregation campaign in Mississippi this summer. U

"SNCC Chairman John Lewis said the projected move is in part prompted by concern for the nearly 1,000 young people expected to participate in the program. U

"James Forman, executive secretary of the organization, said the Atlanta office will be maintained. It is located at 8½ Raymond St., NW. U

"The Atlanta office will continue to administer SNCC programs in Arkansas, Alabama, Southwest Georgia and North Carolina. U

SECRET

AT 100-6488
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"The organization, made up primarily of young people, is an outgrowth of the lunch counter sit-ins which began in 1960. Its headquarters here opened in that year." U

JULIAN BOND, Communications Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, advised on August 5, 1964, it was announced that SNCC was moving its headquarters, from Atlanta, Georgia, to Greenwood, Mississippi, for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of SNCC's role in the Mississippi Summer Project; however, this was only considered a temporary move and the SNCC headquarters was expected to return to Atlanta upon completion of the Mississippi Summer Project around the first part of September, 1964. BOND explained that the administrative staff of SNCC continued to perform the administrative functions of SNCC in Atlanta such as the bookkeeping, mailing and the handling of communications, with JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, spending the majority of his time traveling around the United States and JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, spending the majority of his time somewhere in Mississippi. U

The September 2, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article: U

"Rights Group Returns Here U

"The national headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Tuesday moved back to Atlanta after temporary summer-long residence in Mississippi. U

"SNCC was one of the civil rights groups participating in the 'Mississippi Summer Project' out of Greenwood, in which efforts were made to increase Negro voter registration. 'Freedom schools,' community, recreation and political action centers were set up." U

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CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

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On December 13, 1963, [redacted] furnished a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership" and states in part as follows: U

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. U

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program." U

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership. U

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South.....
Mississippi - Southwest Georgia- Central Alabama- Eastern Arkansas- Southern Virginia U

"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through U

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generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights. U

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear." U

The March 3, 1964, issue of "The Student Voice", a weekly publication of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, contained the following article: U

"Miss. Summer Project Set U

"Jackson, Miss. - Plans for a summer Peace Corps type operation for Mississippi have been announced by SNCC officials. U

"Scores of students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists, and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide rage of programs according to Bob Moses, director of SNCC's Mississippi project. U

"SNCC worker Moses, who serves as program director for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) - an alliance of civil rights groups working in this state - stated that this summer's project would 'augment the voter registration campaign now underway throughout Mississippi.' U

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"The Mississippi Summer Project - under the auspices of COFO will include freedom schools, community centers, research projects, and law student projects in addition to voter registration. A 'pilot project' in white communities is also planned. U

"According to SNCC Chairman John Lewis, the struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won through concentrated action within the state and awareness throughout the nation of the need for Federal intervention to insure the voting rights of Negroes. U

"Plans call for voter registration workers in 'every rural county and important urban areas in the state,' Moses said. U

"Daytime and resident 'Freedom Schools' will provide remedial work for high school students and 'advance adult literacy for the purpose of voting,' according to plans. U

"Community centers will 'focus on political education and organization.' Libraries, similar to the library in SNCC's Greenwood, Miss. office will developed throughout the state form national book drives. U

"'Skilled workers are needed to carry out a research project inquiring into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic system,' Lewis stated. 'SNCC hopes to launch a massive legal offensive against the official legal tyranny of the state,' Lewis said. U

"Lewis and Moses claim the summer program will 'attempt to involve students from all over the country.' Students over 18 years who feel they are qualified may apply to: Mississippi Summer Porject, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Miss." U

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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

On April 23, 1964, JULIAN BOND, Communications Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, advised the following individuals constituted the executive committee of SNCC, which was elected during a three day conference in Atlanta, Georgia, ending on March 31, 1964: U

JOHN LEWIS, Chairman
JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary
JULIAN BOND, Communications Director
[redacted] Staff Coordinator
[redacted] member (Harvard University, Washington, D. C.)
[redacted], member (Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia)
[redacted], member (Albany State College, Albany, Georgia)
[redacted] Adult member (Boston, Massachusetts)
ELLA J. BAKER, Adult member (New York, New York)

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On April 23, 1964, JULIAN BOND also identified the following project directors of SNCC: U

Southwest Georgia: [redacted] (Albany, Georgia)

Arkansas: [redacted] (Pine Bluff, Arkansas)

North Carolina: [redacted] (Raleigh, N.C.)

Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES (Jackson, Mississippi)

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On April 23, 1964, BOND stated that [redacted] has not been affiliated with SNCC since mid-1964. U

3-30-65

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On April 23, 1964, BOND advised that the coordinating committee of SNCC is composed of representatives from the following states: U

Arkansas
Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maryland
Mississippi
Missouri
North Carolina
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia
West Virginia
District of Columbia.

U

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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

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[redacted] advised on March 17, 1964, that a check dated January 28, 1964, made payable to SNCC in the amount of $300 was drawn against the account of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, and this check contained the following endorsements: U

> "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee,
> 132 Auburn Ave.
> Atlanta, Georgia
> Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia." U

A Characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. appears in the Appendix of this report. U

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[redacted] stated on February 12, 1964, that on February 4, 1964, [redacted], Communist Party [redacted] [redacted] Baltimore, Maryland, had in his possession two copies of "The Student Voice" published by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, which copies were dated December 16, 1963, and January 14, 1964. (U)

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[redacted] reported on February 10, 1964, that one [redacted] Communist Party member originally from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and believed by the source to be operating under the direction of Mortimer Daniel Rubin, Communist Party, United States of America Organizer, was visiting the Eastern seaboard of the United States in an effort to organize youth groups. The source reported that [redacted] contemplated a visit to Atlanta, Georgia, prior to his return to New York City on or about February 22, 1964. (U)

On April 23, 1964, Mr. JULIAN BOND, Communications Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 8½ Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that [redacted] of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, visited in Atlanta, Georgia, for approximately two or three days about six weeks ago. According to BOND, [redacted] was traveling from Philadelphia down the East coast recruiting for a "Youth Conference" which [redacted] explained was to be held this spring or summer in either Chicago, Illinois or Detroit, Michigan. According to BOND, [redacted] attempted to recruit him and others at the SNCC headquarters office to attend this "Youth Conference". BOND advised that [redacted] was unsuccessful in his attempts to interest these individuals he contacted at SNCC in attending this conference. BOND advised from his conversation had with [redacted] he gained the impression that the conference related to civil rights and peace issues. BOND further related that as a result of his contact with [redacted] he suspected him of being a Communist Party representative acting in some organizing capacity. BOND related that he was unaware of any success that [redacted] might have had in the Atlanta area in his effort to interest youths or students in this "Youth Conference." u

b7C

[redacted] advised on February 22, 1964, that on February 22, 1964, at a meeting of the National Communist Party Negro Committee, held in Chicago, Illinois, GEORGE MEYERS, Communist Party District Chairman, Baltimore, Maryland, gave a report regarding his trip to the South, and pointed out that SNCC was doing a good job in the South. X(C)(u)

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[redacted] advised on February 24, 1964, and on March 9, 1964, that SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, was at that time receiving the weekend and mid-week editions of "The Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper. X(C)(u)

[redacted] reported on February 28, 1964, that on February 26, 1964, at a meeting of the Unity Club of the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, held at the residence of [redacted] [redacted] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it was announced that JOHN LEWIS of SNCC would be in Philadelphia to speak on February 28 and 29, 1964. X(C)(u)

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The May 21, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Daily World", a Negro newspaper issued daily in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article: U

"Albany 'Justice' Assailed U

"Hapeville, Ga. - 'Upside down justice' in Albany, Ga., was assailed by the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at its semiannual meeting here over the weekend. U

"The board called upon the U. S. Department of Justice to confess error in the conviction and sentencing of leaders and members of the Albany Movement in U. S. District Court. U

"SCEF, a Southwide civil rights group based in New Orleans, charged that numerous instances of police brutality against integrationists 'have been ignored by the United States Department of Justice and the federal grand juries' in southwest Georgia. U

"'Yet these same federal agencies moved swiftly against members of the Albany Movement after they picketed for one hour the supermarket of a friend of leading politicians in Southwest Georgia,' the board declared in a resolution. U

"JOHNSON PUSHED U

"The SCEF leaders urged President Lyndon Johnson to 'use his influence to right this wrong'. They also called upon Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to protect students and others aiding in voter registration in the South this summer. U

"' We are especially concerned about the safety of some 1,000 young people who are following the call of conscience to go into Mississippi to aid in voter registration, community work, and tutoring of underprivileged students,' the board said. U

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"'We call upon the President and the Attorney General, as head of the Justice Department, to use their powers to the fullest extent to protect the nonviolent. We ask that this be done through the use of federal marshals, augmented by federal troops if necessary. We ask that the private armies of Gov. George Wallace and other officials be abolished.' U

"The board pledged full support of SCEF to the students and commended 'those who are giving up their current summer vacations and customary comforts to try to make democracy real in our land.' U

"SCEF also renewed for the fourth year a grant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to finance work on white college campuses in the South. It voted support of a new student organization growing out of this work the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). U

"The board added to its membership Ed Hamlett, Jackson, Tenn., a field secretary of SNCC and member of the executive committee of SSOC; Miss Carol Hoover, Atlanta administrative assistant to the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Mrs. Isobel Cerney, professor at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, and Dr. Harry Steinmetz, professor at Morehouse College, Atlanta." U

The February 2, 1964, issue of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article: U

"2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds" U

"The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist Party members. U

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"Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist-party-related activities. U

"Thirty-five-year-old JAMES FORMAN of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities. U

"SNCC, a national antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent 'direct action' demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity. U

"Among those arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College. U

"Mrs. ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY as a Communist Party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show. U

"Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs. U

"Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-datelined story headlined 'Two Americans Blast U. S. at Peiping "Peace Parley:"' U

"'The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific "peace" conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, San Francisco writer and former labor school teacher....' U

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"The Shanghai News of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the 'Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY,' datelined Peking. She was quoted:

"'Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the Exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean.'

"Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY in the report termed the Korean War a 'barbarism being committed in the name of our people.... we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason.'

"Mrs. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by JANE ADDAMS. Mrs. CERNEY said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacteriological warfare against the Red Chinese.

"Mrs. CERNEY, who said she ran for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket in California in 1954, said 'Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial ISOBEL CERNEY is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children....and why there is violence.'

"She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination--'for peace and friendship.'

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"Asked if she were a Communist, Mrs. CERNEY replied, 'I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: "I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience."' U

"House committee reports cover Mrs. CERNEY's activities through 1961. U

"Mrs. CERNEY participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27. U

"She was arrested Jan. 27 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show. U

"Police Supt. JIMMY BROWN said Mrs. CERNEY refused to identify herself when she was booked. U

"Arrested the same day with Mrs. CERNEY were JAMES [illegible]SHOP, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, GLORIA, 21; MORRIS EISENSTEIN, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, FANNIE, and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show. U

"All refused to give their names when booked. U

"The day following Mrs. CERNEY's arrest a Soviet Union Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA). U

"(Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city 'on the way to Cuba.' According to BRADFORD LYTTLE, coordinator for the march, three marchers are 'former' members of SNCC and several others are 'inactive members' of Fair Play for Cuba). U

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"LYTTLE left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, professor of psychology. U

"During their visit to Atlanta, according to LYTTLE, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken 'by Leb's' and to City Hall 'in hopes of viewing a demonstration.' They also visited The Atlanta Constitution. U

"(LYTTLE said the U. S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by 'important people,' whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved.) U

"Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ANNE KINNEY on Dec. 22, 1952. U

"He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by ANITA SCHNEIDER, the FBI undercover agent. STEINMETZ testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance. U

"The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. STEINMETZ in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948, records show. U

"Neither Mrs. CERNEY nor Dr. STEINMETZ are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities. U

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"In October, 1962, Dr. STEINMETZ, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President JOHN F. KENNEDY's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island. U

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGAN...

"Besides FORMAN, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman JOHN LEWIS of Troy, Alabama, one of the 'original freedom riders' and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator PRATHIA HALL of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary DEBBIE AMIS, also of Philadelphia. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGAN... U

"According to FORMAN, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N.C. FORMAN established national headquarters -- or 'The Central Office' as SNCC members refer to it -- in Atlanta in September, 1961. U

"Before beginning large-scale demonstrations here, FORMAN participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga.; and Cairo, Ill. U

"FORMAN says SNCC has about 145 paid employees scattered over the Southeast. U

"According to FORMAN, money for SNCC's campaigns comes from 18 'Friends of SNCC' organizations established through the nation. U

"The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to FORMAN. U

"The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed $23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project. U

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"WILEY A. BRANTON, Director of VEP, said it has required that his organizations funds be restricted solely to voter registration activity...There have been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia in the past several months.

"'SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months', BRANTON added.

"SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of 'Freedom Songs,' and 'Freedom Songbook' compiled by GUY and CANDIE CARAWAN, and by concerts given by folk-singer PETE SEEGER.

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities lists 'no evidence' of Communist party membership for SEEGER, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with nine Communist-front organizations.

"GUY CARAWAN was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1957, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to the House committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that CARAWAN was 'now traveling in China as part of the group of 41 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves.'"

A Characterization of the Southern Regional Council appears in the Appendix of this report.

The May 21, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Constitution, a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

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"~~New Yorker With Red Ties~~ Publishing
Paper in Atlanta (U)

"A 25-year-old New York man, who once dipped the U. S. flag in tribute to Communist officials in a Moscow parade, has moved into an Atlanta Negro neighborhood and is putting out a newspaper which advocates overthrow of capitalism and suggests that Negroes take up firearms against white persons. (U)

"Jacob (Jake) ~~Rosen,~~ alias John Harnett, whose Atlanta address is 3006 Delmar Lane NW, Atlanta 11, established the newspaper 'Freedom' at that address during April. Rosen also has been associated with leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee here. (U)

"Rosen moved the paper here from Monroe, N.C., where he lead racial demonstrations and organized a successful Negro school boycott there, according to Monroe police. He last published Freedom in November 1963 in Monroe. (U)

"Rosen has traveled extensively in Russia, China and Fidel Castro's Cuba. Using the name Harnett, he was a reporter for the Augusta Chronicle in 1961 during racial turmoil there. He supplied news about Augusta's racial situation to a wire news service and to other newspapers in Georgia. (U)

"On Feb. 3, 1960, Albert Gaillard, a former member of the Communist Party, identified Rosen as a Communist Party member during a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (U)

"Gaillard also testified: (U)

"'At this time, Mr. Rosen was head of the educational youth group called SCOPE, and he was trying to get the Negro youth from Harlem to take courses in SCOPE.' (U)

"(SCOPE, Student Committee on Progressive Education, was formed in 1958 with the avowed purpose of providing an 'opportunity to discuss Marxism'.) (U)

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"'Freedom,' dated April 18, 1964, the first edition to carry an Atlanta address, announced:

"'Freedom was born last year in Monroe, North Carolina. With this issue, Freedom will become a South-wide paper with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Our aim is to build Freedom into a paper of, by and for the oppressed and struggling people of the South. Support Freedom now.'

"Freedom depicts the Statue of Liberty as a Ku Klux Klansman holding up a fiery cross, and an editorial under the by-line of Max Stanford declares:

"'...It is time for the Black American to wake up. We must see that this capitalistic system can not reform itself . . . We must stick together, fight together and if necessary, die together.'

"Negro Uses Gun

"A cartoon panel shows a Negro with a gun driving away a white policeman, a judge and a Ku Klux Klansman. The armed Negro carries a placard reading 'Robert Williams Negroes with Guns.'

"The last drawing shows a Negro boy and a white girl saying 'Thanks for teaching us Robby!'

"(An Associated Press dispatch dated July 20, 1961 reported: 'A Monroe, N.C., Negro leader says he is collecting rifles for two reasons - to form a rifle club and for an armament race with the white people of Monroe. Robert F. Williams, an avowed admirer of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro . . . said the group has about 100 weapons. ...Williams, who has made two trips to Cuba since Castro seized control of that country, often flies the Cuban flag in his backyard.')

"Among other by-lines in Rosen's newspaper are John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Staughton Lynd, of the Spelman College Department of History.

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"A feature in the paper relates the success story of Tsaiden Choma, 'a former Tibetan slave girl,' who was 'liberated' by the Chinese Communists and went on to become a famous Red Chinese opera singer. U

"Rosen's by-line appears on the tabloid's lead story, headlined: U

"'Mississippi Sterlization Law Legalizes Rape of Negro Women. U

"Appears at Hearing U

"In 1960, Rosen appeared before a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and took the Fifth Amendment in declining to answer all questions regarding Communist Party membership and activities. U

"Rosen appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Feb. 8 and March 13, 1963, and when asked, '...are you now a member of the Communist Party, USA?' answered 'No, sir.' However, he invoked the Fifth Amendment in answer to questions regarding past Communist Party membership. U

"According to records of the Senate Internal Securities subcommittee, the New York Times reported from Moscow on July 30, 1957, on the Communist-inspired World Youth Festival: U

"' Jacob Rosen of 636 West 174th Street, Manhattan, a junior at City College, went without sleep to keep things moving. He carried a U. S. flag at yesterday's opening, dipping it in salute to Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet dignitaries at the Lenin Stadium.' U

"Read Into Record U

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"The Times article was read into the record of the subcommittee hearings on Fair Play for Cuba in 1963. Rosen declined to answer questions about the festival.

"While in Russia, Rosen helped organize a tour of American youths to Red China, according to testimony at the hearing. His passport was seized by U. S. authorities upon his return to this country.

"J. G. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate subcommittee, in the 1963 hearings produced a photograph which he said was taken of Rosen and Rosen's wife, Wendy Nakashima Rosen, Oct. 15, 1960, in the Sierra Maestra Mountains of Cuba.

"Sourwine asked Rosen: 'Is it true that you and four other persons with Communist connections took part in the construction of a school project in the Sierra Maestra along with other members of the International Organization of Democratic Youth?'

"Rosen refused to answer. Sourwine then produced a copy of 'New Horizons of Youth' edited by Daniel Rubin, a top Communist youth organizer in the United States, which carried a story captioned: 'I was in a Youth Brigade Building School City in Cuba' by Jake Rosen. Rosen declined to discuss the article.

"Sourwine also questioned Rosen about whether he informed Cuban authorities about the activities of an American newspaperman, Charles Wiley, in Cuba, causing Wiley to be jailed in Havana. Rosen refused to answer.

"Wife Also Testifies

"Rosen apparently has been operating in and out of Atlanta for some time. His wife testified in September before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that she had had an Atlantaaddress since she and Rosen were married.

"Rosen also was a speaker a[SECRET]eting June 30, 1960, of ADVANCE in Union Square in New York and was elected vice president of that organization at ADVANCE's founding convention Feb. 13-14, according to The Worker, the Communist newspaper. U

"Hearings now are being held before the Subversive Activities Control Board on a petition of Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to require ADVANCE to register as a Communist-front organization." U

STAUGHTON LYND, when interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI on August 13, 1953, stated that although he had never been a member of the Communist Party he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946 on the campus at Harvard University. LYND also stated that the American Youth for Democracy was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy, on the campus at Harvard, and he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. LYND further stated that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948, and for approximately one year during this period he had served as the Secretary of the John Reed Club. U

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[redacted] advised during December 15 and 17, 1953, he heard that STAUGHTON LYND had been a Communist Party member while at Harvard University; however, he doubted LYND had been a Communist Party member but was of the belief LYND had been active in the John Reed Society and the American Youth for Democracy at Harvard. U

[redacted] advised on June 8, 1954, that LYND had never been permitted to join the Communist Party while at Harvard because LYND could never seem to make up his mind that the Communist Party was worthwhile. [redacted]

X

explained that the Harvard Chapter of the American Youth for Democracy and the John Reed Society were organizations which in the late 1940's became completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party. U

The American Youth for Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. U

On May 7, 1964, Sheriff J. M. Ash, Marshall County, Holly Springs, Mississippi, advised a representative of the FBI that on May 6, 1964, at approximately 5:45 p.m. his office arrested six male individuals, three of whom were white and three of whom were Negroes, all riding in an off-white colored Studebaker Lark, bearing Georgia license GA ID 42158, which automobile was pulling a five feet by 12 feet "U-Haul-It" trailer, with Idaho License 1-539. They were charged with Reckless Driving. Those arrested were as follows: U

> John Papsworth or Papworth, white male, age 43, Three Tottenham Street, London, England;
>
> Larry W. Rubin, white male, age 22, 3006 Delmar Lane, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia;
>
> Richard Frey, white male, age 22, Route 2, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania;
>
> Clinton D. Smith, Negro male, age 18, 228 Short Dobbs, Hattiesburg, Mississippi;
>
> Alvin C. Packer, Negro male, age 18, of 507 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

The driver of the car was Larry W. Rubin.

Ash advised that at the time of the arrest, he searched the car and found an address book containing numerous entries in handwriting and hand printing. He was unable to determine to which of the above six individuals the address book belonged. U

Clinton Smith advised Ash that the books were being hauled for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in connection with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) Program for Mississippi in the Summer of 1964, and that all of the arrestees were volunteer workers for SNCC. U

This address book contained numerous hand printed and handwritten names, addresses and telephone numbers, including the following: U

"ADVANCE
Room 636
799 Broadway, NYC.

"CP, USA
23 W. 26th St. 212-
NY 10, NY MU 5-5755

"Cross Currents Press
156 5th Ave.
NY 10, NY

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 7th Ave. OX 5-2863
New York, NY (Phil Luce)

"Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Student Council, FPCC
799 Broadway
NYC, 3

"National Guardian
197 E. 4th St.
NY 9, NY

"New Century Pub.
832 Broadway
New York 3, NY

U

"National Council of Sov-Am Fr., Inc.
114 E. 32nd St.
New York 16, NY

"PYOC
80 Clinton St.
New York

"Danny Rubin
365 Amboy St.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
(NOTE: The above listing was crossed through and another notation was listed as follows below.)

"Danny Rubin
190 Garfield Place
Brooklyn, N.Y. Ph. HY 9-7939

"Vets of Abe Lin. Brig.
49 E. 21st St.
Rm. 405 NY 10, NY.

"Dr. Lonnie 3X Cross
458-8832 and DU 7-9821
Muhammad's Mosque #4
1519 4th St., N.W.

"Youth Publications
799 B'way
NYC, 3."

[redacted] advised on May 19, 1964, that one Mortimer Daniel Rubin, also known as Danny Rubin, of New York City, Communist Party (CP), CP, USA, National Youth Director, had stated that a group of CP youth were getting together on June 5, 1964, to go to Mississippi for the Summer of 1964. This Danny Rubin is possibly identical with the Danny Rubin listed at 190 Garfield Place and formerly at 365 Amboy Street, both Brooklyn, New York. (U)

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., revised and published December 1, 1961, describes the above organization as follows:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, P. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC) KNOWN IN CLEVELAND OHIO, AS: YOUTH FOR PROGRESSIVE ACTION (YPA)

A source, on July 31, 1961, reported that a meeting attended by approximately thirty youths, for the purpose of organizing the YPA, was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 14, 1961. At this meeting GEORGE HABORAK spoke, stating that he is the Ohio representative of the PYOC and had been designated to organize youth in Cleveland.

A second source, on June 6, 1961, identified GEORGE HABORAK as the Ohio Communist Party (CP) youth leader.

The first source, on July 31, 1961, reported that at a YPA meeting on July 28, 1961, MICHAEL BAYER, son of EUGENE BAYER, was designated YPA Chairman, and GEORGE HABORAK designated YPA Secretary.

A third source, on December 12, 1960, reported that EUGENE BAYER was then a member of the Ohio CP Youth Committee.

The first source, on July 31, 1961, reported that the purpose of YPA calls for youth activities to promote "peace"; to seek to strengthen the possibilities of "peaceful coexistence" with all nations, to work for the rights of all Negro youth and youth of other minority groups, to equal opportunity for employment, education, and use of public facilities, etc., and YPA to work within established community organizations.

A fourth source, on August 15, 1961, reported that YPA Chairman, MICHAEL BAYER, had "quit" his position as Chairman.

The first source, on October 30, 1961, reported that the YPA Treasurer had indicated there had been no recent YPA meetings and none were planned, since many youths who had attended YPA meetings are attending colleges at this time, and that the YPA is dormant and not functioning as an organization.

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC)

Source advised that the YPA had no office or headquarters and no official organ and that YPA dues of 75 cents per month were agreed upon but none collected.

The first, second and third sources in May, 1962, reported that there has been no resumption of YPA activities in the Cleveland area and there has been no indication that any current efforts are being made to renew YPA activities.

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1947.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

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On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed Communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including National Functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and Anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

The Constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or if five or more people so desire a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding convention it was voted that the organization should be temporarily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although no specific physical location was decided upon. This same source advised on June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco, which is the headquarters of the W.E.B. BU BOIS CLUB of San Francisco.

Both sources have advised that at the founding convention two officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS, President, and
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE, Publications Chairman.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter for the "People's World" Newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

FD-323

Atlanta, Georgia
May 28, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta dated May 28, 1965, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	2/4/66	1/5 - 2/1/66

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	cmb
	CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] Atlanta, 5/28/65.
Report of SA [redacted] Los Angeles, 9/24/65.
Report of SA [redacted] Cleveland, 10/20/65.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 6-22-77

- P* -

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

LEADS:

FOR INFORMATION OF ALL CONTINENTAL OFFICES

One copy of this report is furnished to all continental offices for information in view of the possible attraction of students and individuals with CP positions from every area of the United States.

All offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any CP members are engaging in activity of SNCC, or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating and/or controlling SNCC. Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to civil rights movement should be reported under the caption of this case.

APPROVED IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

(SEE COVER PAGE B FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES)

FEB 7 1966

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1 - WFO (Info) (RM)

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any cominfil of SNCC.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Date Activity	Location of Information
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]	5/3/65	100-6488-1122 Characterization of DEBBIE HELEN AMIS
	7/6/65	100-6488-1122

- C -
(COVER PAGE)

Identity of Source	Date Activity	Location of Information
		Characterization of FRANCES GABOW
		Characterization of DEBBIE HELEN AMIS Characterization of HILDA WILSON
	6/10/65	100-6488-994
	3/2,8/65	100-6488-1207
	8/27/65	100-6488-1366 100-6488-1072 Characterization of SUSAN FAY ROMO
	6/1/65	100-6488-1002
	12/1/65	100-6488-1559
	12/4/63	Characterization of RICHARD MORFORD
	6/7/63	Characterization of EDWARD LAMB
		Characterization of ABBOTT SIMON
		100-6488-1572
		100-6488-1572

AT 100-6488

Identity of Source	Date Activity	Location of Information
		100-6488-1572
		100-6488-1572
		100-6488-1572
		100-6488-991
		100-6488-991
		100-6488-991
		100-6488-991
		100-6488-1001 -1014
		100-6488-1001
		100-6488-1014
		Characterization of PATTY RABBITT
		" "
		100-6488-1116
		Characterization of LAWRENCE WALTER WEBB
		100-6488-1011

Identity of Source	Date Activity	Location of Information
		Characterization of JAMES PAUL GARRETT
		" "
		Characterization of SUSAN FAY ROMO
		" "
		Characterization of SUSAN FAY ROMO
		" "
		LR 100-3620-S
		Characterization of PHILIP FONER
		Characterization of PHILIP FONER
		" "
		" "
		LR 100-3620-S
		Characterization of RA[illegible] T. BL[illegible]
		" "

Identity of Source	Date Activity	Location of Information
		Characterization of HARRY WACHTEL
		" "
		Characterization of RALPH HELSTEIN
		" "
		" "
		100-6488-1A5
		100-6488-703
		Characterization of HOWARD ZINN
		100-6488-708

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

Agents attending the testimonial dinner for RICHARD MORFORD which was held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y., on 1/26/66 are identified as SAS [redacted] and [redacted]

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

Copy to:
1 - G-2, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1 - ONI, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: ATLANTA

Date: February 4, 1966

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: [redacted]

SECRET
GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM
AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING
AND DECLASSIFICATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

(A) BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitmate activities of SNCC.

(B) ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

(C) CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On December 13, 1963, [redacted] furnished a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership" and states in part as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program.

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South....
Mississippi - Southwest Georgia - Central Alabama - Eastern Arkansas - Southern Virginia

"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights.

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear."

(D) PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

[redacted] reported on March 11, 1965, that the SNCC Programs for 1965 announced on February 23, 1965, subsequent to the SNCC Programming Conference held at Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, February 12 through 19, 1965, the election of the following officers:

Secretariat	MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
Chairman	JOHN LEWIS
Executive Secretary	JAMES FORMAN
Program Secretary	CLEVELAND SELLERS
Executive Committee	Mrs. LEE BANKHEAD
	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
	WILLIAM HANSEN
	JESSIE HARRIS
	DORIE LADNER
	SILAS MC GHEE
	LAFAYETTE SURNEY
	Mrs. FANNIE LOU HAMER
Adviser	Dr. HOWARD ZINN
Adviser	Miss ELLA BAKER

On January 28, 1966, [redacted] advised that insofar as he knows there has been no change in the above assignment and furnished the following information relative to other individuals at SNCC as of January 28, 1966:

Communications Director	JULIAN BOND
Staff Coordinator	MURIEL TILLINGHAST

Head of Research Department	JOHN E. MINNIS
Project Director, Southwest, Georgia	ROY SHIELDS
Program Director Atlanta, Georgia	COURTLAND COX

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(E) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

An article appeared in the July 11, 1965, issue of the "Atlanta Times," a former daily newspaper in Atlanta bearing a Washington dateline reflecting that JOHN LEWIS, the Atlanta Negro who is National Chairman of SNCC, would not bar Communists from SNCC if they are "committed to working for inter-racial democracy."

The article continued that an Alabama Legislative Committee charge that SNCC is extensively Communist dominated was branded by LEWIS in an interview in Washington as another vicious attempt to discredit the Civil Rights Movement. LEWIS was asked if he would exclude a person who had admitted being a Communist, replied "Well, see, in the first place, it would be hard, for me, as an individual, as an American citizen, to determine what a Communist is...We do not make any type of security check on people. If people are committed to working for what we call inter-racial democracy, the open society, we accept them."

C. P. MEMBER

It is noted that "The Worker" is an East Coast Communist Publication.

On June 10, 1965, [redacted] advised that SNCC, 8½ Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia, had renewed it's

subscription to "People's World," which subscription is to expire in August, 1966.

The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist Newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

[redacted] on August 27, 1965, furnished his "observations" concerning his stay in Mississippi during the Summer of 1965 at which time he was associated with Civil Rights groups.

"A. ORGANIZATIONS

"1. Freedom Democratic Party - Has been working very actively in the State of Mississippi with voter registration, freedom schools, and youth groups. The long range goal of the FDP is to become a major force in the power structure of the State of Mississippi.

"The FDP is a very loosely organized party without uniform leadership. The FDP wishes to be a grass roots party appealing to and drawing its strength and membership from the low classes (social and economic) of the Negro population. In the FDP's quest for power the FDP makes use of any organizations or individuals willing to work with the FDP's goals regardless of philosophy or ideology. The FDP forces are in conflict with the NAACP. This conflict is mainly due to the FDP's direct action policy (which at times resorts to civil disobedience) as compared to the NAACP indirect action based on legal means. This conflict has deteriorated in the past two months.

"2. COFO - Has been completely disbanded as an organization and most of its people have either gone home or joined SNCC or the FDP.

"3. SNCC - As an organization it has allowed itself to be used by the FDP. SNCC does not seem to have an official capacity in the State of Mississippi. All

the SNCC Caucasian volunteers who came to Mississippi have been assigned to work under the FDP. The SNCC staff is made up primarily of Negroes who are on salary but work under the FDP. The role of the SNCC white volunteers has been that of working with voter registration, setting up precincts and civil disobedience with the F.D.P.

"B. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

"1. SNCC is an organization based on anarchy and left wing infiltration.

"The majority of the Caucasian volunteers working with SNCC are to the left of center in their ideological belief with a minority that is most definitely communist oriented. Within the ranks of SNCC for example there has been a number of Du Bois Club and SDS members. However communist activities in the form of propaganda have been convert if non-existent. The Marxist elements are much more interested in working with the Civil Rights Movement as it exists rather than use the movement as a leftist force. The Marxists believe in working with individuals with regard to communist propaganda. Some left wing people have repeatedly stated that the Civil Rights Movement in this country could be the vehicle for a philosophical revolution towards Communism if not a violent one.

The January 15, 1966, issue of the "National Guardian" page 11, carried an advertisement announcing this testimonial dinner. Reservations could be obtained

through the Anniversary Committee, Room 512, 156 - 5th Avenue, New York City. Page 12 of the January 15, 1966, issue contained an article by JAMES ARONSON, Editor, which stated that the following individuals would speak at this dinner:

ANATOLIY F. DOBRYNIN, Soviet Ambassador to United States

JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC

EDWARD LAMB, an Ohio industrialist

ABBOTT SIMON, an attorney

Dr. CORLISS LAMONT, who will be the chairman.

On January 26, 1966, Special Agents of the FBI were in attendance at this testimonial dinner at which approximately 850 people attended. CORLISS LAMONT introduced JOHN LEWIS as a militant Civil Rights leader and as Chairman of SNCC. LEWIS said he was happy to pay tribute to MORFORD on this occasion and that all of the people that he, (LEWIS) worked with in the Civil Rights Movement desire peace and he also referred to his recent statement denouncing the roll of the United States in Viet Nam.

CORLISS LAMONT next introduced ABBOTT SIMON as an attorney with a long association with the NCASF.

The next speaker EDWARD LAMB was introduced as an Ohio Industrialist. LAMB said that he had been to the Soviet Union six times and he espoused trade with the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He said that the two greatest men of the century were NIKOLAI LENIN and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

ANATOLIY DOBRYNIN was introduced as the next speaker. Among other things DOBRYNIN said he would like to call MORFORD "a distinguished goodwill ambassador" and wished him best wishes for good health and continuation of his work for another twenty years.

MORFORD gave the last speech. He said the most urgent business of the NCASF is concerning the war in Viet Nam. He stated the policies of the United States must be removed from war to peace.

RICHARD MORFORD

[redacted] advised on June 29, 1950, that RICHARD A. MORFORD was the Executive Secretary of the NCASF. [redacted] and for a time thereafter, MORFORD had been known to him as a Communist, such reports arising from MORFORD's activity in certain Communist front organizations.

[redacted] stated he had been told by [redacted] of MORFORD's Communist affiliations and that as late as 1945, [redacted] another Communist Party functionary, told [redacted] that MORFORD was a Communist.

EDWARD LAMB

CORLISS LAMONT

On September 28, 1953, LOUIS BUDENZ testified before the United States Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. In this testimony BUDENZ stated that EARL BROWDER, as head of the Communist Party in the United States, had referred to CORLISS LAMONT as one of the "four prides" of the Communist Party because LAMONT was always ready to cooperate with any Communist front or Communist cause. BUDENZ also testified that CORLISS LAMONT was a member of the Communist Party when he, BUDENZ, was a member.

ABBOTT SIMON

It is to be noted that the National Council of American Soviet Friendship has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the "National Guardian" appears in the Appendix of this report.

on January 4, 1966, advised that LOUIS KAPLAN, International Representative of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) had been attempting without success to secure employment for one JOHN E. CHURCHVILLE at the Jerrold Corporation, North 15th Street and Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The employees of the Jerrold plant located at that address are represented by Local 158, UE.

MEMBER OF [illegible] ORGANIZATION

KAPLAN also claimed that he had already found jobs in the area for four of the six SNCC members and

offered assurances that CHURCHVILLE would cause no trouble in the plant and devote himself strictly to learning his job.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate," on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America."

The international headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 51st Street, New York, New York, according to the April 19, 1965, edition of "UE News," official organ of UE.

[redacted] advised on March 2, 1962, that LOUIS KAPLAN, a UE International Representative, has been with the UE since the 1940's and that KAPLAN was a member of the Communist Party sometime prior to 1955, but in recent years made statements against the Communist Party. Source described KAPLAN as the most dominant figure in the UE District Number 1. He said KAPLAN is an energetic organizer and a wild and militant speaker.

[redacted] on April 13, 1964, advised that on April 11, 1964, CHURCHVILLE moved from Atlanta, Georgia, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This source said that CHURCHVILLE was a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and an active participant in Muhammad's Mosque Number 15 (MM 15), Atlanta, Georgia, from approximately August, 1963, through March, 1964. At the time he moved from Atlanta, CHURCHVILLE was serving as Secretary-Treasurer of MM 15.

[redacted] on March 26, 1965, advised that JOHN CHURCHVILLE attended meetings of Muhammad's Mosque Number 12 (MM 12), Philadelphia, from approximately April, 1964, through January, 1965. Just prior to his leaving MM 12, officials asked members to turn in books to CHURCHVILLE as CHURCHVILLE was setting up a library.

Characterizations of the NOI, MM 15, and MM 12 are attached.

On May 11, 1965, CHURCHVILLE was interviewed by FBI Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] At that time he advised he was no longer a member of the NOI, but that he "still loved them cats." He also stated he had been in Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend of April 23-25, 1965, and that he had been in Selma, Alabama, during some of the demonstrations there. CHURCHVILLE said that while in Atlanta he was acting with the SNCC and that he intended to continue working with SNCC, including helping in demonstrations in both the South and the North during the Summer of 1965.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 3, 1965, that he had recently seen a letter which read as follows:

"Dear ---

"This letter is written to ask your support for a drive for trading stamps needed to buy 1 bus for use in transporting southern voters to the polls.

"Within 4 days, please send 10 trading stamps of any kind to the person whose name tops the list below then cross out that name, add your own name at the bottom of the list and send a copy of this letter to 5 people other than those on this list.

"Within 27 days, you should receive 31,350 stamps, enough to fill 20 books. Please send these stamps to -- S.N.C.C. (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee)
Box 210
Mill Valley, California

"1- Bertha Bicksberg - 26 Dale Rd., Wanaque, N.J.

"2- Vivian Bicksberg - 114 Seth Boyden Ter., Newark, N.J.

"3- Marilyn Trushell - 1767 Weeks Ave., Bronx 57, N.Y.

"4- Etta Sheldrick - 160 Third Ave., Paterson, N.J.

"5- Gertrude Mann - 48 Trenton Ave., Paterson, N.J. 07513"

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on August 12, 1959, that BERTHA BLOCKSBERG had quit the Communist Party.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on June 25, 1964, that a convention held June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Boulevard, San Francisco, California, to form a socialist oriented organization, chose the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America as the name of the organization.

A characterization of the Du Bois Clubs appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on December 15, 1964, that CHARLES TRUSHELL, husband of MARILYN TRUSHELL, was a member of the New Jersey Communist Party.

[redacted] an admitted member of the Communist Party, advised on January 14, 1953, that he knew ETTA SHEIDRICK to have been a member of the Syracuse, New York, Communist Party in 1947.

PROPOSED STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS TO UNSEAT THE MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION, UNITED STATES CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE [illegible]5, 1965, SPONSORED BY SNCC

The June, 1965, issue of "The Voice of Washington SNCC" reflects that Washington will be the scene of a massive lobby by SNCC aimed at getting additional members of the House of Representatives to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) challenge. The challenge is an effort by the MFDP using a legal procedure outlined by house rules, to unseat the five Mississippi Congressmen. SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) are working to aid the MFDP in making the challenge successful. The lobby will consist of two, ten day sessions, June 1[illegible] to June 23, and June 24 to July 4.

[redacted] advised on [illegible] 29, 1953, that PATTY BABBITT, Seattle, Washington, was the Chairman of the Young Political Explorers League.

A characterization of the Young Political Explorers League appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] the

On June 16, 1965 [redacted] advised that JOHNNY WEBB expected to take part in political events in Washington, D.C., from perhaps June 24, 1965, to the culmination of the drive to unseat the Mississippi delegation ending July 4, 1965.

During July, 1965, [redacted] identified LAWRENCE WALTER "JOHNNY" WEBB as a member of the Communist Party in Seattle, Washington.

advised on November 5, 1964, that GARRETT was one of the speakers at the annual "People's World" banquet held on October 25, 1964, at 13440 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

On May 7, 1965 advised that GARRETT attended a picnic on May 1, 1965, in Griffith Park, Los Angeles, which was held under the sponsorship of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of America.

advised in April, 1965, that ROMO was a member of the Central Los Angeles Du Bois Club as of March, 1965.

A characterization of the Central Los Angeles Du Bois Club appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted], and [redacted] have advised that ROMO has attended numerous functions of the Central Los Angeles Du Bois Club including membership meetings during 1964 and 1965, and that she participated in several picket demonstrations in 1965 at Los Angeles concerning protests of United States intervention in Viet Nam and protesting the racial situation in Selma, Alabama.

[redacted] advised that PIONTKOWSKI was in June, 1965, a member of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, and had been active in the Du Bois Club and in attendance at Marxist classes held by the Du Bois Club since 1964.

INDIVIDUALS WITH COMMUNIST PARTY BACKGROUND
ASSOCIATED WITH SNCC

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On September 7, 1965, LAURA FONER, Gould, Arkansas, advised that she has been a field volunteer worker for SNCC at Gould, Arkansas, since July 15, 1965. She advised she was born on February 10, 1944, at New York, New York, and that her parents are Dr. and Mrs. PHILIP S. FONER, Mountain Trail, Croton-On-Hudson, New York, and that her father is engaged as a publisher of the "Citadel Press" in New York City.

On June 20, 1963, [redacted] advised that PHILIP FONER spoke at a forum sponsored by the New York City Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York City on June 17, 1963.

A characterization of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is obtained in the Appendix of this report.

On March 31, 1963, [redacted] advised that PHILIP FONER attended a New [illegible] reception honoring ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who was then National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA.

On August 3, 1965, an advertisement sponsored by the New York School for Marxist Studies, Student Committee on Progressive Education, indicated that classes on new developments in Marxist thought would be held Wednesday through August 25, 1965, at 7:30 P.M., Room 15A, 853 Broadway, New York City. The advertisement indicated that the topic for August 4, 1965, would be "Cuba and the Struggle for Latin American Independence" and the lecturer would be Dr. PHILIP S. FONER.

[redacted] ORGANIZATION

On February 26, 1953, [redacted] advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

[redacted] advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL attended a Labor Youth League Convention on August 13, 1950, at the Algonquin Club, 1400 Fayetteville Street, Durham, North Carolina.

The Labor Youth League has been designated by the United States Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, King Point, Long Island, New York.

[redacted] furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights and the National Lawyers Guild is included in the Appendix of this report.

RALPH HELSTEIN

advised on June 16, 1964, that RALPH HELSTEIN resides at 5806 South Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, and is the International President of the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, with offices at 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

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advised on June 20, 1956, that RALPH HELSTEIN, 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, was a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

SNCC POLICY RELATIVE TO UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN VIET NAM

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

JOHN ROBERT LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, called a press conference at SNCC Headquarters on January 6, 1966, and issued the following prepared statement. A copy of this statement was furnished to the FBI Office in Atlanta on January 6, 1966, by [redacted] advised that [redacted]. The prepared statement is as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue when it sees fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to the United States' involvement in Vietnam on these grounds:

"We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself.

"We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

"We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by United States government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes.

"The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama, is no different than the murder of peasants in Vietnam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought, and are seeking, to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the United States government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

"Samuel Young was murdered because United States law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The United States is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires.

"We recall the indifference, suspicion, and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

"We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and sincerity.

"We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's

cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of United States cold war policies.

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country.

"We recoil with horror at the inconsistancy of a supposedly 'free' society where responsibility to freedom is equated with the responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 60% of the draftees from this country are Negroes called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a 'democracy' which does not exist for them at home.

"We ask, where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States.

"We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and with other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives --- as painfully as in Vietnam."

Articles appearing in local Atlanta newspapers subsequent to issuance of the above statement reflected that JULIAN BOND, Communications Director for SNCC, and also an elective representative from the 136th District to the Georgia House of Representatives, endorsed the

statement as issued by JOHN LEWIS. Articles also reflected that BOND had stated that he personally would not tear up his draft card, but admired the courage of individuals that tear theirs up.

(F) RESULTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY, INCLUDING COMMUNIST PARTY AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

JOHN LEWIS (Chairman of SNCC)

Information regarding activities of JOHN LEWIS is reflected in Section E of this report.

JAMES FORMAN (Executive Secretary of SNCC)

Information regarding activities of JAMES FORMAN is reflected in Section E of this report.

JULIAN BOND (Communication Director of SNCC)

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix of this report.

HOWARD ZINN (Executive Committee - Advisor)

ELLA J. BAKER (Executive Committee - Advisor)

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, is included in the Appendix of this report.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (Executive Committee)

On September 24, 1963, [redacted] and [redacted] Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, advised that there were some individuals at the high school who in recent years seem to be unusually devoted to "left-wing" activities. They included in this group STOKELY CARMICHAEL, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx 62, New York, a graduate of the Class of 1960.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CARMICHAEL, a Negro, was a close friend of EUGENE DENNIS, JR., son of the former General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

JOHN E. MINNIS (Head of Research Department)

In December, 1958, JOHN E. MINNIS, advised the FBI that he had received a press release from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. MINNIS advised he was formerly employed as an announcer and disc jockey for a radio station in Lake Charles, Louisiana. MINNIS stated that he is not sympathetic toward Russia or Communistic ideals, but is interested in world affairs, including this country's relationship with Russia.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On February 20, 1964, [redacted] advised that JOHN MINNIS had been fired by the Southern Regional Council because he had signed a petition against the wishes of the Director of the Southern Regional Council. This petition was to the effect that Civil Rights workers who were being tried for perjury in a Federal Court in the South could not get a fair trial in any Federal Court in the South.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DU BOIS Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

APPENDIX

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included Chairman HUGH STERLING FOWLER II [redacted] and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, [redacted] on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); Director of Publicity CARL ELLENGER BLOICE [redacted] according to a fifth source); Educational Director MATTHEW "DYNAMITE" HALLINAN (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth Representative on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary TERENCE "KAYO" HALLINAN (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, [redacted] and Treasurer SUSAN PHYLLIS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source, [redacted]

APPENDIX

1

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning the "National Guardian.":

> "1. Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. *** Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."
>
> (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL," August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

1

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 7, 1965, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 3, 1965, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his program

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NUMBER 15, Formerly Known as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NUMBER 15, Atlanta, Georgia

A source advised on January 9, 1956, that approximately six months previously a group of individuals in Atlanta, Georgia, organized as an affiliate of the Nation of Islam, formerly known as the Muslim Cult of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. William J. Shaw, Owner and Manager of the Odd Fellows Building, 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, advised on February 3, 1956, that James A. X. Shabazz, 547 Wabash Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, had signed a one year lease, commencing January 1, 1956, for a hall on the sixth floor of the Odd Fellows Building. Shaw said Shabazz represented the "Temple of Islam" and that an advance rental payment was accompanied by a letter from Muhammad who called his religion "Islam" and stated his Temple Number Two was located at 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

A second source advised during January, 1961, that Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 15 had changed its name to Muhammad's Mosque Number 15.

On February 1, 1965, a third source advised that Muhammad's Mosque Number 15 is currently active and had as of January 31, 1965, commenced holding meetings at 1225 Bankhead Highway, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia. Muhammad's Mosque Number 15 is an affiliate of the Nation of Islam and its teachings are based upon the principles expounded by Elijah Muhammad, the national leader of the Nation of Islam.

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #12
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Two sources advised on July 27, 1965 that the organization of which ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader and founder, is known in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as Muhammad's Mosque #12 (MM #12) and is affiliated with and follows the aims and purposes of the national group. These sources advised that in July, 1965, MM #12 moved from 2204 North Broad Street to 2748 Germantown Avenue.

A third source on May 22, 1964, advised the organization has been meeting in Philadelphia since 1954.

YOUNG POLITICAL EXPLORERS LEAGUE (YPEL)

A source advised that REE ANN HALONEN [redacted] Washington, had stated on July 29, 1957, that the youth group in Seattle was considering adoption of the name Young Political Explorers.

The Labor Youth League has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The second source advised on December 23, 1960, that the Young Political Explorers League was the teenage group of the youth organization in Seattle.

A fifth source advised on May 8, 1964, that the Young Political Explorers League continues in existence in the Seattle area and is under the guidance and leadership of MARY SUTHERLAND.

CENTRAL DISTRICT YOUTH CLUB

On August 9, 1963, this source advised the purpose of the CDYC is "to develop the political awareness of the people involved in order to broaden the mass movement towards Socialism."

On April 22, 1964, a second source stated membership in CDYC had dwindled to twenty-five members, most of whom were inactive.

On May 25, 1964, the first source advised the CP in Seattle continued to discuss the CDYC at its meetings in connection with attempts by the CP to carry out its objectives in the Negro community and the civil rights field. EDDIE GIVENS and RAY COOPER who had functioned as officers of the CDYC were being replaced as leaders but would continue in an advisory capacity.

The above source stated that factors which contributed to the decrease in activity of CDYC included the refusal of Neighborhood House, Inc. to continue use of its facilities for CDYC meetings, and announcement by the Seattle representative of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that it no longer had any affiliation with CDYC, both of these events taking place during December, 1963.

CDYC was reported by the first source on January 4, 1965, to have died out following departure of RAY COOPER and EDDIE GIVENS from the Seattle area during the latter part of 1964.

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB
Formerly Known as the Youth Action Union and Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism

A [illegible] advised on March 25, 1965, that during the period January through March, 1962, a series of formation meetings to establish a "Socialist Youth Organization," was held in the Los Angeles area. LEONARD POTASH was acting chairman in charge of the group and PAUL ROSENSTEIN and FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were named to a provisional committee to help organize the new group. On April 3, 1962, the group officially [illegible] the name of Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism (LAYPS), and elected officers.

[illegible]

A [illegible] advised on May 12, 1964, that the LAYPS was organized with the full knowledge and assistance of DOROTHY HEALEY, chairman of the SCDCP and that several Communist Party (CP) members had been approved by HEALEY to teach Marxist theory to members of the LAYPS. This source further advised that the LAYPS was to be a Marxist study and action group and that the teachings of KARL MARX were to be followed. Source also advised that although the alleged purpose of the group was to promote "Socialism" in the United States, the group considered themselves to be "Communist Party Oriented" and were anxious to study the brand of Marxism [illegible] the CPUSA.

The first source above further advised that in June, 1963, LAYPS changed the name of the organization to Youth Action Union (YAU) for two reasons: the first being that it was felt that LAYPS had gained a bad reputation because of its association with CP groups, the second because it was felt the word "Socialism" in the title was driving away possible recruits.

The first elected chairman of the LAYPS and YAU who continued in this position until early 1964, was MARVIN TREIGER, who as of April, 1964, was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP. Since the organization's inception, key officers have been members of the CP.

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB
formerly known as the Youth Action
Union and Los Angeles Youth for
Peace and Socialism

The first source above advised that in August, 1964, the YAU affiliated with the W, E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and adopted the name of Central Los Angeles W. E. B. DuBois Club. This club continues to operate under the above name.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB OF WEST LOS ANGELES

On April 23, 1964, a source advised that the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREENBAUM with the assistance of MARVIN TREIGER in February, 1964.

A second source advised on April 17, 1964, that as of April, 1964, RUTH GREENBAUM was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) and that MARVIN TREIGER was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above stated that the Du Bois Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Marxist - Orientated students at the University of California at Los Angeles, (UCLA), but that the club eventually hoped to spread its influence into other areas in West Los Angeles.

The records of the Office of Dean of Student Activities at UCLA, reveal that in February, 1964, the Du Bois Club filed for permission to hold meetings and other special functions on the UCLA campus and that permission was granted. The chairman of the Du Bois Club was listed as RUTH GREENBAUM. In making this application, the club listed a statement of purpose which states in part, "We the members of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, join together to help further the development of a socialist system, free from ignorance, poverty, fear and the economic power exercised by the few over the many.

"Although we view socialism as the likely solution to the ills of the present society, we do not make this an a priori commitment for any honest person to join with us in fighting for a better America and a more rational world."

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB OF WEST LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on March 25, 1965, that since its inception, the activities of the Du Bois Club have been mainly limited to participation in protests against alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist classes, participation in conferences which led to the creation of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America in the summer of 1964 and participation in demonstrations protesting U. S. intervention in Viet Nam. This source advised that the W. E. B. DuBois Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and is operating as a chapter of that organization.

1

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

2

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator Dodd was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-Castro FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-Castro street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-Castro American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by Castro's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin Lee H. Oswald.

On April 13, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild:"

1. Cited as a Communist front.

   (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers' Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

   (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91).

GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

1

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "Organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 2, 1965, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On June 2, 1964, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a Communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
February 4, 1966

FD-323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta dated February 4, 1966, and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

SECRET

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	10/26/66	10/3-25/66

TITLE OF CASE: COMINFIL SNCC

Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: :cjh

CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C

Portions excised and ENCLOSURES SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNDER COURT ORDER.

REFERENCES Portions excised and ~~ENCLOSURES~~ SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNDER COURT ORDER

Report of SA [redacted] 2/4/66, Atlanta.
Report of SA [redacted] 9/23/66, Newark.
Report of SA [redacted] 9/23/66, San Diego.
Report of SA [redacted] 10/7/66, Los Angeles.
Report of SA [redacted] 10/11/66, Washington, D.

\- P* -

LEADS

FOR INFORMATION OF ALL CONTINENTAL OFFICES

One copy of report is furnished all continental offices in view of possible attraction of students and individual with CP positions from every area of the United States.

All offices should remain alert and report any informa indicating CP members are engaging in activities of SNCC.

APPROVED: JKP — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)

2 - Atlanta (100-6488)

See Cover Page B for additional copies.

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW: 100-439190-864 REC 65 EX-11

OCT 27 1966

Classified by 1259

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF DATE

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC SER. State
DEPT. ISD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORW.:
HOW FORW.: NOV 16 1966

NOTATIONS: INT. SEC.

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AT 100-6488

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Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to civil rights movement should not be reported under the caption of this case.

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	File Location
	1-13-66	
[redacted]	Used to characterize RANDOLPH BLACKWEL[illegible]	
[redacted]	Used to characterize RANDOLPH BLACKWE[illegible]	
[redacted]	Used to characterize BENJAMIN FRANC[illegible] KOCEL.	

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	File Location
	Used to characterize BENJAMIN KOCEL.	
	2-3-66	100-6488-1618
	2-12-66	100-6488-1642
	2-12-66	100-6488-1642
	Used to characterize MARTHA ROTENBERG.	
	1-16-66	
	2-1-66	
		NY 157-927-657
	Not utilized	
	2-17-66 Used to characterize STEVE MAX.	
	2-26-66	
	3-14-66 Used to characterize PAUL KRASSNER.	100-6488-1741
	3-28-66	100-6488-1756
	6-7-66	100-6488-1831
	5-26-66	
	6-17-19-66	100-6488-1868
	6-17-19-66	
	6-22-26-66	

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	File Location
[redacted]	6/22-26/66 7-11-66 7-16-66	[redacted]
[redacted]	8/6-9/66	100-6488-1904
[redacted]	Used to characterize Dr. SIDNEY PECK.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize SALLY DAVIS.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize SALLY DAVIS.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize SALLY DAVIS. Used to characterize VIVIAN WILSON.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize BEA LAIBMAN.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize BEA LAIBMAN.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize Dr. PAUL OLYNYK.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize Dr. PAUL OLYNYK.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize AUDA ROMINE.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize VIVIAN WILSON.	
[redacted]	8/27-28/66	100-6488-1910
[redacted]	7-28-66 9-14-66	100-6488-1914, p. [redacted]
[redacted]	7-1-66	[redacted]
[redacted]	5-20-66	[redacted]

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	File Location
[redacted]	8-6-66	[redacted]
[redacted]	8-10-66	100-6488-2001
[redacted]	8-17-66 8-20-66	100-6488-2119 "
[redacted]	8-17-66	100-6488-2140
[redacted].	Used to characterize THEODORE WEISS.	
[redacted].	Used to characterize PAUL KRASSNER.	
[redacted]	8-17-66	100-6488-2140
[redacted].	Used to characterize STEVE MAX.	
[redacted]	9-12-66	
[redacted]		
[redacted].	Used to characterize OSCAR SMILACK.	
[redacted].	Used to characterize OSCAR SMILACK.	
[redacted].	Used to characterize OSCAR SMILACK.	
[redacted]	9-18-66	100-6488-2205, p
[redacted]	10-11-64	SL 100-19355-15

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	File Location
	10-4-65	SL 100-20120-38
		100-6488-2263
	10-6-66	100-6488-2418
	10-11-66	100-6488-2418
	Used to characterize JOHN WESLEY HARRIS, JR.	
	Used to identify BOND, BELLAMY, LEWIS, and FORMAN. Used to characterize White Bluff, Tennessee meeting. Used to identify members of Central Committee.	
	5-27-66	
	5-30-66	
	Used to characterize ALEXEI N. STEPUNIN.	
	6-2-66	100-6488-1920
	Used to characterize CARL and ANN BRADEN	
	Used to characterize RALPH FEATHERSTONE.	

SECRET

AT 100-6488

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	File Location
[redacted]	Used to characterize IVANHOE DONALDSON.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize COURTLAND COX.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize BETTINA APTHEKER.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize ROBERT SMITH.	
[redacted]	Used to characterize JACK MINNIS.	
[redacted]	2-3-66	100-6488-1618
[redacted]	8-23-66	100-6488-2116
[redacted]	8-18-66	100-6488-2119

ADMINISTRATIVE

SAs observing the demonstration at Washington Square, New York City, to protest the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing, were [redacted] and [redacted]

Pretext utilized by SA [redacted] on 9/28/66 when contacting ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, Administrator of the New York Office of SNCC, was [redacted]

SECRET

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1 - NIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: October 26, 1966

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Investigation directed solely toward establishing extent of infiltration of SNCC. National headquarters located at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, in building purchased 2/1/66 for $65,000 by Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., officers of which are identified to be currently associated with or to have been associated with SNCC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, elected national chairman in May, 1966, identified as member of National Council of ECLC in June, 1966. CARMICHAEL states organization no longer interested in integration but now seeks political and economic backing for Negroes and if SNCC cannot obtain its aims through peaceful means, it may resort to violence. CHARLES COBB, elected to Central Committee of SNCC, led workshop at Conference of SDS, August - September, 1966. COURTLAND COX, also member of Central Committee, appeared on program with BETTINA APTHEKER, daughter of CP theoretician. JACK MINNIS, head of Research Department, contributed article appearing in Spring, 1965 issue of "Freedomways." [redacted] Negro rights in white community discussed at 18th National Convention of CP. SDS passed resolution pledging moral support to SNCC. Several SNCC members traveled to Russia 1966 at specific invitation of Soviet Youth Committee.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SECRET

Group I
Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification

Classified by 3254
Exempt from GDS, Category 1, 2, 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
5-4-78 JJP/fw

AT 100-6488

One SNCC member identified as having attended 7th General Assembly of the World Federation of Youth, held in Sofia, Bulgaria. SNCC issued statement against U. S. policy in Viet Nam.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS

A. **BASIS**

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interests in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

B. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

The national headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

On August 29, 1966, the Fulton County Tax Commissioner's Office records were reviewed and reflected that as of January 26, 1966 the above premises were owned by W. P. BALLARD, JR. The property was described as being located in land lot 84, land district number 14, measuring 50 feet by 151.5 feet by 151.8 feet by 136 feet.

On August 29, 1966, Mr. WILEY P. BALLARD, JR., who maintains offices in the Peachtree Center Building in Atlanta, advised that he formerly owned the above described property but had on February 1, 1966 sold it to the Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., for a sum of $65,000.00. Mr. BALLARD said that prior to sale of this property, he had been renting it to SNCC on a rent - option to buy basis. It is his understanding that the SNCC will continue to occupy the premises located at this address.

On September 1, 1966, [redacted] Corporation Commissioner's Office, State of Georgia, advised that the Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., was issued a charter on September 7, 1965. The stated purpose of the corporation was a non-profit organization organized exclusively for charitable and educational purposes within the realm of Section 501(c)(3), United States Internal Revenue Code 1964. The petitioners to form this organization were identified as:

HOWARD MOORE, JR.
JOHN LEWIS
JAMES FORMAN
SHEFFIE JOHNSON
FAYE BELLAMY
HORACE JULIAN BOND

(u)

The annual registration certificate for the above organization dated October 27, 1965 identifies JAMES FORMAN as president of the organization.

Information received from [redacted] reflects that LEWIS, FORMAN, BELLAMY, and BOND are known to the informant to be currently associated with or to have been associated with SNCC. (u)

C. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

An article appearing in the "Atlanta, Georgia Constitution" on May 24, 1966 reflects that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, identified as the newly elected chairman of SNCC, told newsmen at a conference in Atlanta that if the group (SNCC) cannot obtain its aims through peaceful means, it may resort to violence. SNCC will concentrate on building the "Black Panther Party" and will support the political candidate they can control, and SNCC has to give the Negroes something for which they do not have to beg.

[redacted] has advised that as a result of a staff conference held in White Bluff, Tennessee in the latter part of May, 1966, the policy of SNCC is to remove members of the Caucasian race from positions of leadership in the organization as SNCC is no longer interested in integration but now seeks political and economic backing for Negroes.

D. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

[redacted] advised that during May of 1966, the SNCC held its annual conference at White Bluff, Tennessee. The three top leaders chosen were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was elected to replace JOHN LEWIS as national chairman, and Mrs. RUBY DORIS ROBINSON, who was elected to replace JAMES FORMAN as executive secretary. CLEVELAND SELLERS was elected to be among the three top leaders.

The central committee was elected to be composed of:

JAMES FORMAN
JOHN LEWIS
CHARLES COBB
FRED MEELY
ROBERT MONTS
RALPH FEATHERSTONE
IVANHOE GAYLORD DONALDSON
COURTLAND COX
ROBERT SMITH
JACK MINNIS

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATIC

In regard to the above individuals, the following information is set forth:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL TENN MASS OHIO D.C. CALIF.

On September 24, 1963, [redacted] [redacted] Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, advised that there were some individuals at the high school, who in recent years seemed to be unusually devoted to "left wing" activities. Included in this group was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a graduate of the class of 1960. [redacted] also advised that CARMICHAEL was a close friend of EUGENE DENNIS, JR., son of a former general secretary of the Communist Party, USA. N.Y.

The Communist Party, USA has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CARMICHAEL's Immigration and Naturalization Service record in Washington, D. C., reflects that he was born June 29, 1941 in Trinidad, British West Indies and entered the United States at New York City on June 15, 1952. His father became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953, and Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082 was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958, setting forth that he became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953.

A letter issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) dated June, 1966, identifies CARMICHAEL as having been elected to the national council of that committee.

A characterization of ECLC is included in the appendix of this report.

TENN RUBY DORIS ROBINSON

According to [redacted] ROBINSON has been associated with SNCC in various positions since about August of 1961.

In making application with the United States Post Office in Atlanta, Georgia in 1965, ROBINSON advised that she was born April 25, 1942 at Atlanta, Georgia. She gave her present position as that of being employed by SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

CHARLES COBB

According to the records of [redacted] [redacted] CHARLES EARL COBB, JR., was born June 23, 1943, at Washington, D. C. His mother is identified as MARTHA and his father as CHARLES. In 1963, COBB gave his home address as 117 Buckingham Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.

On September 23, 1966 [redacted] advised that the National Communist Party Youth Conference was held on September 12 - 14, 1966, at Camp Webatuck, formerly known as Camp Unity, in Upstate New York. During this conference, BETTINA APTHEKER gave reports on the National Student Association Conference held at Urbana, Illinois, from August 21, 1966, through September 1, 1966, and the Students for a Democratic Society Conference (SDS) at Clear Lake, Iowa, which met from August 27, 1966, through September 1, 1966. In regard to the SDS Conference, APTHEKER said that it was attended by 500 to 600 white students and 5 or 6 Negroes and the most well attended workshops were those conducted on labor and "Black Power" which were led by CHARLES COBB of SNCC and ANN BRADEN.

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court, in a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, identified BRADEN and his wife, ANN BRADEN, as having been known to her as members of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to shortly prior to the time of her testimony.

"The "Courier - Jornal," Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 3, 1959, reported that CARL BRADEN had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress on February 2, 1959, in Atlanta, Georgia. The story noted that he had been convicted under this charge on January 21, 1959, and that the charge arose from his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The "Louisville Times," Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 27, 1961, reported that the United States Supreme Court had, on that date, affirmed the contempt of Congress conviction of BRADEN.

The "Courier - Journal," on May 2, 1961, reported that CARL BRADEN had surrendered to the United States Marshal at Atlanta, Georgia, on May 1, 1961, to begin serving a one-year prison sentence for contempt of Congress.

"The "Courier - Journal," on February 2, 1962, reported that CARL BRADEN had been released from the Federal Prison Camp at Allenwood, Pennsylvania, on February 1, 1962. BRADEN indicated that he would return to his home, Louisville, Kentucky.

On August 30, 1963, [redacted] advised that CARL BRADEN and his wife ANN are still employed as Field Secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). A characterization of SCEF is included in the appendix of this report.

RALPH FEATHERSTONE

The records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reflects that FEATHERSTONE was born May 26, 1939 at Washington, D. C., and that his father, JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, SR., was born July 5, 1912 at Jersey City, New Jersey, and his mother, ANNIE BROWN, was born April 19, 1913 at St. Marys County, Maryland.

He gave his employment as Field Secretary, SNCC. It is noted that the Washington, D. C., Office of SNCC is located at 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.

[redacted] advised on May 28, 1965, that the following appeared on a list of individuals to whom National Committee To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (NCAHCUA) material was mailed:

RALPH FEATHERSTONE
107 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

A characterization os NCAHCUA is included in the appendix of this report.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

IVANHOE GAYLORD DONALDSON

The records of [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, reflects that DONALDSON was born October 17, 1941, in New York, New York.

A characterization of "Freedomways" is included in the appendix of this report.

COURTLAND COX

On March 25, 1966 [redacted] furnished a copy of an undated letter from GWENDOLYN PATTON, President, Tuskegee Institute Council, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, to the President of the Student Body of a state college in Alabama inviting student participation in the Alabama Student Human Relations Conference to be held at Tuskegee Institute April 14 - 16, 1966. Accompanying this letter was a program for the conference. Identified in the program as participating in the conference was BETTINA APTHEKER who was identified as Founder of the Free Speech Movement and active in the Berkeley, California crisis. Others featured on the program included COURTLAND COX who would lead a discussion on "Developing Community Issues on Campus."

[redacted] advised BETTINA APTHEKER is the daughter of HERBERT APTHEKER, who is the Communist Party theoretician.

ROBERT SMITH

[redacted] who is familiar with civil rights activities in Mississippi, advised that SMITH, a Negro male from Hattiesburg, Mississippi, was among a group who met on August 30, 1965, at the Masonic Temple at Jackson, Mississippi, to hear speakers from the State of Louisiana from the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated. This source advised, however, that to his knowledge SMITH is not connected with any subversive organization.

Tenn

JACK MINNIS

A review of the Military Service Record on JOHN EDWARD MINNIS, also known as JACK MINNIS, reflects that he enlisted in the United States Navy on December 24, 1944, and was honorably discharged on October 7, 1947. He was born December 19, 1926 at Blackwell, Oklahoma, and his father is identified as JASPER MINNIS and his mother as GLADYS MINNIS.

It is noted that [redacted] has identified MINNIS as a white male, who was formerly assigned to the Research Department at the SNCC Headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, but who as of September 27, 1966, was permanently assigned to work with the SNCC Office in Memphis, Tennessee. This informant advised that MINNIS is one of the three white persons still oficially associated with SNCC.

The Spring, 1965 issue of "Freedomways," Volume Five, Number Two, identified JACK MINNIS as being a writer of an article entitled, "The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party," which appears on page 264 of that issue.

[redacted] advised that on February 18, 1964, a meeting was held at Town Hall, New York City, by the "National Guardian." According to the informant, JACK MINNIS appeared on the stage with other speakers at this meeting.

A characterization of the "National Guardian" is included in the appendix of this report.

FRED MEELY

On October 18, 1966, [redacted] advised that FRED MEELY, also known as CARL MEELY, had arrived in Atlanta, Georgia on October 17, 1966 from Philadelphia. According to informant, MEELY will be working in the printing department with WILSON BROWN at the SNCC Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta.

A newspaper article appearing in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 15, 1966, identifies FRED MEELY as the Director of the Philadelphia Chapter of SNCC and a member of the organization's national board.

According to the records of [redacted] FRED MEELY was age 23 in 1966; he is a Negro male, 6 feet 2 inches, 170 pounds.

JOHN LEWIS

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal" of June 30, 1966 reflects that JOHN LEWIS resigned June 11, 1966 effective July 22, 1966 from SNCC as he disagrees with the terminology "black power" employed by the SNCC organization. SNCC, according to LEWIS, was fumbling the ball, but he declined to specifically state that "black power" was his reason for resigning.

E. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

u

It is to be noted that JULIAN BOND had been denied his seat in the State of Georgia House of Representatives from the 136th District because of his views relative to his endorsement of a statement issued by SNCC relative to the American war effort in Viet Nam. (u)

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of February 21, 1966 indicating that the American Civil Liberties Union had withdrawn its legal support from BOND after two lawyers who represented Communist Cuba in this country had entered the case. The two attorneys were identified as VICTOR RABINOWITZ and LEONARD BOUDIN of New York City. The article identified them as members of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. (u)

(u)

On October 14, 1965 [redacted] furnished a two-page list, handwritten and typewritten, of names and addresses of individuals and organizations who reportedly receive or received bundles of "The Crusader" Magazine. According to the information furnished by this source, SNCC had received 25 copies of this magazine; later, this was increased to 100 copies, and finally reduced to 50 copies.

"The Crusader" Magazine is issued by the Revolutionary Action Movement, a characterization of which appears in the appendix of this report.

On March 14, 1966, [redacted] advised that SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, was then carried on the mailing list to receive copies of the mid-week edition of "The Worker" and the weekend edition of "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

advised on July 12, 1966 that the eighteenth National CP Convention was held in New York City at Webster Hall June 22 through 26, 1966. According to this informant, one of the reports given in the convention called for doubling youth membership in the coming period and for quadrupling Negro youth membership as well as a youth commission which would involve at least two or three national leaders of the CP. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a report concerning the Negro question. This report called for the broadest linkup of civil rights and peace forces and an end of tokenism. LIGHTFOOT asked that the Party initiate struggles for Negro rights instead of supporting other peoples' initiations - an admission of the coat-tail riding that seems to have escaped the comrades, would have looked interesting in print. He also pushed the Party's new idea that white comrades should work for Negro rights in the white community and leave ghetto work for the Negro comrades.

A weekly publication of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Volume I, Number 19, dated May 27, 1966, entitled "New Left Notes," reflects that SDS National Council meeting would take place at Ann Arbor, Michigan, beginning Wednesday afternoon, June 15, 1966.

CPN 10-17-VI-N.Y.N.Y

[redacted] advised that a representative of SNCC, IVANHOE DONALDSON, addressed the National Council meeting on June 18, 1966, with an impassioned plea for support of the SNCC program. He spoke of the likelihood of racial strife in the United States during 1966 and of the role that SNCC would play in channeling rioting conditions into social reorganization. This speaker defended the recent more militant and "racist" of the SNCC. According to AT T-20, the speaker conveyed the impression that "non-violent" may be removed from the SNCC name. It was noted that some persons attending this National Council meeting after this speech referred to SNCC as "SCC."

On one delegate's proposal that the SDS should do more in support of SNCC and should collect funds for SNCC, it was stated that SNCC raised from $600,000 to $800,000 last year, compared with the $100,000 that SDS raised. It was pointed out that SDS needs more money of its own and that the SDS is in no position to assist any other organizations financially. Support to SNCC was voted on and a resolution was voted favorably to give moral support to SNCC. Also discussed was an SDS policy of defending SNCC "racism" to the effect that such "racism" was due only to "racism" in the United States. The principal interest in the above matter concerning "racism" and the discussion of possible violence in racial matters in the United States was expressed by the Eastern and Midwestern SDS delegates and groups.

The SNCC representative mentioned above was proposed as a nominee at this National Council meeting for a position on the National Administrative Council of the SDS (NAC); however, he was not formally nominated when discussion determined he had left the conference after making his speech and in any event he was too busy with SNCC matters to effectively serve on the NAC.

A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix of this report.

On June 27, 1966, [redacted] advised that the National Convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was held June 17, through 19, 1966 in Chicago, Illinois. According to this informant about 200 members and 100 guests and observers including representatives of SNCC were in attendance at this meeting.

A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America appears in the appendix of this report.

In addition to the above, [redacted] advised that on the evening of June 22, 1966 during the eighteenth National Convention of the CP, the Youth Panel was chaired by ALVA BUXENBAUM, who said that the most important organizations of the New Left are SNCC, SDS, and the DuBois Clubs.

A characterization of the YSA is found in the appendix of this report.

On July 14, 1966 [redacted] advised that DCA National Executive Committee meting was held on Monday, July 11, 1966 in Chicago, Illinois. According to this informant, an unnamed representative from the Atlanta Office of SNCC had announced his intention of attending a planning meeting for the Washington Action Meeting to be sponsored by the DCA.

On July 19, 1966, [redacted] advised that on July 16, 1966, a planning meeting for the proposed DuBois Clubs of America National Action was held on Saturday in Chicago, Illinois. It was announced that FRANKLIN ALEXANDER was then in Chicago and will be working in the national office except for one scheduled trip within about a week when he is scheduled to go to New York to confer with FLOYD MC KISSICK of Congress of Racial Equality about the DCA National Action, then go to Baltimore to attempt to win Baltimore CORE's support for the action and then go to Atlanta to solidify the support of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the SNCC organization.

On August 10, 1966, [redacted] made available a resolution of SNCC passed by the National Council of Students for a Democratic Society on June 18, 1966. This resolution sets forth that SDS has long maintained fraternal relations with the SNCC. SDS felt that now that SNCC is under fire from a variety of liberal organizations and publications, they felt a special urgency to restate their support of SNCC. In effect, they completely endorsed SNCC's program and expect to continue to work [illegible] A characterization of the YSA is found in the appendix of this report.

On July 14, 1966 [redacted] advised that DCA National Executive Committee meting was held on Monday, July 11, 1966 in Chicago, Illinois. According to this informant, an unnamed representative from the Atlanta Office of SNCC had announced his intention of attending a planning meeting for the Washington Action Meeting to be sponsored by the DCA.

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The "New York Amsterdam News," a New York City weekly newspaper, issue of September 3, 1966, page 1, described WILLIAM EPTON as the "Head of the Leftist Harlem Branch of the Progressive Labor Party."

A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party appears in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] advised on April 9, 1965 that a group known as Friends of SNCC requested recognition at the Washington University Campus, St. Louis, Missouri, on October 11, 1964.

[redacted] advised on October 4, 1965 that JOHN NOELL was then head of the Friends of SNCC at Washington University and among the names of those considered to assist in securing recognition for a club at Washington University Campus of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs was JOHN NOELL.

A characterization of the YSA [redacted] appears in the appendix of this report.

1. DEMONSTRATIONS IN WHICH SNCC PARTICIPATED THAT WERE LED OR ORGANIZED BY INDIVIDUALS WITH REPORTED CP CONNECTIONS

On February 26, 1953, [redacted] advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the CP in the District of Columbia.

[redacted] advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL attended a Labor Youth League Convention on August 13, 1950 at the Algonquin Club, 1400 Fayetteville Street, Durham, North Carolina.

The Labor Youth League has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 9, 1966 [redacted] advised he had received a leaflet issued by the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (PACEWV), which stated that the demonstration protesting United States intervention in Viet Nam would be held on February 12, 1966 beginning at noon at the Federal Building, Ninth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In part, the leaflet said that it was important that the committee show their solidarity with grass-roots movement in the South.

[redacted] advised on February 9, 1966, that the Women's Strike for Peace, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, had also issued a leaflet publicizing the

February 12, 1966 demonstration indicating that the demonstration was supported by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as well as SNCC.

[redacted] advised that the Women's Strike for Peace had mailed postal cards to over 600 Senators and Congressmen with the message to bring our sons home.

[redacted] advised during September and October, 1965 that meetings of the PACEWV during these months have been attended by from 30 to 70 people including representatives of the YSA, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, the Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, SWP, CP, and other "peace" groups.

[redacted] advised that officers of the PACEWV elected July 10, 1965 were Chairman, JOEL APER, YSA sympathizer; Vice Chairman, JULES BENJAMIN of SDS; Treasurer, MARTHA ROTENBERG of DCA, and Liaison Officer, ROBIN MAISEL, the leader of the Philadelphia Chapter of the YSA and a member of the Student Peace Union at the University of Pennsylvania.

[redacted] advised on July 29, 1965 that MARTHA ROTENBERG was a member of the CP in Philadelphia.

On July 20, 1966 [redacted] advised that individuals prominent in anti-war, civil rights, and community groups had formed the Cleveland Area Council for Peace in Viet Nam (CACPV) as an ad hoc coordinating body to plan and sponsor events of the Third International Days of Protest to be held during August 6 through 9, 1966.

The source said that on Saturday, August 6, 1966, a parade is planned to begin at 12:00 noon at Euclid Avenue and East 21st Street, Cleveland, Ohio, ending in a rally. Scheduled speakers will be STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC; RUTH GAGE COLBY of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); and BRONSON CLARK of the American Friends Service Committee.

According to the source, the above announcement was made by DANIEL ROSENSHINE, current member of the SWP and Chairman of the Cleveland Committee To End the War in Viet Nam (CCEWV). Source added that ROSENSHINE is being paid by the

SWP to devote full time to the anti-war movement, and that the CCEWV is dominated and controlled by the SWP and the YSA.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Source further advised that among those listed as sponsors of the parade and rally were Dr. SIDNEY PECK, SALLY DAVIS, BEA LAIBMAN, Dr. PAUL OLYNYK, AUDA ROMINE, VIVIAN WILSON, and a representative from the Congress of Racial Equality.

reported on May 20, 1966 that SALLY DAVIS in the past had been active in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

[redacted] advised on August 23, 1961 that PAUL OLYNYK addressed a group of college students in Cleveland, Ohio and stated, "...Communism is more morally right than our pseudo-democracy---than capitalism." OLYNYK related that to live or die for country is a fallacy of nationalism. He stated, "I am pro-Marxist and ideal communism"; he stressed the point that Russian Communism is not real Communism, any more than we are a real democracy.

[redacted] furnished information on November 9, 1964 reflecting that Dr. PAUL OLYNYK was local chairman of the Cleveland Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE).

[redacted] reported in April, 1966 that in the past VIVIAN WILSON has been active in WILPF.

[redacted] advised on June 14, 1966 that AUDA ROMINE is a current member of the Cleveland Branch of the SWP.

[redacted] advised on July 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the St. Paul, Minnesota Chapter of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, which was held in St. Paul, Minnesota, it had been announced that a national DCA sponsored march will take place on August 27-28, 1966. It was further announced that DCA and other organizations are going to co-sponsor a "Jobs Not Guns" March on Washington on August 27-28, 1966. Some of the organizations identified that would participate in this march included SNCC and the SDS.

[redacted] advised on August 25, 1966, that on August 17, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, national leader of SNCC, was scheduled to hold a press conference in front of the New England Grass Roots Organization, a local civil rights organization, at 366 Blue Hill Avenue in the Roxbury section of Boston, Massachusetts. The conference was scheduled for 2:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL was delayed due to the strike of airlines employees and the conference was canceled.

The August 27, 1966, edition of the "Bay State Banner," a weekly Negro newspaper published by the Bay State Banner Publishing Company, 146 Warren Street, Boston, Massachusetts, in a column captioned, "Opinion from the Editor's Desk," written by the editor, BRYANT ROLLINS, discussed the appearance in Boston of both STOKELY CARMICHAEL and Minister LOUIS X of the Nation of Islam (NOI).

The article states that Minister LOUIS X, in his appearance at Patrick Campbell Junior High School in Roxbury on August 17, 1966, called for unity among Negroes.

The following afternoon, Thursday, August 18, 1966, CARMICHAEL and Minister LOUIS appeared together at a private reception and cocktail party at Estelle's Restaurant, Roxbury. They both made it clear they wanted to unite with all Negro groups regardless of their philosophy.

On that evening at 8:00 p.m., CARMICHAEL was guest speaker at a rally sponsored by SNCC at Lowell Hall, Harvard. Minister LOUIS X was in the audience and was greeted by CARMICHAEL with the traditional Muslim, "A Salaam Alaikum", and introduced to the audience.

The two appeared together again on Saturday, August 20, 1966, sharing the stage at a rally on Intervale Street, Roxbury, at 3:15 p.m.

CARMICHAEL summed up the unity he and Minister LOUIS X had been exhibiting for the past few days with these words:

> "We're going to turn our ghettos into communities of love, love for each other.
>
> "Our only salvation lies in coming together whether we like each other or not.
>
> "We've got to move and come together to control the politics and economy of our own communities so that the money comes back into our communities and not out to the suburbs."

Both Minister LOUIS and CARMICHAEL were emphatic in their contention that the theme for Negro progress is "self love" to replace the "self hate" that has hampered progress and unity for so long.

Concerning the rally on Intervale Street on Saturday afternoon, August 20, 1966 [redacted] previously mentioned, advised on August 25, 1966, that the purpose of the rally was to allow STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak to persons in the Roxbury-Dorchester area. He said the Negro should run the white merchants out of business because they have been selling the Negro rotten meat for so long and taking the Negro's money out of the neighborhood. He said the audience should have burned them out a long time ago. He supported Minister LOUIS' statement that the white man was trying to kill the Negro off by the war and birth control pills. Both Minister LOUIS and CARMICHAEL said the press should not be allowed into Negro communities since it distorts the truth.

[redacted]

A characterization of NOI is included in the appendix of this report.

On August 16, 1966 made available a handout calling for a demonstration and rally on August 17, 1966, from 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. at Washington Square, New York City, to protest the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings. The sponsors listed on the handout were Americans for Democratic Action; Campus Americans for Democratic Action; Students for a Democratic Society, National Student Christian Federation and SNCC.

On August 17, 1966, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SAS, FBI) observed the above described demonstration and rally which was attended by a crowd of about 300 mostly "beatnik" types.

The speakers included: ED KOCH, New York City Councilman and Democratic District leader, Greenwich Village, New York City, who advocated the protection of civil liberties and freedom of speech; JEROME WILSON, candidate for Congress, 17th District, New York City, who pledged non-support of the HCUA if elected; New York City Councilman TED WEISS, 19th District, New York City, candidate for Congress, who pledged non-support of the HCUA if elected; New York State Assemblyman SEYMOUR POSNER, Bronx, New York; New York City Councilman ARTHUR KATZMAN, Queens, New York; FRANK MERRELL (phonetic),

described as a West Side New York City Democratic leader; PAUL KRASSNER, Editor of "The Realist," who criticized the above mentioned candidate for "using the rally as a political back drop for personal use," and recommended other such demonstrations advocate the impeachment of Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY; and SUE STARK (phonetic), who claimed she was a witness at the HCUA hearings in Washington, D. C., on August 16, 1966.

On October 10, 1966, [redacted] advised that THEODORE WEISS was a speaker at an ECLC meeting held in New York City on October 6, 1964.

On February 24, 1964 and March 9, 1964, [redacted] advised that PAUL KRASSNER, 318 East 18th Street, New York, New York, was a subscriber to "The Worker." This subscription was to expire on January 10, 1965.

On July 14, 1965, [redacted] advised that a Militant Labor Forum (MLF), which was sponsored by the New York Local, Socialist Workers Party (SWP, NYL) in New York, New York, was held on July 9, 1965 at 116 University Place, New York, New York. PAUL KRASSNER, editor of "The Realist" was the speaker.

A characterization of the MLF is included in the appendix of this report.

On August 17, 1966, [redacted] advised that the Program Chairman of the instant rally was CLAUDIA DREIFUS, National Chairman, Campus Committee for Democratic Action.

On August 18, 1966, an SA, FBI, ascertained by means of a pretext that STEVE MAX was the master of ceremonies at instant rally.

[redacted] advised on February 4, 1958 that STEVE MAX was elected Vice Chairman of the YSA on January 29, 1958. He is the son of ALLAN MAX, a former member of the Editorial Staff of the "Daily Worker" according to this source.

[redacted] advised on June 7, 1965, that at a meeting of the SWP, NYL held on June 3, 1965, in New York City, it was announced that STEVE MAX is a former member of the YSA who left the YSA to join the Students for a Democratic Society.

2. INDIVIDUALS WITH CP BACKGROUND ASSOCIATED WITH OR REPRESENTING SNCC

The "Detroit News," a Detroit daily metropolitan newspaper, in its issue of January 21, 1966, on page 7-D, contained an obituary notice concerning the death of BENJAMIN FRANCIS KOCEL on November 24, 1965. This notice in part, advised that memorial tributes may be sent to the SNCC, Detroit, Michigan.

[redacted] advised on June 18, 1963, that BENJAMIN FRANCIS KOCEL was a member of the Michigan District CP.

On November 5, 1963 [redacted] advised that BENJAMIN FRANCIS KOCEL was employed in some capacity with the "National Guardian," but he was unable to furnish the exact position or title for KOCEL.

On November 5, 1963, [redacted] described KOCEL as a "screwball" who was formerly a member of the Michigan District CP.

During November, 1965, [redacted] advised KOCEL was a financial contributor to the American Institute for Marxist Studies during 1964 and 1965.

A characterization of the American Institute for Marxist Studies is contained in the appendix of this report.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" on September 28, 1966, reflecting that WILLIAM F. KUNSTLER, a New York attorney, involved in the disruption last month of a Congressional investigation of Communist activities, appeared in Federal District Court in Atlanta on behalf of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. In this connection, it will be noted that a three-judge panel was to hold preliminary hearings on a suit brought by CARMICHAEL seeking to prevent the City of Atlanta and the State of Georgia from prosecution

on charges of riot, insurrection, and disorderly conduct. It is to be noted that CARMICHAEL had been arrested on September 7, 1966 by the City of Atlanta for his alleged participation in a racial disorder that developed in Atlanta on September 6, 1966.

3. INVITATION BY GROUP FOR SNCC SPEAKERS

[redacted] advised on February 1, 1966 that JULIAN BOND arrived at the Los Angeles International Airport on February 1, 1966. (u)

On February 3, 1966, [redacted] advised that after JULIAN BOND had appeared on the Louis Lomax Show, he went to the Ambassador Hotel, where a reception was being held in his honor by the Californians for Liberal Representation. (The Californians for Liberal Representation is self described in its literature as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action." BOND spoke at the reception for about five minutes, centering his talk around his not being seated in the Georgia Legislature. (u)

[redacted] (u)

A characterization of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born appears in the appendix of this report.

On February 28, 1966, [redacted] advised that the Third Annual Conference of the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC) was held on Saturday, February 26, 1966 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

According to [redacted] BOND talked on the civil rights movement in the southern United States and his talk lasted for approximately one hour. He covered such items as how long he would be in the civil rights movement and claimed that the civil rights bill was passed primarily because of the efforts of SNCC. (u)

A characterization of the ICC appears in the appendix of this report.

On September 14, 1966, [redacted] advised a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation he had received information from [redacted] indicating [redacted] that the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice (UFSJ) had invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC to speak in Columbus, Ohio, at 8:00 p.m., September 17, 1966, at the Chittenden Hotel.

According [redacted] learned tickets for the speech were to be $.75 for adults and $.50 for students, and reportedly the net proceeds would be donated to the SNCC. [redacted]

OSCAR SMILACK

b7D [redacted] advised in October, 1944, that OSCAR SMILACK was a member of the Communist Political Association (CPA) in 1944.

[redacted] advised in March, 1945 that SMILACK was a member of the CPA in 1945. That same source advised in October, 1946, that SMILACK had been a member of the CP since 1938. He attended meetings of the CP and CPA from 1944 to 1949 and contributed large amounts of money to the CP and CPA from 1945 to 1951.

advised on various dates in 1950 and 1951 that SMILACK attended CP meetings in the Columbus, Ohio, area during the period of 1950 to 1951.

OSCAR SMILACK paid a fine of $300.00 and costs in Franklin County, Ohio, Common Pleas Court in May, 1954, for contempt for refusal to answer questions of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission in May, 1953.

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A characterization of WFDY is included in the appendix of this report. Ha Not Denmark

WILLIAM HALL was interviewed by another agency of the United States Government on June 20, 1966 at Sofia, Bulgaria, and furnished the following information:

He said that he was attending the Seventh Congress of WFDY as a representative of SNCC. He stated he came directly from the United States and was returning by way of Copenhagen to New York and is a full-time worker for SNCC. HALL stated that he is not a CP member and has been opposed to the United States CP for many years.

Regarding Viet Nam, HALL stated he had talked to Vietnamese representatives but did not know whether they represented the North or South. He said he thought he detected an attitude of reason among these delegates in regard to negotiations.

On June 14, 1966, a representative of the FBI reviewed the passport file on STANLEY LEROY WISE at the United States Department of State. This file indicates his occupation as organizer and fund raiser for SNCC and that his permanent residence was 360 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. WISE was issued Passport Number F-986740 on November 12, 1965 and indicated that he would leave New York on November 29, 1965 via Pan American Airways for a three to six weeks stay abroad to France, England, Germany, and Union of Soviet Socialists Republic for education and lecturing. RUSSIA

[redacted] has advised that WISE would travel to the Soviet Union in 1965 - 1966.

On June 14, 1966, a review of the files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, by a representative of the FBI, reflects that DWIGHT JOHN WILLIAMS made application January 19, 1966 for a passport. He was issued Passport Number G-133150 on January 24, 1966. He indicated he would leave New York on February 1, 1966 for a three weeks stay abroad to France and Russia for the purpose of the visit.

[redacted] has advised WILLIAMS, a worker for SNCC, traveled to the Soviet Union in 1966.

The May 22, 1966, issue of "The Sunday Star," a Washington, D. C. newspaper, contains an article entitled "A Mystery Man Talks About Himself," which is an interview of LOWELL D. PRATT by LARRY A. STILL "Star" staff writer. In this article, PRATT describes himself as an adviser to MARION BARRY, Director of the Washington Office of the SNCC.

The above article states that BARRY considered PRATT to be just another member of his group, but the article describes PRATT as the "brains" of SNCC's bus boycott of the District of Columbia Transit Company and as a key planner of the Free D. C. Movement, controversial campaign to boycott merchants who oppose Home Rule in the District, and solicit funds from those who support the issue.

The May 29, 1966, issue of "The Washington Post," a Washington, D. C. newspaper, contained an article entitled "Consumer Co-op Flights Takeover Plan." This article reported that LOWELL D. PRATT, representing the Washington-Baltimore Freedom Partnership, attempted to gain control of the Greenbelt, Maryland Consumers Co-op. The article said PRATT first submitted a plan to have himself installed as Assistant Manager of one of the cooperative's twelve supermarkets, which was rejected. He later organized a campaign to take over the cooperative by putting up candidates for five of the nine seats on the Board of Directors. Resident Manager ROBERT E. MORROW of the cooperative was quoted in the article as saying PRATT was accompanied to the cooperative when he presented his program by RALPH FEATHERSTONE, a worker in the local office of SNCC.

[redacted] advised in June, 1966, that RALPH FEATHERSTONE, one of the individuals recently elected to the Central Committee of SNCC, is to go to Japan sometime this summer, and that the purpose of the trip was unknown.

On August 23, 1966 [redacted] advised that LOWELL D. PRATT and RALPH FEATHERSTONE had gone to Tokyo, Japan, to look into some kind of business deal. This source could furnish no further details regarding the deal or their travel.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 17, 1966, bearing London date-line, reflecting that SNCC will help prepare evidence for the "War Crimes," which aged British philosopher Lord BERTRAND RUSSELL plans to hold in Paris, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced. The spokesman for the Communist-line Foundation said members of SNCC under the leadership of National Chairman STOKELY CARMICHAEL will go to North Viet Nam as part of the international investigating committee gathering evidence with which to "indict" President LYNDON B. JOHNSON "and other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Viet Nam."

The "National Guardian" (NG) issue of August 27, 1966, page 3, contained an article which stated that SNCC had been reported incorrectly in that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC Chairman, planned to go to North Viet Nam and had agreed to participate in the "International Tribunal on United States War Crimes in Vietnam."

The article reads as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said that it has been incorrectly reported that SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael (1) plans to go to Vietnam; (2) has agreed to participate in the International Tribunal on U. S. War Crimes in Vietnam, to be held in France in November. SNCC said Carmichael had no plans at this time to go to North Vietnam. It has been asked to send a representative to the Russell tribunal and is considering doing so, but the representative will not be Carmichael."

It was determined during a pretext made by a Special Agent of the FBI on September 28, 1966, to ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, Administrator of the New York Office of SNCC, that CARMICHAEL had been misquoted in the press concerning his plans to travel to North Vietnam and also attend the War Crimes Tribunal in Paris, France. She said a retraction of these facts had been printed in some newspapers at the request of SNCC.

SUTHERLAND stated SNCC does not plan to send any representative to North Viet Nam. She said a representative from SNCC might go to the "War Crimes Tribunal" in Paris.

She advised that the original date set forth the "Tribunal" was November, 1966, but it is now scheduled for February, 1967. It is such a long way off, SNCC has not formulated any plans, and does not know at this time who might be selected to represent SNCC at the "Tribunal."

SUTHERLAND stated that CARMICHAEL would definitely not be the SNCC representative to the "Tribunal" as it is expected to last about three months, and CARMICHAEL is too busy and would be unable to leave his work here with SNCC.

5. STATEMENT BY SNCC REGARDING THE AMERICAN POSITION IN VIET NAM

On March 28, 1966 [redacted] furnished a letter of the ECLC dated March 17, 1966, which was signed by CLARK FOREMAN. This letter states that it is hoped the enclosed issue of "Rights" dealing with the various "issues raised by the draft will promote discussion." Enclosed with the letter was the January, February, March, 1966 issue of "Rights," a publication of the ECLC. Appearing on page 16 of "Rights" is the following statement:

"STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE POSITION

"We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to U. S. aggression in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country. We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 per cent of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a 'democracy' which does not exist for them at home.

"We ask: Where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?

"We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam."

On July 1, 1966, [redacted] furnished a copy of a statement issued by SNCC on the Viet Nam War. Pertinent portions of this statement are set forth below:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent from the United States foreign policy on any issue when it sees fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to United States' involvement in Vietnam on these grounds.

"We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself.

"We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

"We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and sincerity.

"We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediences of United States cold war policies.

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

On August 9, 1966, [redacted] advised that on Saturday, August 6, 1966, the Committee to End the War in Viet Nam held a rally at the Manger Hotel in Cleveland, Ohio. Among the speakers was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who spoke briefly on the decay of Western civilization and said that the United States must be brought to its knees, and that he, CARMICHAEL, opposes the draft, particularly that of black man. CARMICHAEL said that any black man who fights in this country is a black missionary. CARMICHAEL questions the right of the United States and England to determine the right of any African Asian country for their independence self-government. He believes every country has the right of self-determination. CARMICHAEL roundly criticized reactionary and left-wings groups for appealing to the wrong groups of people. They ought to encourage white youths not to enter the draft. Reactionary groups do not set policy but depend on the reaction of the President. Finally, he added in disgust August 6, a day of regret (day 1/40 million Japanese were killed) is the President's day of jubilation, referring to his daughter's wedding.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, documents the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as follows:

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the ***Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91)

A source advised December 21, 1957, and January 6, 1958, that LEONARD BOUDIN, constitutional lawyer and legal counsel for Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, made a speech December 20, 1957, accepting the Philadelphia Associates as a group to work with the national organization. This occurred at a Bill of Rights Day celebration sponsored by the Philadelphia Associates, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, at the Adelphia Hotel, Philadelphia.

A second source advised on May 23, 1962, that the Philadelphia Associates have not been active in the past two years, have no current active membership, and do not maintain a headquarters in Philadelphia.

1 SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party Functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 8, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

A third source advised on May 28, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for CARL and ANNE BRADEN and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 8, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

1

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC):

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as communists. (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5)''

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27, and 28, 1963.

A second source advised on May 9, 1966, that as of that date the NCAHUAC continued to function with headquarters at 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

1

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the New York State Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

The Second Quarter, 1966, issue of "Freedomways," self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

John Henrik Clarke, Associate Editor
Esther Jackson, Managing Editor
J. H. O'Dell, Associate Managing Editor
John L. Devine, Art Editor

A third source made available information on July 1, 1964, indicating that John Henrik Clarke attended the first and founding meeting of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which was held on December 19, 1963, and continued on January 10, 1964.

This source also made available information on August 14, 1964, indicating that Clarke is an "Associate" of AIMS.

On March 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that James Jackson, accompanied by his wife, Esther Jackson, was scheduled to depart on March 25, 1966, from the United States en route to Moscow to attend the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union. This source described James Jackson as a member of the National Committee, CPUSA.

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

2

This source advised in July, 1962, that as of that period, O'Dell was considered by the CPUSA, as being a member of its National Committee.

On January 30, 1961 [redacted] Pennsylvania, advised [redacted] Jack Devine, mentioned on [redacted] that he was still in the CP and that the CP is his whole life.

On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.

1

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning the "National Guardian":

> "1. Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. *** Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."
>
> (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL," August 25, 1956, p. 12).

1

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, now residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto indicated that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, above, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the Crime of Kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he now publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader," from Havana.

This source, in September, 1964, advised that RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world, rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization was begun in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

2

Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." Freeman served as RAM chairman with Maxwell Stanford, now of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On March 18, 1966, a third source advised that Hanif Abdul Wahab of Cleveland, Ohio, occupies a position in the RAM only one or two places removed from the top RAM leadership.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM. This source further advised that so far as is known, Freeman, Stanford, and Wahab still occupy positions of leadership in RAM.

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source advised on February 22, 1964, that at a meeting of the Portland (Oregon) Communist Party Youth Club held on February 20, 1964, a report was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Youth Commission (Communist Party) previously held in New York City. BERLAND reported that one of the four main points taken up in the New York City meeting concerned the SDS and its problems. BERLAND indicated that SDS was weak nationally but some local chapters were strong. It was noted that the SDS has an incorrect political orientation, being too far left on some issues and not far enough on others, and that the SDS does not follow the Marxist theory for the most part. One speaker said that the Party could work through SDS to achieve the aims of the Communist Party.

As a result of this meeting of the National Party Youth Commission, it was decided to work through SDS where there are strong local SDS chapters.

1

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of the organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15 - 17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revoluntionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times," April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new part of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP published "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magaizine; "Challenge," a biweekly New York City newpaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states, that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

1

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised that Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that, Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devels," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised that Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised that Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

1

MILITANT LABOR FORUM
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

A source advised on May 20, 1966, that public forums are regularly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP New York Local, usually on Friday evenings, and are held at SWP headquarters, 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.

1

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the New England District Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP,USA), held in Boston, Massachusetts, Herbert Aptheker stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, and Archeology, and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. Aptheker stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of McCarran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 6, 1966, that, as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

1

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104 describes this committee as follows:

"A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950 and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born***' The American Commitee and the 'various area or local committees *** constitute *** one organization within the meaning of the *** statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General".

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12 and 51.)

"Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born' their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations.'

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

A source advised on December 2, 1965 that in June, 1965, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had elected to expand its defense activity to include individuals who were not foreign born and that on September 15, 1965 the organization became officially known as the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born. Source further advised that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born, still referred to as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born by many individuals, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

1

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE (ICC)

A source advised the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC) was initiated and formed by the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), in October, 1962 to build a left-center organization which would be able to initiate political activity. As of May 4, 1964, the policies of ICC were dominated by the CPEPD through Communist Party members who were officers and members of the ICC.

On May 21, 1965 this same source advised the ICC continues to operate under the domination of the CPEPD.

1

SECRET

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning World Federation of Democratic Youth:

"1. 'The YAD (American Youth for Democracy) is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. * * *From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. * * *So strong was the Communist domination at the London conference that it aroused the deepest concern of the English bishops.' Also cited as one of the 'long established Soviet-controlled international organizations' which 'speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy' and which has 'affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the "peace" campaign.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on the American Youth for Democracy April 17, 1947, pp. 12 and 13; and House Report 378 on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77.)

"2. Cited as being among 'international Communist fronts * * * functioning at the present time.'

"(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)"

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
October 26, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
FD-323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta, Georgia dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] who has furnished insufficient information to judge reliability

[redacted] who has furnished insufficient information so as to verify accuracy.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	6/12/67	5/1/67 - 5/25/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	:sbw
	CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] 10/26/66, at Atlanta.
Report of SA [redacted] 4/7/67, at Los Angeles.
Report of SA [redacted], 5/19/67, at Newark.

-P*-

LEADS

FOR INFORMATION OF ALL CONTINENTAL OFFICES

One copy of report is furnished all continental offices in view of possible attraction of students and individuals with CP [illegible] from every area of the United States.

All offices should remain alert and report any information indicating CP members are engaging in activities of SNCC.

Legit[illegible] activities of SNCC relating to civil rights movement should not be reported under the caption of this case.

Case has been pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

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1-Washington Field (100-41626)(RM)

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date	File Location
[redacted]	[redacted]	Instant Report "
[redacted]	[redacted]	157-1866-4
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-10202-330
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-2473
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

Identity of Source	Date Received	File Location
		100-6488-2473 p. 12
		100-6488-2575
		100-6488-2728
		100-6488-2742 100-6488-2742
		100-6488-3129
	Used to characterize JIMMY GARRETT	
	Used to characterize FRANCES HARTSTEIN	
	Used to characterize FRANCES HARTSTEIN	
	Used to characterize EMMA GELDERS STERNE	
	11/21/66	100-6488-2556

AT 100-6488

Identity of Source	Date Received	File Location
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[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-2853
[redacted]	Used to characterize HARRY BELAFONTE Used to characterize OSSIE DAVIS	
[redacted]	Used to characterize BEN DAVIS	
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-2473 p. 4
[redacted]	[redacted]	NY 105-25286-4
[redacted]		NY 105-85286-1 NY 105-85286-4
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-2559
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-2503

ADMINISTRATIVE

Agents observing SIDNEY POITIER on 9/12/55 were [redacted] and [redacted] and on 9/14/55 were [redacted] and [redacted]

The agents interviewing [redacted] on 12/29/54 were [redacted] and [redacted]

AT 100-6488

The interview of [redacted] on 10/25/66 was conducted by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] in an effort to establish basis for item appearing in Atlanta Constitution by RALPH MC GILL alleging "Castro Money" was being used to support SNCC in the U. S. (U)

-F*-
(COVER PAGE)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

Copy to:
1-G-2, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1-NIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1-OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Date: June 12, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: [redacted]

SECRET
Group I
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interests in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

Information received from [redacted] on May 31, 1967, reflects that the National Headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia.

According to the current Atlanta telephone directory, SNCC subscribes to telephone number 688-0331.

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On May 12, 1967, [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, advised that on that date the SNCC had called a press conference at Paschals' Brothers Restaurant on Hunter Street in Atlanta for the purpose of announcing the results of the Central Committee election of SNCC officers for 1967. During this announcement, SNCC issued a leaflet to all in attendance announcing their policy for the coming year. This announcement is as follows:

"In our staff meeting held during the past week, the organization voted that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a Human Rights Organization, interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that, in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Viet Nam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We shall seek to build a strong nation-wide Black Anti-Draft program and movement to include high school students, along with college students, and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men, who are daily murdered physically, and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Viet Nam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of national freedom organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters

who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objective will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country, and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals."

On October 25, 1966, [redacted] was interviewed relative to another matter and during this interview he said that [redacted] He said that SNCC does not have a "membership" as such and the only persons officially affiliated with SNCC are those carried on its payroll, which numbers approximately 130 persons over the entire country. (U)

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

On May 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC had originally planned to hold their annual Central Committee meeting at the Dorchester Community, which is located near Midway, Georgia, from May 1, 1967, to May 7, 1967. However, according to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the National Chairman of SNCC, it had not been possible for SNCC to get a quorum of the Central Committee together to hold this meeting; therefore, it was postponed until the week of May 8-13, 1967, and would be held in Atlanta, Georgia.

[redacted] said that an official announcement of the election of the officers for 1967 was made on May 12, 1967, and they were identified as follows:

H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman

STANLEY [illegible], Executive Secretary

ETHEL MINOR, Communications Director

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, Program Director

Concerning the above captioned individuals, the following information is set forth:

STANLEY LEROY WISE

On June 14, 1966, a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), reviewed the passport file on STANLEY LEROY WISE at the United States Department of State (USDS), and noted the following information:

WISE made application for a passport on November 9, 1965, at Atlanta, Georgia, and passport number F-986740, was issued on November 12, 1965, which excluded travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea, and Viet Nam under Communist control. WISE indicated in his application that he would depart from New York, New York, on November 29, 1965, via Pan American Airways for a three to six weeks stay abroad to France, England, Germany, and the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics for education and lecturing He furnished the following information concerning himself:

Date of Birth	June 12, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina
Permanent Residence	[redacted] Atlanta, Georgia
Father	CLARENCE E., born November 2, 1902, at Batesville, South Carolina
Mother	JOSEPHINE B., born February 14, 1917, at Ridgeway, South Carolina
Height	5 feet 10½ inches
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Marks	Scar on lower right arm
Occupation	Organizer and fund-raiser, SNCC
Marital Status	Never married

WISE requested that his parents be notified at [redacted] [redacted], Charlotte, North Carolina, in the event of death or accident.

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

[redacted] advised on May 28, 1965, that the following appeared on a list of individuals to whom National Committee

to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC) material was mailed:

RALPH FEATHERSTONE
107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

The current Washington, D. C., telephone directory contains a listing for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

The NCAHUAC is characterized in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] advised on December 27, 1965, that the National Membership Conference of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) convened at the University of Illinois on this date. According to [redacted], RALPH FEATHERSTONE, 1405 Ridge Place, Southeast, Washington, D. C., was one of those who registered for this conference at the Channing Murray Foundation, Urbana, Illinois.

The April 18, 1965, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," a Washington, D. C., newspaper, contained an article entitled "Viet Nam War Protest is Staged by 16,000." This article stated that thousands had picketed the White House and then marched on the Capitol the day before in a demonstration against American policy in Viet Nam. The article stated this demonstration was sponsored by the SDS and the article quoted one of the demonstrators, RALPH FEATHERSTONE, a 25 year old veteran of the SNCC's campaigns as stating "The people here are the ones who move in this country."

On September 7, 1966, a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation reviewed a file at the Passport Office, United States Department of State, on RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, who applied for a passport on May 23, 1966. It was noted that he was issued passport Number G-574248 on the same date for proposed travel to Japan for one month, departing June 1, 1966, by air from a port not shown for the purpose of education. This passport carries a restriction excluding travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea and Viet Nam under Communist control.

In making application for above passport, FEATHERSTONE furnished the following additional information:

Date of Birth	May 26, 1939, at Washington, D. C.
Marital Status	Single
Height	5 feet 10 inches
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Occupation	SNCC, Field Secretary
Parents	JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, SR., born July 5, 1912, at Jersey City, New Jersey, and ANNIE BROWN, born April 19, 1913, St. Mary's County, Maryland

FEATHERSTONE listed the person to be notified in the event of accident or death as JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, JR., a brother, [redacted] Washington, D. C.

In connection with the aforementioned election, it is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the former National Chairman of SNCC, Mrs. RUBY DORIS ROBINSON was the Executive Secretary and CLEVELAND SELLERS was the Program Director.

V. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

[redacted] advised on September 26, 1966, and October 3, 1966, that the National Coordinating Committee of the Du Bois Club of America (DCA) met at the Polonia Club in New York City from September 15-17, 1966. According to this informant, a discussion was held on black power. This discussion was led by MARY SMITH. The Du Bois Club endorsed the concept of black power as a revolutionary step forward in the struggle of the Negro people. The organization's position on black power is to be written by FRANKLIN ALEXANDER and CHUCK HARRIS and in consultation with other Negro leaders of the DCA and is to be circulated nationally. The National Committee sent a telegram to STOKELY CARMICHAEL pledging full support for his fight against the police department in Atlanta, Georgia.

In this regard it will be noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been arrested by the Atlanta Police Department, Atlanta, Georgia, and charged with "Inciting to Riot" which charge arose out of CARMICHAEL'S participation in a racial disturbance in Atlanta during August of 1966.

A characterization of DCA is included in the Appendix of this report.

A characterization of RAM appears in the Appendix of this report.

On January 6, 1967, [redacted] advised that the Progressive Labor Party, Los Angeles Club, held a meeting on January 1, 1967, of the general membership at 448 West Moreland Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Informant said that one CHRIS RAISNER who was in attendance at this general membership meeting said that SNCC is one of the organizations that is the closest friend the Progressive Labor Party has. He said that JAMES FORMAN (a SNCC member) and JOHN LEWIS (formerly connected with SNCC) and most of the leadership of SNCC have taken Progressive Labor Party courses on Marxism-Leninism and are fairly well versed in it.

A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party, Los Angeles Club, appears in the Appendix of this report.

A characterization of the AAHA is contained in the Appendix of this report.

A. AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

A characterization of the MPIPR appears in the Appendix of this report.

JUAN MARI BRAS is the self-admitted Interim Secretary General of the MPIPR.

A characterization of the FUPI appears in the Appendix of this report.

JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary General of the MPIPR; PEDRO BAIGES CHAPEL, Secretary of Organization of the MPIPR; and JUAN ANGEL SILEN, the leader of the youth group of the MPIPR, along with approximately 200 sympathizers, most of whom were students, were at the airport to greet CARMICHAEL.

advised that violence during the march was a possibility.

The "San Juan Star," an English language newspaper published in San Juan, Perto Rico, carried an article on pages one and fourteen of its January 26, 1967, edition dealing with a protest march stated on January 25, 1967, by members of the FUPI and MPIPR and lead by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

As the marchers passed in front of the Inter-American University Building in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, rocks, beer cans, and oranges were thrown from the direction of that building.

stated that upon arrival in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, CARMICHAEL addressed an audience at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts consisting of approximately 500 individuals. CARMICHAEL'S theme was Black Power and the struggle of Puerto Rico against the colonization of the island by the United States.

According to CARMICHAEL returned to the San Juan, Puerto Rico, area via a Caribair flight which left Mayaguez at approximately 1:00 p.m., January 26, 1967.

A characterization of the PCP appears in the Appendix of this report.

The SNCC newsletter dated November, 1966, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of SNCC, would be in the Bay Area from November 18 to 23, 1966, and would spend most of his time meeting with black community groups.

On November 17, 1966, CARMICHAEL appeared on KCBS Radio, San Francisco, California, at 8:35 p.m. in an interview and question program called "Contact". On this program CARMICHAEL said he was

in San Francisco to speak in various communities so as to help SNCC organize the black groups in the city. He stated that the SNCC position is anti-war and anti-draft. He said a SNCC representative would be sent to the War Crimes Tribunal in Brussels when it convenes.

On November 18, 1966, CARMICHAEL appeared at San Francisco State College (SFSC) in the Main Auditorium at 3:00 p.m. under the sponsorship of the SFSC Black Students Union headed by JIMMY GARRETT. According to the SFSC "Daily Gater", a student publication, dated November 21,1966, CARMICHAEL attacked what he termed, "our racist society", and struck out against the draft.

[redacted] advised on June 3, that JIMMY GARRETT is a member of both SNCC and the W.E.B. Du Bois Club.

[redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL was scheduled to appear on November 19, 1966, in San Jose, California. FRANCES HARTSTEIN was named chairman of the committee to welcome and entertain CARMICHAEL while in San Jose, which was to include a cocktail party and reception in the Willow Glen area.

The San Jose "Mercury" for November 14, 1966, carried an article which reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would speak here Saturday night November 19, 1966, at 8:00 p.m. in the Roosevelt Junior High School auditorium. The article stated that his appearance would be under the auspices of the Santa Clara Friends of SNCC and that Mrs. EMMA GELDERS STERNE, Co-chairman of the

committee, said CARMICHAEL could be expected to cover a wide range of civil rights questions.

[redacted] stated that CARMICHAEL appeared at the Franklyn Junior High School, 1150 Virginia Street, Berkeley, California, on November 20, 1966, under the auspices of SNCC, Afro-American Student Union of the University of California and the Oakland Direction Action Committee. At this function, MARK COMFORT was in charge of security and had several teenagers guarding the entrances and exits. During his speech, CARMICHAEL remarked on how good the security was. His overall speech varied little from those previously given on racism, black power, and violence.

Characterizations of the Oakland Direct Action Committee and MARK COMFORT appear in the Appendix of this report.

On January 30, 1967, [redacted] advised that it was announced that the MPI-New York Mission would co-sponsor a demonstration with SNCC at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Park Avenue and 49th Street, New York City, on January 30, 1967, at 11:00 a.m.

B. AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING CP BACKGROUND

The PIAR has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. During the above interview, WILLLIAMS stated that because his organization was placed on the Attorney General's list, the organizatin was hurt. He formerly had several offices, but at the time of the interview he, himself, was doing most of the work.

On July 7, 1953, JOSEPH Z. KORNFEDER, an admitted former Communist Party member and a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, testified before the HUAC in New York City regarding Communist infiltration of religious groups. He was asked if WILLIAMS was a member of the CP and he testified he was certain WILLIAMS was a member of the CP by the nature of his activities, but whether he ever met him in the Party, he did not recall. He testified the CP attempted to use the PIAR in order to get at the people in the South "through a religious-looking front."

The NCASF and the American Peace Crusade have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 7, 1967, [redacted] advised that on the evening of January 27, 1967, a dinner-dance was held at Big Wilt's Smalls Paradise, 2294 Seventh Avenue, New York City, which affair was held for the benefit of SNCC. [redacted] further advised that Big Wilt's Smalls Paradise is owned by WILT CHAMBERLAIN of the Philadelphia 76ers National Basketball Association basketball team. [redacted] stated that admission to this affair was $10.00 per person and the affair lasted from approximately 10:00 p.m. on January 27, 1967, to 3:00 a.m. on January 28, 1967. [redacted] further stated that Mrs. HARRY BELAFONTE, wife of Negro singer HARRY BELAFONTE, was the chairlady of the committee which ran this affair and SIDNEY POITIER, a Negro actor, was the master-of-ceremonies of the affair. According to this informant, among those in attendance at this affair, in addition to Mrs. HARRY BELAFONTE and SIDNEY POITIER, were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC; HARRY BELAFONTE and OSSIE DAVIS, a Negro actor. [redacted] related that there were about 300 people in attendance at this affair and HARRY BELAFONTE was among those who entertained.

With respect to HARRY BELAFONTE, mentioned above, the following is noted:

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

With respect to SIDNEY POITIER, mentioned above, the following is noted:

Special Agents (SAS) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on September 12, 1955, and again on September 14, 1955, observed SIDNEY POITIER entering 268 Seventh Avenue, New York City, which, at that time, was the address of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA) Headquarters and the New York State Communist Party Headquarters.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

With respect to OSSIE DAVIS, mentioned above, the following is noted:

With respect to VLADIMIR I. SHOKIN, mentioned above, the following is noted:

VLADIMIR IVANOVICH SHOKIN is a Third Secretary to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, 136 East 67th Street, New York City.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION

A. THE BERTRAND RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

An article from "The Washington Post and Times Herald" captioned "War Trial Backers Unmoved At Losses", datelined November 14, 1966, London, noted that BERTRAND RUSSELL had beem meeting with eleven members of the Tribunal preparimg plans for a twelve week inquiry into the Viet Nam war, now scheduled to begin next March in Paris.

B. ORGANIZATION OF SNCC CHAPTERS

[redacted] advised on November 18, 1966, that SNCC got its first start in Houston, Texas, on October 6, 1966, in the religion center at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, under the auspices of Reverend EARL ALLEN, Methodist minister at the University. This meeting was called at the end of a three day speaking engagement by JAMES FORMAN, manager of the National Office of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. The United Ministers were the sponsors of FORMAN'S appearance during their Mono-Dialogue Series which is an annual event for the ministers. FORMAN indicated that his primary purpose in coming to Houston was to try to recruit members to organize a SNCC Chapter for the Houston area. Students who listened to him were asked to give their names and addresses so that they may receive literature from SNCC. As of November 18, 1966, no students have been known to receive any literature, and membership at TSU is about twelve. There is no SNCC organization elsewhere in Houston.

On November 21, 1966, [redacted] Tennessee A & I University, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that a very small group of students led by two Tennessee A & I students by the names of ROBERT CHARLES BUTLER and FRED BROOKS are attempting to gain recognition for SNCC from the University administration and student body; however, such efforts to date have not been successful. [redacted] further advised that under present circumstances it would be highly unlikely that SNCC would receive any sort of recognition from Tennessee A & I.

VII. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SNCC

On May 13, 1966, , Office of the Secretary of State for the State of Delaware, Dover, Delaware, made available the files of that office pertaining to the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc. The annual report of the Foundation for 1965 was received and filed in that office on December 8, 1965. That annual report reflected that one LUCILLE PERLMAN, no address listed, was the Vice President of the Foundation and one LUCILLE PERLMAN, 295 East 17th Street, Brooklyn, New York, was a Director of the Foundation.

A characterization of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation is included in the Appendix of this report.

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Voice", a daily newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 19, 1967, reflects that Attorney and Mrs. HOWARD MOORE had given the first of several fund-raising parties for SNCC at their residence on March 11, 1967. According to this article the party was both a financial and a social success and was attended by persons prominent in the civil rights field.

APPENDIX

LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

Records of the Secretary of State, Corporation Department, State of Delaware, as made available on March 30, 1961, reflect that a Certificate of Incorporation was filed on August 24, 1944, for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, and the nature of business was - to undertake, promote, develop and carry on religious, charitable, scientific, literary and/or educational work. VICTOR RABINOWITZ was recorded as President of this foundation.

A source advised on May 2, 1966, that VICTOR RABINOWITZ is President of the foundation, and the address of the foundation is 30 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

A fourth source advised that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in December, 1959.

It is publicly known that W. E. B. DU BOIS died on August 28, 1963. At that time he had been residing in Ghana, having become a citizen of that country. He was the guest of President KWAME NKRUMAH, and he had become Director of the Encyclopedia Africana, which was sponsored by the Government of Ghana. In the fall of 1961, at the age of 93, he joined the CP.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of the organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

OAKLAND DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE,
also known as
Oakland Direct Action for Freedom Now,
ODAC

On February 9, 1965, a source advised that on that date at Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) headquarters, 8512 East 14th Street, Oakland, California, MARK EVERETT COMFORT, Chairman of ODAC, held a press conference. COMFORT stated that the objective of ODAC was to organize the Negro community, particularly in the eastern section of Oakland, commonly known as East Oakland. He said that ODAC would make demands for equal housing, equal job opportunities and living conditions and would educate the Negro community to realize that "things are not as good as they seem." COMFORT said that ODAC, in contrast to existing civil rights organizations, would strongly emphasize police brutality.

The January 25, 1964, issue of the "People's World" (PW), page 3, contains an invitation to the 26th anniversary celebration of the PW, to be held on February 1, 1964, in San Francisco, California. This invitation lists MARK COMFORT as one of four special guests to be honored at this celebration.

The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

A second source advised that MARK COMFORT attended the National convention of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) held in New York City April 15-18, 1965, as a delegate and was assigned to the "Black Liberation" workshop.

A fourth source advised that as of April 1966, ODAC is operating out of COMFORT's residence, 6914 Lockwood Avenue, Oakland, where COMFORT is assisted by his wife and a Negro teen-age gang known as the Alm Boy Dukes.

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO
(Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, to work for the independence of Puerto Rico. It has an estimated membership of between 1,000 and 1,300 people with missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York.

At the time the MPIPR was organized it indicated that it did not advocate violence, but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leader of this organization, in a speech during March, 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States. A source reported in 1966 that a leader of the MPIPR has indicated that "the revolution" would soon begin and another source advised that another official of this organization has attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols.

Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1961 it adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.

FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO INDEPENDENCIA

(FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE)

Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) was organized in October, 1956, at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, as a student organization, not affiliated with any political group, but working for independence for Puerto Rico through logical and peaceful means.

A source advised on May 28, 1962, FUPI was elected an integral member of the International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia, in October, 1960. Jose Rafael Varona Berrios, upon interview on April 8, 1966, stated he was the Secretary of International Affairs of FUPI, and met with various delegates of the IUS between November 27, 1965, and February 9, 1966. Varona Berrios advised that FUPI is affiliated with the IUS, and stated he believed in violence as a method of obtaining independence for Puerto Rico, if conditions indicated violence might succeed or aid in obtaining Puerto Rican independence.

The IUS has been cited by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956 as being among "international communist fronts functioning at the present time", and by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, in 1951, as one of the"long-established Soviet controlled international organizations."

On April 5, 1966, a second source advised that Alberto Perez Perez was elected President of FUPI on that date. On May 16, 1966, it was learned that Alberto Perez Perez had received a one-way prepaid ticket to travel from San Juan, Puerto Rico, to Moscow, U.S.S.R., and departed San Juan for Moscow on that date.

A third source advised May 16, 1966, that Perez Perez was scheduled to attend a "communist youth conference" in Moscow as the FUPI representative.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, LOS ANGELES CLUB

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the Los Angeles Club of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is affiliated with the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) with headquarters in San Francisco, California. The aims and purposes of the Los Angeles Club and the BAPLP are identical to those of the National PLP, with headquarters in New York City. The PLP is pro-Chinese Communist oriented.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC):

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as communists. (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p.5)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27 and 28, 1963.

A second source advised on May 9, 1966, that as of that date the NCAHUAC continued to function with headquarters at 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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AFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE
ASSOCIATION, Formerly known as
Afro-American Heritage Association

A source advised on May 11, 1966, that the African American Heritage Association (AAHA) with headquarters at 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, was known as the Afro-American Heritage Association until February, 1961. It was founded by ISHMAEL FLORY around 1958 and incorporated in the State of Illinois as a non-profit organization. It was founded ostensibly for the purpose of teaching African history and culture to American Negroes. AAHA is strongly influenced by the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois. It is represented by both communist and non-communist members, and some people with strong Negro nationalistic tendencies. This organization reflects CP policy on some issues and opposes CP policy on others; for example, the CP rejects the concept of Afro-American as a reference term to the American Negro and rejects aspects of nationalism, both of which are reflected in the AAHA program. FLORY is a member of the CP of Illinois and theoretically under the discipline of the CP. He is the guiding force in AAHA and controls policy and decisions in AAHA.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, CP of Illinois, is a friend of ISHMAEL FLORY. LIGHTFOOT and other CP representatives occasionally are featured at AAHA affairs.

A second source advised on May 11, 1966, that in 1962 the CP worked with FLORY to organize AAHA Chapters under the leadership of CP members. The aim of this program included the reactivation of ex-CP members and recruitment of new CP members. This program was never successful and became defunct in 1963.

The second source advised on January 9, 1967, that during the first week of January, 1967, the AAHA moved their headquarters from 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, to 416 West 63rd Street, Chicago.

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REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONT'D)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under theimpetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD, now residing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On January 23, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM.

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PARTIDO COMUNISTA PUERTORRIQUENO
(COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO)(PCP)

An article by JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the PCP, in the 2/19/44, issue of "Puerto Rico, Ayer, Hoy y Manana" (Puerto Rico, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) stated the Communist Party of Puerto Rico was founded in Ponce, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1934.

A source advised in November, 1963, that JUAN SANTOS RIVERA was changing the name of the PCP and the new name would be Partido Obrero Liberador (POL).

In May, 1964, RIVERA publicly declared that the POL was the new name for the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia
June 12, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] [redacted] at Atlanta, Georgia, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 2 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 1 (CONTINUED)

SECTION 1 CONTINUED

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Tolson
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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 8, 1967

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Basher
1 - Section Tickler
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

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SUBJECT: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

Approval is requested for captioned monograph to be disseminated to all field offices and Legal Attaches and to interested Government agencies and officials on the enclosed list.

This monograph depicts the evolution of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights movement primarily devoted to direct-action, voter registration campaigns for the Negro in the Deep South to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy. Created in 1960, SNCC veered to its present course when Stokely Carmichael became national chairman in May, 1966, and popularized the slogan of "Black Power."

Now, under the flagrantly incendiary leadership of H. Rap Brown, SNCC is motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. There can be no doubt that SNCC's present collision course with American society makes it a potent threat to racial peace.

The enclosed monograph has been proofread by the Reading Room. Upon approval, it should be returned to the Central Research Unit of the Research-Satellite Section, where arrangements will be made for its printing and distribution.

RECOMMENDATION: ST-104 REC-34 100-439190 - 1386

That this monograph, the yellow file copy of which is enclosed, be approved for dissemination to all field offices and Legal Attaches and for mailing without cover letters in accordance with previously approved procedure, to the Government officials and agencies on the enclosed list.

15 AUG 15 1967

Enclosures (2)

100-439190

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RESEARCH-SATELLITE

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Office of Security
Department of the Treasury
Room 1308, Main Treasury Building
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Washington, D. C.

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

11/20/86
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NOTE: See memorandum R. W. Smith to W. C. Sullivan dated 8/8/67 captioned "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," Research-Satellite Matter, LLW, CMF:st.

100-439190-1386

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ENCLOSURE

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was created in 1960 as a nonviolent civil rights movement primarily devoted to direct-action, voter-registration campaigns for the Negro in the Deep South. While attracting the most militant workers, both Negro and white, it practiced nonviolence despite repeated incidents where SNCC followers were clubbed, tear-gassed, beaten, whipped, shot, and even killed.

By 1965, however, SNCC began to shift its orientation from the civil rights field emphasizing integration toward one seeking political and economic power for the Negro. It also began to protest United States policy in Vietnam and referred to Negro soldiers fighting there as "black mercenaries."

When Stokely Carmichael emerged as SNCC national chairman in 1966 and popularized the slogan of "Black Power," SNCC began a radical change from a dedicated, peaceful civil rights organization to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy. Today, its leaders, particularly Carmichael and present national chairman H. Rap Brown, travel around the country inciting violence not only against

the white people but also against the Negro middle class. SNCC is now an almost entirely Negro organization and has been referred to as a Ku Klux Klan in reverse--a black Klan.

SNCC is one of the foremost components of the New Left organizations and has cooperated with Communist Left groups as well on various occasions. It has also participated in joint activity with other Negro protest groups having highly divergent approaches such as the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Nation of Islam, and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

SNCC does not regard itself as a membership organization but as a group to stimulate a faster growth of local protest movements. It claims that it is not concerned with the social, political, or ideological views of its workers as long as they believe in SNCC's aims and program.

The headquarters of SNCC is in Atlanta, Georgia, where its staff is under the leadership of national chairman H. Rap Brown. However, a dominating figure in SNCC continues to be Stokely Carmichael, who has been described as the youngest, most

flamboyant, most controversial, and--along with Martin Luther King--the most charismatic civil rights leader in the country.

Because it has adopted and promotes a revolutionary black racist and white exclusionary policy, SNCC is no longer a civil rights organization in the traditional sense. It is now motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. The "Black Power" concept promoted by SNCC has come to mean to many Negroes the power to riot, burn, loot, and kill.

There can be no doubt that SNCC's present collision course with the established social order makes it a potent threat to racial peace. The repeated exhortation of "Black Power" by Carmichael and Brown and their many incendiary statements advocating, encouraging, and condoning lawlessness and civil disobedience, which have helped to trigger violence in the past, can very well incite even greater violence in the future.

I. ORIGIN, AIMS, AND PURPOSES

A. Origin

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC--pronounced "Snick") evolved from the lunch-counter, sit-down demonstration of four Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina, in February, 1960, which quickly spread throughout North Carolina and other Southern States. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) saw that an agency to provide communication and coordination for these demonstrations would be useful. Accordingly, there was a meeting of student leaders in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960.

On the 17th of that month, a Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formed, and an executive committee composed of one person from each of the 15 Southern States represented at the meeting was set up. The committee decided to maintain "friendly relations" with other civil rights organizations such as the SCLC, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) but to be independent organizationally.

In May 1960, the executive committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, with Martin Luther King and observers from the National Student Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the American Friends Service Committee. It elected Marion Barry, Jr., chairman and decided to open an office in Atlanta and to hold another Southwide meeting in October, 1960.

Throughout the Summer of 1960, the executive committee of this temporary group reportedly met "once a month, in Nashville, Tennessee; in Louisville, Kentucky; and in Jackson, Mississippi." But it really accomplished little before October, 1960, when the second conference tightened the organizational structure. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was officially created at the October conference, made possible by funds donated by college students, labor unions, civil rights groups, and other interested organizations, and attended by over 200 delegates. (1,2,3,)

B. Aims and Purposes

SNCC was created to foster the growth of civil rights agitation primarily through nonviolent direct action--demonstrations, sit-ins, prayers, freedom rides, marches--in the Deep South. Its founding statement of purpose, adopted at the October,

1960, conference, read:

> "We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of non-violence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action.
>
> "Non-violence, as it grows from the Judeo-Christian tradition, seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.
>
> "Through non-violence, courage displaces fear. Love transcends hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Faith reconciles doubt. Peace dominates war. Mutual regards cancel enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supersedes immoral social systems.
>
> "By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, non-violence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.
>
> "Although each local group in the movement must diligently work out the clear meaning of this statement of purpose, each act or phase of our corporate effort must reflect a genuine spirit of love and good-will." (4)

Although claiming to follow the policy of nonviolence, SNCC, from the first, attracted the most militant of the civil rights workers--Negro and white. From 1961 to 1964, SNCC was actively supported by northern white college students in its primary project--

voter registration in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama--and in other civil rights activities. Its adherents suffered much physical harm; they were shot, beaten, tear-gassed, whipped, and jailed--some repeatedly.

By 1965, many SNCC workers began to question the ultimate value of their method of achieving Negro equality through the right to vote. They felt that, even if the Negroes achieved voting strength, their power would be nullified, or at least greatly hampered, by unrepresentative candidates and by Negroes' lack of resources to make their own choices. They also evidenced an increasing tendency to regard what they called the "white capitalist" system in the United States as basically a white supremacist system which would have to be changed before true psychological integration could be achieved.

Accordingly, SNCC began to shift its orientation from the civil rights field emphasizing integration toward one seeking political and economic power for the Negro. It also entered the foreign policy field by claiming that the war in Vietnam is "racist" and characterizing United States Negro soldiers fighting there as "black mercenaries."

During the Winter of 1965-1966, SNCC issued

a "position paper," which gave a detailed explanation of the thinking behind the "Black Power" concept which was to be adopted by SNCC. Basically, SNCC called for Negro nationalism and separatism and concluded that white people should at best have only a minor role in civil rights activity and in political organization among Negroes. The document states:

> "If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. We form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."
>
> . . . .
>
> "...whites...can participate on a voluntary basis. We can contract work out to them, but in no way can they participate on a policy-making level." (5)

When Stokely Carmichael was chosen national chairman of SNCC in May, 1966, he reiterated these statements and declared that "integration is irrelevant. Political and economic power is what the black people have to have." (6)

During the civil rights march through Mississippi in June, 1966, Carmichael popularized SNCC's new philosophy when he began chanting "Black Power." In a lengthy article published in"National Guardian," a communist-oriented weekly, in October, 1966,

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Carmichael explained "Black Power" in these terms:

> "Where Negroes lack a majority, black power means proper representation and sharing of control. It means the creation of power bases from which black people can work to change state-wide or nation-wide patterns of oppression through pressure from strength--instead of weakness. Politically, black power means...the coming-together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to speak to their needs,...Most of the black politicians we see around the country today are not what SNCC means by black power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there."

Carmichael concluded that "only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic, and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms, will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity." (7)

While the foregoing remarks seem to depict "Black Power" in the terms of the peaceful use of political and economic pressures, Carmichael, speaking for SNCC, on the other hand, has made frequent contradictory and incendiary statements which give "Black Power" a violent connotation. In a speech in Cleveland, Ohio, in August, 1966, he unequivocally stated:

> "When you talk of black power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees.

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"When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created.

"When you talk of black power, you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs...We are fighting for our lives." (8)

On another occasion, when asked about preventing the civil rights movement from breaking into widespread violence, Carmichael retorted:

"...This nonviolence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up....The violence is inevitable. I don't try to stop the fight. I try to prepare the people I am organizing so that when the fight comes they will be able to win it." (9)

H. Rap Brown, who replaced Carmichael as national chairman in May, 1967, said there will be no change in SNCC's "Black Power" policy. Brown also wants to build a strong nationwide antidraft program and movement among Negroes. (10)

II. COMPONENT OF NEW LEFT

A. Communist Left and New Left

Deeply involved in the protest movements of recent years relative to civil rights, university reform, and the war in Vietnam have been the Communist Left and the so-called New Left. Prominent among the organizations of the Communist Left which have been active in fomenting and exploiting protests have been the pro-Soviet Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and its youth arm, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA); the Red Chinese-oriented Progressive Labor Party (PLP); and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth wing, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Foremost among New Left organizations are SNCC and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the latter being a militant, socialist-oriented youth organization. New Left organizations are largely student-based and are composed of individuals of all shades of social, political, and ideological conviction--radicals, anarchists, socialists, communists, pacifists, idealists, and malcontents.

B. Cooperation with Communist and New Left Organizations

1. Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

SNCC has been praised by the CPUSA for moving rapidly to the left and for being among the first to emphasize the link between civil rights and peace. Like the CPUSA, SNCC maintains that United States participation in an "imperialist war of aggression" in Vietnam is contrary to the welfare and best interests of the Negro people, since the war prevents the Government from expending funds essential to Negro betterment.

SNCC does not exclude from among its workers communists or members of any other organization.(11) SNCC claims that it is not concerned with the social, political, or ideological outlook of its workers as long as they believe in SNCC's aims and programs.(12)

The CPUSA views every noncommunist organization as a target for infiltration.(13) Naturally, SNCC is no exception, although communists are not known to have gained any national leadership positions in SNCC to date. But there have been instances of local penetration. For example, a Communist Party club member in Los Angeles worked on the SNCC publication in that city. Another example is a young CPUSA

member whose Party assignment was to go to Atlanta CONFIDENTIAL and work with SNCC. Later, SNCC sent this volunteer to the SNCC office in Philadelphia.[14]

The CPUSA and SNCC frequently cooperate in protest demonstrations and in exchanging speakers and sharing public platforms.[15,16] CPUSA groups have also collected and contributed funds to help SNCC. Individuals with communist backgrounds are known to have assisted in SNCC's 1964 "Mississippi Project."[17, 18]

At the suggestion of the CPUSA, the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations invited four SNCC members to visit the Soviet Union in June, 1966.[19, 20]

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[redacted] [21, 22] (S)

Two organizations cited as communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities have provided legal aid for SNCC--the National Lawyers Guild and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC).[23,24] Stokely Carmichael was elected a member of the national council of the ECLC in April, 1966.

In commenting on the concept of "Black Power" espoused by SNCC, the CPUSA has expressed full support for the "struggle of the Negro people to secure the power required to free themselves from racist tyranny,

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exploitation and social discrimination," but has stressed that "it is necessary to win broad strata of the white masses in an active participation in the struggle for the freedom of the Negro people."(25)

2. W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA)

Between SNCC and the DCA, the youth group of the CPUSA, there has been joint activity in demonstrations.(26, 27) At the DCA founding convention in 1964, a SNCC staff member chaired a workshop on civil rights in the South.(28)

In other activities, DCA members have been identified as working for SNCC.(29, 30) Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the DCA, was arrested in April, 1967, on the campus at Texas Southern University in Houston, where the campus chapter of Friends of SNCC was demanding recognition by the administration and reinstatement of its faculty adviser. (31)

3. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

The Trotskyite SWP and its youth group, the YSA, have also collaborated with SNCC. The SWP, for example, has assisted SNCC in fund-raising ventures such as collecting trading stamps and holding a dinner.(32)

4. Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

b7C [redacted], a Negro and a PLP national vice-chairman, contributed $75 to complete the $1,000 bail set for Carmichael after the latter's arrest in Atlanta on September 8, 1966, when he was charged with inciting to riot and disorderly conduct. About the same time, the PLP reportedly sent SNCC considerable propaganda material which it had requested in order to set up study groups.[33] X (u)

At meetings in Los Angeles held in June, 1966, the PLP supported SNCC's position on "Black Power" and distributed copies of "The Movement," SNCC's publication for the west coast.[34]

5. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall has characterized the SDS, along with the DCA, as part of the "responsible left" which the CPUSA has "going for us." The SDS accepts communists as members and has received support from the CPUSA. The SDS claims some 200 chapters throughout the United States.[35]

An SDS chapter on the campus of the University of Michigan is known by the name "Voice Political Party."[36] An ad hoc committee of the Voice Political Party is known as "Friends of SNCC."

The

The chairman of this committee is a DCA member. In other words, a DCA member heads an SDS committee that is composed of SNCC workers. In his SNCC activities, the chairman is assisted by a number of SDS members.(37)

One of SNCC's field secretaries from the Washington, D. C., office, Ralph Featherstone, attended the national membership conference of the SDS at the University of Illinois on December 27, 1965. Featherstone is now one of SNCC's top leaders. At the SDS conference in Clear Lake, Iowa, August 27 to September 1, 1966, Charles E. Cobb, Jr., a member of SNCC's Central Committee, conducted a workshop.(38)

The National Council of SDS in June, 1966, passed a resolution to continue fraternal relations in support of SNCC.(39) On October 29, 1966, the SDS held a "Black Power Day" conference on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, at which Stokely Carmichael, then the national chairman of SNCC, was the featured speaker.(40)

Currently, however, the SDS is almost all white and is alienated from SNCC by virtue of the latter's exclusion of white people from its ranks.(41)

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C. Cooperation with Negro Protest Organizations

1. Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

RAM is a small, secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals.(42) RAM has received the approbation of Stokely Carmichael.

[redacted] a field chairman of RAM, sought help from Carmichael to set up a Black Panther Party in New York City for bringing Negroes together as an independent political group. Carmichael, who had established the original Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, offered to assist [redacted] Carmichael was one of the main speakers at a Harlem rally on August 29, 1966, following the founding of [redacted] new group in New York City.(43) X(u)

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2. Nation of Islam (NOI)

Stokely Carmichael has been in contact with leaders of the NOI, including Elijah Muhammad, concerning their mutual advocacy of "Black Power." The NOI is an all-Negro pseudoreligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race. Its members are commonly called Black Muslims. In an address to NOI adherents, Carmichael told them that no matter what

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their religious beliefs, "all black men should work together to offset the white policy of dividing blacks." (44, 45, 46)

The October 28, 1966, issue of "Muhammad Speaks," official publication of the NOI, contained an article soliciting funds and urging support for the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County. (47)

3. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Martin Luther King's SCLC and SNCC have had little contact with each other except for a joint committee to study tactics. (48, 49) One of King's associates once said: "Snick is like a younger brother; you love 'em and you work with 'em but they sure can be a pain in the neck." (50) (U)

King has said he is in favor of "Black Power" only in the sense of encompassing improvement in the economic, social, and political position of Negroes. However, he has declared he could not countenance the violent approach favored by SNCC and Carmichael. (51)

On January 14, 1966, SNCC and the SCLC jointly sponsored a march of 500 to the Georgia State Capitol, as a demonstrative measure, seeking recognition by the Georgia House of Representatives of the election to that body of Julian Bond, a

SNCC official.[52]

King's aloofness toward SNCC diminished when he began to denounce the Vietnam war, which he regards as a barrier to civil rights progress. King's stand automatically aligned the SCLC with the "Black Power" advocates, SNCC and CORE,[53] on the Vietnam issue.

4. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

SNCC and CORE cosponsored a picket demonstration at the site of the Democratic Party's National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on August 24, 1964, to win support for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the political party formed by Mississippi civil rights groups on the ground that Negroes had been denied participation in the election process in that State. The Mississippi SNCC staff members at that time were MFDP members.[54]

CORE, like SNCC, is emphasizing black political control in Negro areas. At the CORE convention in Baltimore, Maryland, in the Summer of 1966, Carmichael and CORE's national director, Floyd B. McKissick, declared that the time had come for Negroes in ghettos to organize themselves into local political blocs that could determine elections outside the Democratic and Republican Parties.[55]

In March, 1967, Carmichael and McKissick joined Adam Clayton Powell on Bimini Island to support him in his plan to regain his seat in the United States Congress. (55A) CORE and SNCC's emphasis on black consciousness has caused black as well as white integrationists to break away and leave these groups to the militants.

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, has denounced "Black Power" as "black racism" and has deplored SNCC and CORE's modification of the doctrine of nonviolence. SNCC and the NAACP were "partners" in the Council of Federated Organizations and engaged in the "Mississippi Project," but Wilkins has commented that other groups, SNCC included, "furnish the noise" while the NAACP "pays the bills." (56)

Speaking at the opening of the 58th Annual National Convention of the NAACP in Boston in July, 1967, Wilkins paid a grudging tribute to the "militants" of the civil rights movement. He stated that "the real service of militants should not be underestimated...in spite of their raucous activity, their shock techniques and their oversimplification of complex issues, they have shaken up Negroes and whites, both of whom badly needed the treatment." (56A)

III. MEMBERSHIP

A. Work Force

SNCC claims it has no members but rather is composed of a "work force." It states it is not a membership organization but an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. In other words, if one is interested in participating in one or more of SNCC's activities (in the North or in the South), he is welcome. When he is working, he is a SNCC worker; when he is not, he is an individual. For this reason, SNCC has no membership, only workers.

SNCC says, "We have no qualifications for workers. We welcome people of all walks of life, of all religions, beliefs, and all political persuasions to work with us in the movement." (57)

B. Appeal

SNCC appeals to the young, more militant Negroes who want social changes now and are prepared to go to any lengths to get them. When they began their activities in the organization, they were

probably college students. Now, most of the leaders are out of school and have changed their mood and manner, so that they compose what has been jocularly called the "Nonstudent Violent Coordinating Committee."

When H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC, was asked recently whether SNCC could still accurately be called nonviolent, Brown replied, "Put that nonviolent in quotes." (57A)

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IV. ORGANIZATION

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A. Headquarters

SNCC is a complex, unincorporated association with national headquarters at 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. This property is owned by a cover company called the Southern Education and Research Institute, Incorporated. SNCC had been occupying the property at this address for some time on a rent-option-to-buy basis. On February 1, 1966, the corporation purchased the property for $65,000.(58)

The Southern Education and Research Institute was chartered on September 7, 1965, and was composed of a group of six, with James Forman, the executive secretary of SNCC, as president. The stated purpose of the corporation was to be a nonprofit organization exclusively for charitable and educational purposes.(59)

B. National Officers

It is SNCC's practice to elect new leading officers every one or two years. Marion Barry, Jr., the first national chairman, is still with the organization. Recently, he resigned as staff organizer of SNCC in Washington, D.C., to devote full time to the problems of the District's Negroes.(60) SNCC's second

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national chairman was Charles McDew, who at the end of his term departed to live among a colony of leftists in Mexico.(61) The third national chairman was the mild-mannered John Lewis, who left the organization about a month after Carmichael had been voted to replace him in May, 1966. Although Lewis was retained as a member of the Central Committee and appointed to head the International Affairs Committee, he resigned to continue his college course, because he objected to the "black consciousness" view adopted by SNCC.(62)

Carmichael, the fourth of SNCC's national chairmen, allegedly expressed a desire to return to field organizing and was reportedly directed by the Central Committee to work in Washington, D. C., as a "target city" for a civil rights campaign directed toward home rule.(63,64) By the end of July, 1967, however, there was no evidence of his engaging in this project.

The present national chairman, elected in May, 1967, is H. Rap Brown. SNCC's three top leaders--"the triumverate," sometimes referred to by the membership as "the troika"--are the national chairman, the national executive secretary, and the national program director.(65,66)

C. Central Committee

The Central Committee is SNCC's policy-making body. At a staff conference held in May, 1966, the Central Committee was reduced from 21 to 10. (67, 68, 69) Another change in the make-up occurred in line with decisions made at the Catskill conference in early December, 1966, to the effect that the Central Committee would be composed exclusively of Negroes.

D. Catskill Conference

About a hundred or so staff members met for ten days in a resort in the Catskill Mountains of New York to make plans for programing "Black Power". The "separatists" advocated complete withdrawal from white America. The Carmichael faction--called "the Washington clique"--believed that whites could help in several ways. When the "white question" was put to a vote, it lost by one vote. As a compromise, whites would be allowed to remain in fund-raising and administrative work but would be excluded from any organizing and policy roles.

The other major decision that came out of the Catskill meeting was to expand SNCC's small foothold in the Negro ghettos by setting up a national network of "freedom organizations" to push for "Black Power"--economic and political. (70)

E. Staff

A person can "join" SNCC only by becoming a full-time staff worker, which just about means taking an oath of poverty. The present staff numbers less than 100.[71] About mid-1965, SNCC was reported to have a full-time staff of 230, but thereafter it dwindled.[72] Some one third serve in office and clerical jobs in cities, the rest engage in field work and other tasks--traveling and speaking.[73] The average SNCC staff member is in his mid 20's, but is a veteran of many civil rights actions.[74]

F. Field Secretaries

That portion of the staff that is out doing the actual organizing and the voter-registration work, for about $10 a week, is referred to as the field organizers or field secretaries. In 1965, SNCC claimed 150 field secretaries, but in 1966, only half that number.[75]

A field secretary spurns all comforts and luxuries. Straw hat, blue jeans, denim jumper, and sandals became the SNCC uniform in the Mississippi countryside and the Southern ghetto. Now, the outfit is worn chiefly for effect, as it was by Carmichael during his January, 1967, trip to Puerto Rico.[76, 77]

G. Friends of SNCC

1. Campus Groups

To support SNCC's programs, individuals who may be members of other left and protest groups but sympathize with the aims of SNCC have gathered on certain campuses across the country, chiefly in the North, organized loosely, and called themselves Friends of SNCC. In mid-1965, there were 150 chapters, two thirds of them outside the South.(78)

By 1967, Friends of SNCC chapters numbered only about a dozen.(79) Since SNCC made it clear that white students are not wanted to work in black communities, white students are unable to see what role they can play in the South and in civil rights. In many cases, the student groups affiliated with SNCC either have disappeared or have become almost dormant. Active workers have dropped out of most of the remaining groups.(80) The "Black Power" slogan has alienated others. For example, the head of the SNCC unit in Arkansas said he would not go along with the national organization's policy of seeking political power outside the white power structure.(81) Efforts were made in the Spring of 1967 to recruit additional students and gain wider

recognition for SNCC on the college campus. (82)

2. International Groups

Just prior to his resignation from SNCC, John Lewis, in his capacity as head of the International Affairs Committee, went to Europe. There he reportedly established Friends of SNCC groups in London, Paris, Norway, and Sweden, and spoke to student groups in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Italy. Lewis claimed that African students from Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa had been recruited to take part in SNCC projects. (83)

3. Purpose

SNCC national leaders exercise little control over local SNCC groups, but the national organization does benefit from them. A Friends of SNCC group makes no binding agreement with SNCC but is expected to adhere to certain basic philosophy and to participate locally in activities such as sit-ins and demonstrations, not on its own but through other organizations, e. g., CORE and the NAACP. Local direct action cannot be initiated without authorization by the national office. Friends of SNCC are expected to lay the groundwork for the recruitment of field workers and to report

any progress and activity to the Atlanta staff. (84) International Friends of SNCC, as well as the domestic Friends of SNCC, serve as fund raisers and demonstrators for SNCC. (85)

Originally, Friends of SNCC were organized on the basis of student excitement and compassion over obtaining civil rights for Negroes in the South. White students took time to go down South and work on voter registration, set up freedom schools, and the like. If they did not go south, they spent time outside the South demonstrating, recruiting, fund raising, and gathering clothing and books to send down to support SNCC activities. (86) Friends of SNCC still sponsor speakers and are furnished from Atlanta films, tapes, and literature to publicize locally the plans and programs of the national office.

Since the emphasis on "Black Power," however, Friends of SNCC have had to suffer the shock of the relegation of white supporters to a position of less regard. Friends of SNCC, forced to drop their work in the integration movement, now engage

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mainly in fund raising. They will be further affected by the decision of the SNCC staff to move into the North, form a coalition of civil rights organizations in the big cities, and organize neighborhood residents into effective political units.(87)

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V. LEADERS

A. Stokely Carmichael

The dominant figure in SNCC for more than a year has been Stokely Carmichael. In May, 1967, he was not reelected national chairman of SNCC, the position he had held for a year. It was reported that he would serve in Washington, D. C. as a field secretary in an effort to build opposition to the drafting of Negroes for the war in Vietnam and to promote home rule for the District of Columbia. (88,89) By late July, however, Carmichael had not appeared in Washington for any extended period. (90)

Carmichael was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies, on June 29, 1941. In 1952, he joined his parents, who had been residing in New York City since the mid-1940's. On April 27, 1953, he attained United States citizenship through his father's naturalization.

In high school, Carmichael associated with a "left-wing" group which included Eugene Dennis, Jr., who is a son of a former general secretary of the CPUSA and was a founder of the Party's youth group, the DCA. While in high school, Carmichael read Karl Marx and pondered radical ideas. (91,91A)

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After graduating from high school, Carmichael matriculated at the predominantly Negro Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy in 1964. (92) In June, 1961, Carmichael experienced his first of many arrests for his civil rights activity. (93,94)

Carmichael has been inspired and influenced by a book entitled "The Wretched of the Earth" written by the late Frantz Fanon, a West Indian psychiatrist. This book, said to be Carmichael's "bible," has been called a handbook of revolution for underdeveloped countries, for it emphasizes the necessity for violence in ending colonialism and achieving independence. (95,96)

Carmichael's adoption of the "Black Power" concept, his glib speech, and his "firebrand" personality won the admiration of the SNCC staff. Consequently, SNCC chairmanship was taken from John Lewis and given to Carmichael at the May, 1966, conference. Under Carmichael's leadership, SNCC became a vastly different organization. He turned SNCC from an interracial organization promoting civil rights by integration and "educating" Negroes to vote into a "Black Power" organization. (97,98,99,100)

Carmichael's advocacy of "Black Power" has encouraged the Negro to flout law, order, and established authority. Carmichael has also caused SNCC to lose financial support from white sympathizers and to arouse the distrust of less militant Negroes. (101,102)

In his public appearances, Carmichael has bitterly denounced the war in Vietnam and the draft. It is his contention that the Vietnam war is inseparably linked with the civil rights movement. He has repeatedly stated he would not fight in Vietnam if drafted, and he also has urged other Negroes to refuse to serve in that war. (103,104,105) Sixteen SNCC staff members have refused to be inducted when called by their Selective Service Boards. Carmichael vows that none of them will serve. Carmichael himself has been classified IV-F and has been rejected for military service. Psychiatric tests have disclosed Carmichael to be "schizophrenic with psychopathic, pseudoneurotic and paranoid trends." (106,107)

On July 25, 1967, Carmichael arrived in Havana, Cuba, to attend a conference of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, a group that advocates revolution. It was reported that in Santiago de Cuba, Premier Fidel

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Castro introduced Carmichael at "26th of July" ceremonies as "one of the most distinguished civil rights leaders in the United States." Carmichael shared a place of honor with communists from Latin America and Vietnam, according to reports. (107A)

Carmichael was quoted as saying: "In Newark, we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death." (108)

B. H. Rap Brown

Prior to replacing Stokely Carmichael as national chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, H. Rap Brown worked as SNCC project director for the state of Alabama in which capacity he engaged in voter-registration drives and other civil rights programs. He has been a SNCC worker for about four years. (109,110)

Brown, whose true name is Hubert Geroid Brown, was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on October 4, 1943. He attended the Southern University and

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Agricultural and Mechanical College in Baton Rouge for three years as a sociology major.(111)

Since becoming national chairman, Brown has been travelling around the country making speeches and holding press conferences in a blatantly inflammatory style similar to that of Carmichael. He usually appears at rallies in the traditional garb of the Southern Negro sharecropper--a blue denim jacket and tight blue jeans.(112)

Brown was arrested by the FBI in Alexandria, Virginia, on July 26, 1967, on a Federal fugitive warrant. He was wanted by Maryland authorities on charges of inciting a crowd and unlawfully, willfully, and maliciously burning a school in Cambridge, Maryland, on July 24, 1967.(113) During the rally which preceded the fire and rioting, Brown told a crowd of 400 Negroes, "It's time for Cambridge to explode, baby. Black folks built America and if America don't come around, we're going to burn America down."(114)

In a statement issued by Brown following his arrest, he said:

> "I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws made by a body in which I have no representation.

"We stand on the eve of the black revolution. Masses of our people are on the move, fighting the enemy tit for tat, responding to counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life.

"These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for the real revolution." (115)

Brown was released under bond. At a rally in a Washington, D. C., church on July 27, he stated that "there should be more shooting and looting." He said, "If Washington, D. C., don't come around, Washington, D. C., should be burned to the ground." Brown predicted that "The rebellions will continue and escalate. I say violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie." (115A)

C. James Rufus Forman

In May, 1966, James Forman gave up his office as national executive secretary to Ruby Robinson. He was then made manager of SNCC's national office in Atlanta, but he resigned that position after about two months and is now international director of SNCC. (116,117)

Forman was born in Chicago, Illinois, on November 4, 1928. (118) He was honorably discharged from the United States Air Force on September 23, 1951.

He attended the University of Southern California in 1952, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in public administration from Roosevelt University in Chicago in January, 1957. (119)

While in California, Forman suffered a nervous breakdown in 1952 and was hospitalized for nine months. (120) His condition was diagnosed as "dementia praecox of catatonic type." (121)

Forman has been active throughout the South in demonstrations, "freedom rides," and voter registration. He has spoken in favor of abolishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has been friendly with communists. He has been arrested a number of times for disorderly conduct and breach of the peace. (122,123)

D. Stanley Leroy Wise

Stanley Wise was born on June 12, 1942. (124) He is a native of Charlotte, North Carolina. (125) At the SNCC staff conference in May, 1967, he was elected to the second highest position in SNCC--national executive secretary. In April, 1966, Wise accompanied John Lewis to Europe, ostensibly on a fund-raising mission. (125A)

E. Ralph Edward Featherstone

The new national program director, Ralph Featherstone, chosen in May, 1967, to replace Cleveland Sellers, was born on May 26, 1937, at Washington, D. C. Featherstone's interest lies in economic projects and he is expected to guide SNCC's program in this field.

Featherstone is a graduate of the District of Columbia Teachers College and taught speech correction in 1963 and 1964 at elementary schools in Southeast Washington. He began as a field secretary from the Washington, D. C., office of SNCC and saw action in setting up "freedom schools" in Mississippi in 1964.(125B) In May, 1966, Featherstone was placed on SNCC's Central Committee.(125C)

F. Cleveland L. Sellers, Jr.

Cleveland Sellers, Jr., was born November 8, 1944, in Denmark, South Carolina.(125D,125E) During the year ending in May, 1967, Sellers, as national program director, held the third highest office in SNCC. With the election of new officers, he was replaced by Ralph Featherstone.(126)

At Howard University in Washington, D. C.,

Sellers studied mechanical engineering. In the Summer of 1964, following his junior year, he went to Mississippi as a SNCC field worker with the Council of Federated Organizations soliciting Negro voter registration.(127)

In early 1967, Sellers, part of the time in the company of Carmichael, was crisscrossing the country by plane, making stops at Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, New York City, Detroit, San Francisco, and Washington, D. C.(128)

In May, 1967, Sellers became the 16th member of SNCC to reject military service when called for induction.(129,130)

G. Courtland Vernon Cox

Courtland Cox was born on January 27, 1941, in New York City.(131) Both his parents were born in the British West Indies.(132) Cox attended Howard University with Stokely Carmichael.

Cox invented the "Black Panther" label for SNCC's independent political party in Lowndes County, Alabama, and was placed on SNCC's Central Committee.(133)

Substituting for Stokely Carmichael, Cox sat on the panel of the so-called "International War Crimes Tribunal" which convened in Stockholm, Sweden, in May,

1967, under the auspices of Bertrand Russell. The "tribunal" was held for the purpose of "indicting" President Johnson and "other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Vietnam." (134,135)

H. Ivanhoe Gaylord Donaldson

Ivanhoe Donaldson was placed on SNCC's Central Committee in May, 1966. The following September, he was designated New York field secretary. (136)

Donaldson was born on October 17, 1941, in New York City and attended Michigan State University. (137) In 1962, Donaldson was active in trucking food, clothes, and medicine to destitute Negro families in Mississippi. In 1963, he submitted articles to the staff of "Freedomways," which is a quarterly Marxist Negro review. (138)

A psychiatrist whom Donaldson consulted in February, 1964, described him as "neurologic psychiatric." (139)

I. Bill Mahoney

Bill Mahoney has been acting as SNCC's national press relations officer. Mahoney is one of Carmichael's Howard University friends who were active in the Committee for Nonviolent Action, a SNCC affiliate at Howard. (140)

VI. ACTIVITIES

A. General

During its initial organizational period in 1960, SNCC served as a clearinghouse for information emanating from the protest groups making up the committee and promoted their joint activities. From that time, the activities of SNCC may be separated into two periods: the voter-registration and direct-action civil rights campaigns in the South from 1961 to 1964, and the shift from the South to the North and into the foreign policy field beginning in 1965.

B. Civil Rights Activity, 1961-1964

In August, 1961, SNCC decided to set up voter-registration and direct-action projects with offices and permanently placed staffs in various areas of the Black Belt of the South. Robert Moses,* a Negro SNCC field organizer who had quit his teaching job at a private school in New York, moved into Pike County, Mississippi, and opened the first voter-registration school for Negroes in the South. The school was supplemented with direct-action movements including sit-ins, sing-ins, marches, et cetera. In

*Moses resigned from SNCC in 1965 partly because he was said to be afraid that a cult was developing around him. He even changed his name from Moses to Parris to put an end to the adulation.

McComb, Mississippi, over a hundred high school students, in response to their principal's demand that they pledge not to participate in demonstrations, stayed out of school and were expelled. SNCC then opened "nonviolent high" to take care of their education, offering courses in algebra, physics, chemistry, and history until a local junior college agreed to accept the students.

In 1962, SNCC moved deeper into Mississippi and set up voter-registration projects in "crash programs" during the summer months. SNCC workers conducted sessions in the techniques of nonviolent direct action and ran into not only physical but economic opposition. They solicited and received for distribution to the needy, food, clothing, and other supplies from Northern college students. SNCC also began organizing campaigns in other Southern States, notably Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Maryland.

During 1963, SNCC joined CORE, the SCLC, and the NAACP in setting up the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to carry on a unified, expanded voter-registration drive. SNCC dominated COFO. By the Fall of 1963, SNCC had initiated or participated in 54 local projects in 13 states. (141, 141A)

The main single activity of SNCC during 1963 was the organization of Selma, Alabama, for voter registration. Selma is the seat of Dallas County, a town of about 28,000. Between September 15 and October 2, over 300 people were arrested in Selma in connection with voter-registration activities. SNCC decided to designate October 7 as "Freedom Day"--the day to bring hundreds of Negroes to the county courthouse to register. As "Freedom Day" approached, mass meetings were held every night and the churches were packed. National civil rights figures came to address the gatherings. Over 300 Negroes assembled to register to vote. (142)

On a national level, John Lewis, then national chairman of SNCC, delivered an aggressive speech at the massive civil rights march on Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963, in which he denounced President Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation as inadequate. The original version of his speech was considered so violent as to be a possible incitement to riot. At the request of other civil rights leaders, he toned it down slightly, saying Kennedy's bill could be supported, but only with "great reservations." He promised to "splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them back together again in the image of democracy." (143)

In 1964, SNCC played the primary role in the Mississippi Summer Project--a statewide voter-registration campaign among Negroes also aimed at education and job-training. Workers had been given intensive orientation for their tasks in Mississippi during a week-long seminar at the Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. An estimated 900 volunteers, mostly Northern college students, assisted in this project. SNCC and its supporters endured at least 1,000 arrests, 35 shooting incidents, eight beatings, and six murders--including the murders of three volunteer helpers, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner near Philadelphia, Mississippi.

It was during this project that the figure of Stokely Carmichael emerged on the scene. He was made SNCC field director of the Second Congressional District in the Mississippi Delta. At the end of the summer, 200 volunteers remained in Mississippi, and the Mississippi Freedom Project began. (144, 145, 146)

In August, 1964, members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was born with SNCC's help, went to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, where they attempted unsuccessfully to have an integrated delegation seated in place of the regularly selected white delegation from Mississippi. (147)

In September, 1964, SNCC's young "activist" leaders began identifying themselves with the leadership of the emerging new nations of Africa and other underdeveloped parts of the world. John Lewis, James Forman, Robert Moses, and a few others went to Guinea on a three weeks' trip as guests of President Sekou Toure and held two long sessions with him. (148)

C. Political Organizing, 1965

In 1965, SNCC, while concentrating its activities in the rural South--chiefly in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia--also moved into Northern cities. By this time, SNCC had concluded that the more effective way to deal with the problems of racial discrimination was through political organizing so that local leadership could emerge. Organizing included helping the disfranchised Negro in the South gain the political power that he was denied by (1) being unable to register to vote, (2) not being offered a proper candidate, and (3) being intimidated through violence and economic pressures.

In June, 1965, approximately 100 college students recruited throughout the United States by SNCC went to Washington, D. C., to participate in lobbying activities on behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was hoping still to unseat the Mississippi Congressmen. SNCC also planned lobbying

activity to force national recognition of the need for new and free elections in the South. (149, 150)

On June 20, 1965, some 60 students collected at the entrance to the Department of Justice Building in Washington, D. C., and sang civil rights songs. A SNCC representative said that these young people, sponsored by SNCC and CORE, would go on to Mississippi. Some had blankets and bedrolls and held an all-night sit-in. The group had cardboard signs expressing the need for Federal protection of "freedom workers." They passed out leaflets headed by SNCC's local address and titled "Why Are We Here?" (151)

SNCC with other youth groups, including the DCA and the SDS, sponsored a demonstration in Washington, D. C., from August 6 through August 9, 1965, known as the Washington Summer Action Project. This demonstration included picketing the White House, a sit-in at the White House gate, as well as workshops on Vietnam, the draft, Puerto Rico, and South Africa. On August 9, the demonstrators marched to the Capitol Grounds for the purpose of staging a "Congress of Unrepresented People" to declare peace in Vietnam. Numerous demonstrators were arrested when they attempted to enter the grounds. (152, 153) This activity on the part of SNCC marked one of the first steps in its shift from the field of civil rights to that of foreign policy. (154)

In the Summer of 1965, SNCC, under the guidance of Stokely Carmichael, helped organize the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the Black Belt voting district in Alabama. With the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the Department of Justice appointed a Federal registrar for the county. Although not one Negro was on the voting roll in January, 1965, by November, Negro registration had passed the 2,000 mark. In November, SNCC organizers decided to form a separate political party in Lowndes County and in six nearby counties and run their own candidates. The Party adopted as a symbol a charging black panther and became known as the Black Panther Party. (155, 156)

In September, 1965, SNCC issued a 50-page report which was sharply critical of the United States Office of Education's program for desegregating Southern schools. According to the report, the number of Negro children in previously white Southern schools remained "pitifully low." It particularly criticized the approval of "freedom of choice" plans which, SNCC charged, encouraged tokenism, placed a burden on Negro parents in hostile situations, and led to intimidation of Negroes to stay out of white schools. (157)

D. Protest Activity, 1966

1. Vietnam Protests

a. Julian Bond Refused Seat in Georgia Legislature

In January, 1966, John Lewis, then national chairman of SNCC, issued a fiery statement condemning United States policy in Vietnam and urging all Americans to use any method they saw fit to avoid being drafted. The statement asserted in part: "Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law," and "we are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

When Julian Bond, public relations director of SNCC and Fulton County representative-elect to the Georgia House of Representatives, publicly agreed with this statement, he was denied his seat in the legislature on the grounds that he had advocated violation of the draft law and had given aid and comfort to the enemy. In his endorsement, Bond said that he would "admire the courage of anyone who burns his draft card,"

but would not burn his own. This action precipitated considerable controversial comment in the press throughout the Nation and led to rallies and demonstrations in support of Bond, including a march in Atlanta, Georgia, led by Martin Luther King, who said that he did not endorse the nature of Bond's stand but defended his right to disagree with the Administration. (158, 159, 160, 161)

b. Demonstrations and Speeches

Throughout 1966, SNCC took part in numerous demonstrations against United States action in Vietnam and SNCC representatives, in speeches at conferences and before college groups across the country, denounced United States participation in the war. In March, SNCC workers in various cities took part in the so-called International Days of Protest observed by various communist, subversive, and pacifist groups to condemn United States action in Vietnam. They distributed leaflets designed to plant doubts as to the legality of United States foreign policy.

In May, 1966, a group representing SNCC picketed Independence Hall in Philadelphia and protested United States "intervention" in Vietnam. (162, 163) Later, in front of the same national shrine, a dozen members of SNCC, protesting American policy in Vietnam, ended a 55-hour fast at midnight on August 8, 1966. (164)

One demonstration involving violence took place on August 17 and 18, 1966, in Atlanta, Georgia, when groups of Negro SNCC workers shouting "Black Power" picketed the 12th Army Corps Headquarters and fought a brief battle with police. They carried signs with slogans such as "The Viet Cong Never Called You Nigger," "Black Man Stay Home," "Fight for Black Power," and "The White Man Kills Black Kids, I Won't Kill Vietnamese Kids." A leaflet distributed by the pickets urged Negroes "to stay at home and fight for your black self, your family, your community and your black nation. Why must we go abroad to kill yellow-skinned men for white-skinned men who force us to live in rat-infested slums?"

Twelve demonstrators, including Larry Fox, a SNCC field secretary, were arrested. Fox was charged with creating a disturbance, failing to obey an officer's command, resisting arrest, and assault and battery. (165, 166)

In September, 1966, William Higgs, a SNCC representative, was one of the speakers at a conference held at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, to set a date for nationwide demonstrations to promote civil rights and to protest against United States participation in Vietnam.

Among other things, Higgs stated that the United States suppressed revolution in Vietnam with napalm and then cast the blame for the resulting devastation on those who were attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government.

In October, 1966, James Forman, manager of SNCC's national office, addressed several colleges in Texas where he called for "Black Power" and denounced the war in Vietnam. Speaking before the University of Houston, he said, "All that democracy abroad--and not enough at home." (167, 168)

2. President's Conference on Civil Rights

After Stokely Carmichael was elected national chairman of SNCC in May, 1966, one of his first acts was to release a statement rejecting the invitation to the White House Conference on Civil Rights. In this statement, SNCC claimed that the conference was absolutely unnecessary, hypocritical, and propagandistic. The SNCC statement placed the problems of the Negro in the United States strictly on the shoulders of white Americans and said the executive department and the President were not serious about insuring constitutional rights for "black Americans." It said that the President had called the conference at that time to recoup

national prestige abroad lost due to United States intervention in Vietnam. SNCC concluded with a call to "all black Americans to begin building independent political, economic, and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country." (169, 170)

SNCC followed this statement early in July by denouncing the 1966 civil rights bill as a "sham" and began a campaign of active lobbying against it. A two-page summary of objections to the bill, written by Carmichael, was circulated to more than 300 House and Senate offices. It declared that "any civil rights organization or congressman who works for the passage of this bill, and any legislator who votes for it, is sharing in the hypocrisy of President Johnson and his Administration." (171, 172)

3. Mississippi March

On June 6, 1966, James Meredith was wounded on the second day of a scheduled walk from the Tennessee line to Jackson, Mississippi, to dramatize his appeal for increased voter registration among Negroes. Meredith was the Negro who desegregated the University of Mississippi in 1962.

Following the shooting, civil rights leaders--including representatives of the SCLC, CORE, and SNCC--banded together to resume the march. They issued a

manifesto demanding that President Johnson undertake sweeping new civil rights action, including sending "mobile" Federal voting registrars into 600 Southern counties, and working for a "freedom budget" involving "billions" in aid for low-income Negroes. The manifesto asked Congress to pass the President's civil rights bill but with amendments that would require states and counties to hire Negro law enforcement officers and put Negroes on jury lists in direct proportion to the population ratio. (173)

Carmichael was one of those signing the manifesto and was on the policy-making committee for the march. He and two others were arrested during the march on charges of trespassing. (174) It was during this march that Carmichael popularized the slogan of "Black Power" which was to be the rallying call for SNCC in the future. (175)

4. Chicago Summer Project

Chicago was selected by SNCC as the location for a pilot project for the implementation of "Black Power" during the Summer of 1966. The plan was to withdraw the black ghettos from the city's control and allow those areas to control their own political, economic,

and industrial affairs. Also planned was a central intelligence agency for so-called "instant agitation." Accumulated information concerning alleged indignities committed against Negroes would be furnished immediately to ghetto residents. Violence was recommended if redress could not be attained peacefully. In conjunction with this project, SNCC published a hand-out reading "...improve our community...use black power." (176)

5. Chicago Coordinating Committee for Black Power.

In the latter part of September, 1966, representatives of local Negro nationalist groups oriented toward the concept of "Black Power" met in Chicago to form a loose amalgamation generally known as the Coordinating Committee for Black Power (CCBP). This is not a formal organization as such, but is basically composed of individuals of like thinking in regard to the "Black Power" movement and includes such groups as SNCC, CORE, Deacons for Defense and Justice (DDJ), and Associated Community Teams (ACT). The DDJ advocates arms for the defense of Negroes, and ACT too is a militant civil rights group.

Most prominent among the leadership of the CCBP are Lawrence Landry, chairman of ACT; Frederick Douglas Andrews, chairman of the West Side Branch of

ACT; Monroe Sharp, chairman of Chicago SNCC; and Eugene "Fats" Crawford, self-proclaimed leader of the Chicago DDJ.

The CCBP was to be in the nature of an "action group" which would generally serve to promote the SNCC view of "Black Power" and was to be referred to as the "Black Truth Squad." This so-called "truth squad" represented an effort to publicize the facts to Negro people about happenings in the civil rights field and in connection with general racial matters. It also planned to obtain funds for legal aid and assistance of militant civil rights workers who might be arrested or involved in court actions.

The organizations involved have not delegated any of their individual authority or funds to the CCBP. Meetings in the latter part of 1966 were largely devoted to the November, 1966, elections, and demonstrations were conducted protesting the lack of suitable candidates.

On November 18, 1966, the CCBP, under the name of Lawndale Youth Alliance, circulated leaflets and conducted an orderly picket demonstration before the Clark Super Food Mart in Chicago calling for a Negro boycott of this store. When the manager of the store readily agreed to their demands--a minimum wage

for employees and the utilization of Negro produce suppliers--the demonstrators were completely taken aback, unable to supply names of any Negro business firms with whom he should deal. (177)

6. General Election in Alabama

SNCC activity in Alabama in 1966 was largely confined to the November general election in which SNCC attempted to influence Negroes to vote for Negroes only and preferably Negroes of SNCC's choice. However, in Lowndes County, seven Negro candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization--the Black Panther Party organized by Carmichael in 1965--running as independents were defeated in the November election by white candidates. At the same time, a group of all-Negro candidates of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization was also defeated. Both slates of candidates were vigorously supported by SNCC, which viewed the elections as a test run of "Black Power" politics. (178, 179, 180)

7. Miscellaneous Activities

SNCC has also engaged in demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and other activities throughout the country. In Washington, D. C., in January, 1966, Marion Barry, then chairman of the

local SNCC, sponsored a one-day bus boycott of the D. C. Transit System to protest a rise in fares. During the Spring of 1966, representatives of SNCC conducted sit-ins at the South African Embassy in Washington, D. C., and the South African Consulate in New York City to protest the practice of apartheid in South Africa. A number of the demonstrators were charged with disorderly conduct and unlawful intrusion. Among the five arrested in New York City were James Forman, Cleveland Sellers, and John Lewis. Bail was posted for them by singer Harry Belafonte and actor Sidney Poitier. (181, 182, 183, 184)

In September, 1966, about 300 people, mostly of the "beatnik" variety, held a two-hour demonstration and rally at Washington Square in New York City to protest actions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. SNCC was one of the sponsors of the rally. One of the speakers characterized the committee's activity as a "witch hunt to silence protest voices against the United States." (185)

On December 29, 1966, Joseph Waller, accompanied by about ten members of his local branch of SNCC in St. Petersburg, Florida, appeared at City Hall, entered the building, ripped down a mural depicting different forms of musical entertainment by Negroes,

and proceeded through the streets with it. They displayed antiwhite placards and shouted, "We gonna take this picture down where all the black folks can see it." The mural was badly damaged in the process. A physical altercation occurred between the demonstrators and police officers. Six were arrested and charged with grand larceny and other offenses. (186)

Representatives of SNCC attended the National Youth Seminar on Racialism held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, April 27-30, 1966. William Hall, one of the representatives, made a special plea regarding the plight of the American Negro and was critical of the United States policy in South Vietnam. On June 20, 1966, Hall was interviewed in Sofia, Bulgaria, and stated that he, as a representative of SNCC, was there attending the Seventh Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The WFDY is an international communist front organization. (187, 188)

E. Steps toward "Black Power," 1967

1. General Perspectives

At a national meeting in December, 1966, SNCC, in "common struggle with peoples of the Third World (Black World)," decided to promote a national antidraft program and to call regional and national

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antidraft conferences. SNCC leaders agreed that their main objective for 1967 would be to develop "freedom organizations" which would expand from the concept that built the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. SNCC claimed that the latter organization was the first major contemporary challenge to white political power in the Deep South.

Its "freedom organizations" would not be solely electoral parties, SNCC decided, but would be designed to serve all the day-to-day needs of a community. A model group would have subdivisions dealing with politics, economics, education, welfare, culture, and housing, and would sponsor a separate youth division. A special task-force committee was set up to determine in which communities, North and South, SNCC could most effectively organize. SNCC planned to expand its organizing activities in several Northern cities and simultaneously concentrate on local elections in Mississippi and Alabama during the year. SNCC organized an intensive program of internal and external education and stated that some of its staffers were going abroad, particularly to Africa, to internationalize Black America's struggle for human rights. (189)

Carmichael has indicated that SNCC is looking even more hopefully to forming a working alliance with Latin America, for he believes Latin Americans in the next ten years will be throwing off American domination. He urges Black America to form a coalition with anyone who can help get the "hooks and claws of the eagle out of my throat." (190)

2. Puerto Rican Agreement

A joint communique pledging united struggle against the draft, for improved housing conditions, and for Puerto Rican independence was issued in January, 1967, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, by SNCC, the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI), and the Federacion de Universitaries Pro Independencia (FUPI). These three organizations affirmed the need for a joint struggle against the political, economic, social, and cultural "oppression" inflicted upon the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They agreed to act jointly (1) against the draft and the war in Vietnam; (2) for better living conditions and against "police brutality" in the urban ghettos; and (3) for bringing international attention, through the United Nations, to their "struggle for independence." (191, 192)

Speaking in San Juan in January, 1967, Carmichael stressed SNCC's international approach.

He referred to the "oppression" of Asians and Latin-Americans by the United States, and he vowed that the American Negroes' fight should be in their own country for their own liberation. He asserted that the power of the oppressor is not to be compared with the force that could be wielded by the world's oppressed to destroy the oppressor. (193)

3. Adam Clayton Powell's Congressional Seat

In March, 1967, following the unseating of Adam Clayton Powell, Representative from New York's 18th Congressional District to the United States House of Representatives, for alleged misuse of Government funds, Carmichael announced that SNCC would campaign actively in Harlem for Powell's re-election. Carmichael intimated that white men were trying to play one black man against another in nominating James Meredith to run against Powell in the special election in New York scheduled for April 11. Carmichael charged that "the issue is bigger, much bigger than Adam Clayton Powell... It is a showdown between Whitey and the Man and the Man means us--black men. It is an international issue that will affect the whole world, especially the third world, the black world." (194, 195, 196)

4. National Conference of Students

In March, 1967, SNCC held a national conference in Nashville, Tennessee, which placed major emphasis on peace-related workshops. The meeting was attended by over 100 students from colleges in 30 states, including Harvard, Northwestern, Cornell, Boston University, Tougaloo in Mississippi, Tuskegeo in Alabama, the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State, and the University of Chicago. Workshops discussed the need for elimination of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, development of reading clubs and speakers' bureaus, elimination of compulsory class attendance and chapel, and control of campus communications. (197)

5. Spring Mobilization

Mass demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967, were expressions of a fusing of the civil rights and the antiwar movements. The war protest activity was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Participants in the activities of these committees were members of the CPUSA, DCA, PLP, SWP, YSA, CORE, and SNCC.

In New York City, SNCC members marched in the antiwar parade and rally, and civil rights leaders

Martin Luther King, Floyd McKissick, and Stokely Carmichael were among the principal speakers. The Reverend James Bevel, an official of SCLC, was the national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. (198,199)

6. National Conference on Black Power

An all-Negro National Conference on Black Power was held in Newark, New Jersey, July 20-23, 1967. This conference was an outgrowth of a suggestion made by Adam Clayton Powell in September, 1966. More than 800 delegates, representing a number of militant Negro organizations, attended the conference. H. Rap Brown and Ralph Featherstone, of SNCC, were prominent among the conferees. (199A)

A number of resolutions were adopted by the conference calling for an independent course for the Negro in America. One resolution urged the formation of a black militia to train black families in all aspects of self defense and racial survival. Another resolution denounced Selective Service and the Federal Government and supported a "Hell no, we won't go" attitude toward the draft. (199B)

VII. PUBLICATIONS

A. "Student Voice"

Student Voice, Incorporated, a SNCC subsidiary, was established after an Eastern widow left SNCC a $15,000 bequest.(200) The first issue of "Student Voice" appeared in June, 1960.(201) It has been SNCC's intermittent official publication; however, no issues have been published for almost a year.(202) It has been distributed on college campuses.(203)

A supplementary four-page issue prepared by a Northern student group at the time of the presidential election of 1960 was a joint effort of the SDS and SNCC. This "Student Voice" supplement listed and gave details regarding marches in "non-Southern areas" to foster solidarity between Northern and Southern students in the movement for racial equality.(204)

Student Voice, Incorporated, owns printing equipment, including a photo offset press. In 1965, SNCC presses rolled almost continually, turning out papers, Negro-history pamphlets, and "Black Power" bumper stickers embellished with a lunging black panther.(205) Since then, SNCC's presses have had to be used also for commercial printing to help defray SNCC's expenses.(206)

Funds were furnished in 1965 by Student Voice, Incorporated, for the initial 15,000 copies of a 50-page paperback history of American Negroes, written by SNCC staff members who had worked on the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. Charles E. Cobb, Jr., of SNCC, who developed the Freedom School idea, wrote the introduction. (207)

B. "The Movement"

"The Movement," a monthly newspaper, was published by SNCC of California in San Francisco until December, 1966. Then the publishers incorporated separately as The Movement Press so that national SNCC would not be sued "for anything we say." Nevertheless, The Movement Press wanted it understood that "We are still very much a part of SNCC...." and intend "to be publishing material for the national SNCC office..." (208) In its June, 1967, issue "The Movement" unequivocally stated that it fully supported the "Black Power philosophy of S.N.C.C." (209)

C. Publications by Friends of SNCC

Certain chapters of Friends of SNCC have published newsletters for local campus distribution. (210, 211) "The Drummer," for example, is a biweekly paper started by Cleveland Friends of SNCC. Its stated aim is to play up for ghetto residents of Cleveland the things that are not highlighted or reported in the general press. Other organizations, such as the SDS, assist with the circulation. (212)

Other SNCC affiliates have issued publications. "The Voice of Washington SNCC" has been published by SNCC of Washington, D. C., and "Tell It Like It Is" has been issued by Friends of SNCC at Texas Southern University in Houston.(213) Chicago SNCC published a pamphlet in August, 1966, entitled "Black Power," which featured a speech made by Stokely Carmichael in Chicago.(214) Opinions of residents in Negro neighborhoods were solicited for subsequent "Black Power" issues.(215, 216)

D. Posters, Fliers, and Circulars

SNCC pickets and demonstrators make use of posters, leaflets, and fliers to protest actions by the police and the war in Vietnam.(217, 218, 219) San Diego SNCC printed and sold posters at 25 cents apiece at a rally in 1965. "The Draft and You" is one of the Friends of SNCC circulars issued to undermine the loyalty of young Americans.(220)

VIII. FINANCES

A. Expenditures

1. Heavy Expenses

SNCC has operated on a scale requiring substantial funds. For instance, SNCC's telephone bill in Atlanta has run as high as $1,000 a month.(221) Several years ago, SNCC acquired some 70 automobiles and established a cover company called Sojourner Motor Fleet, Incorporated, to handle this pool of cars for field workers in the Southern States. SNCC at one time also possessed more than 50 short-wave radio units, about 20 walkie-talkies, and a number of long-distance radio units.(222) Furnishing bail for frequently arrested field workers has cost SNCC heavily since its inception.

SNCC's full-time staff at times has numbered as high as 230, 25 of whom worked in the Atlanta office, 20 in offices in the North, and the others in the South--in McComb, Mississippi; Selma, Alabama; et cetera. About 150 were paid a salary and the rest were volunteers.(223) The average staffer was paid between $20 and $25 a week, while others received $10. However, SNCC has often gone for long periods without being able to meet a full payroll.(224) (u)

Local SNCC offices also have had their own financial problems. In December, 1966, the Washington, D. C., office owed two months' rent, had forbidding telephone bills, and suffered the theft of $3,000 worth of its office equipment. In 1965, Philadelphia SNCC was $20,000 in debt. (225) (U)

2. Financial Crises

SNCC has experienced periodic financial crises. When, in December, 1965, SNCC announced the formation of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama to function as an all-Negro "third party," the SNCC treasury was virtually empty. Officials attributed this poverty to (1) "battle fatigue" on the part of the staff, (2) a belief among former Northern contributors that the civil rights struggle was over, and (3) an adverse reaction among contributors who objected to civil rights involvement in demonstrations protesting United States policy in Vietnam. This crisis was the worst that SNCC had faced-- $25,000 in debt and $100,000 in arrears in meeting its $800,000 annual budget. (226)

By not taking on large numbers of summer volunteers, who had once numbered more than 300, and by slashing the size of its full-time staff to about 135, SNCC found it could manage on as little as $150,000 or less a year. (227)

Some so-called SNCC "separatists," holding the view that blacks must separate themselves from whites, are quite willing to forego white financial support for the reason that such support entwines SNCC in "the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country."[228] Other SNCC officials have expressed concern about the reduced funds they have been able to raise, especially among white liberals, since SNCC began espousing the "Black Power" philosophy.[229]

B. Sources of Income

1. Dues

SNCC has no set dues, although some chapters of Friends of SNCC adhere to a dues schedule. The chapter at the University of Nebraska, for example, charged dues of one dollar each semester and accepted pledges to support the civil rights movement in the South.[230] (U)

2. Contributions

Contributions to SNCC have been dropping markedly since 1964, when, largely because of the dramatic impact of the Mississippi Summer Project, they totaled $700,000. Contributions reportedly began shrinking when SNCC attacked the Democratic Party for refusing to oust the all-white Mississippi delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention. A further decline occurred when

SNCC began to advocate "Black Power" and voiced its opposition to the war in Vietnam. (230A)

Dr. Percy L. Julian, a wealthy Negro chemist in Chicago, has given financial support to SNCC. His son helped organize SNCC. Dr. Julian, however, disapproves of SNCC's present orientation toward "Black Power." (231)

The CPUSA, the SWP, and the SDS have taken up collections and held functions such as fund-raising dinners on behalf of SNCC. (232)

3. Fund Raising

It is reported that SNCC's money problems during the past year were somewhat eased by Stokely Carmichael's college speeches and fund-raising projects. (233) Carmichael received fees ranging from $1,000 to $1,300 for each appearance, and he averaged three or four speeches a week. (234, 235) Since he was replaced as national chairman in May, 1967, it is not known whether he will continue his fund-raising activities.

SNCC has solicited contributions by mail and by personal contact. Fund raisers have approached the well-to-do for large sums. A Hollywood producer gave generously when asked for a donation. (236, 237) (U)

SNCC has raised money in a variety of ways. A fund-raising affair in a New York sculptor's home is said to have produced at least \$10,000. (238) One chapter of Friends of SNCC charged admission to a beer party; another held a Chinese auction; another sent out a chain letter to obtain trading stamps to be used for procuring a bus to take Southern voters to the polls. (239, 240, 241)

Friends of SNCC have sold recordings and freedom songbooks. SNCC has sent its own Freedom Singers on a national tour and sponsored benefit performances featuring such well-known entertainers as Pete Seeger; Dick Gregory; Harry Belafonte; and Peter, Paul, and Mary. (242, 243, 244, 245, 246)

4. Funds and Foundations

SNCC has been the recipient of money from several funds and foundations. (247) In addition, a civil rights research organization, the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council (SRC), contributed thousands of dollars to SNCC for its voter-education project. However, SNCC's "third party" activities in Alabama have jeopardized its chances of receiving additional grants from the SRC. (248, 249) X(U)

In 1961, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, granted SNCC \$5,000 for the salary and expenses of a field worker to publicize the civil rights movement in white colleges and universities X(U)

throughout the South. The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was cited as a communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (250) (u)

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149. 100-439190-370.

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151. 100-439190-Not Recorded Serial, 6/23/65, after Serial 414

152. "W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America" (monograph), p. 31.

153. 100-439190-Not Recorded Serial, 8/11/65 enclosure, after Serial 470.

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162. 100-439190 - Section 16.

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202. 100-439190-1059.

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208. "The Movement," 12/66, p. 2.

209. "The Movement," June, 1967, p. 1.

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213. "The Worker," 4/9/67, p. 9.

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217. 100-439190-617.

218. 100-439190-652.

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220. 100-439190-838, p. 18.

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222. 100-439190-A ("The New York Times," 3/15/65, p. 26).

223. 100-439190-427.

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227. Ibid. ("The New York Times," 9/25/66).

228. ~~Ibid. ("The New York Times," 8/5/66).~~

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230. 100-439190-289.

230A. "The New York Times," 9/25/66.

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233. "The Washington Post and Times Herald," 6/1/67, p. E-1.

234. CG LHM, 1/13/67, re SNCC.

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242. 100-439190-502.

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249. 100-439190-A ("Chicago Sunday Sun Times," 4/24/66, p. 44

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	12/18/67	11/17-12/8/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	lcc
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC	

-REFERENCES-

Atlanta report of SA [redacted] 7/21/67.
Chicago report of SA [redacted] 12/6/67.
Bureau letter to Atlanta, 10/20/67.

-P*-

-LEADS-

One copy of report is furnished each continental office in view of possible activity of this organization and participation in organizing protest demonstrations which are likely to develop into racial disorders or riots.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None

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	5/22/67	100-6488-3257
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	11/27/67	
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	8/3/67 8/9/67	100-6488-3563 100-6488-3654
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[illegible]	10/2[illegible]-2[illegible]/67	100-6[illegible]-3874
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[illegible]	10/2[illegible]/67	100-6[illegible]-387[illegible]
[illegible]	10/2[illegible]/67	100-6[illegible]-3[illegible]
[illegible]	10/31/67	100-6[illegible]-3[illegible]
[illegible]	11/[illegible]/67	100-6488-3[illegible]
[illegible]	10/3[illegible]/67	[illegible]
[illegible]	1[illegible]/[illegible]/67	[illegible]

-ADMINISTRATIVE-

Although the status of this case is Pending-Inactive, it receives constant investigative attention. The investigative period is being confined to that time when file reviews were conducted in the preparation of this report.

- M -
COVER PAGE

Activities of SNCC in Boston, Chicago, New York, Newark, Buffalo and San Francisco are not included in this report as the Bureau has instructed by separate communication that these offices to submit report on this organization.

Bureau letter dated October 10, 1967, instructed that administrative pages of this report include information concerning all programs and activities wherein its personnel is involved in the planning of or engaging in violence. It is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has made several speeches in the past which fall into this category. These speeches were the basis of a separate prosecutive summary report which has been submitted on CARMICHAEL. In view of the submission of that report, these statements and events attributed to CARMICHAEL that were included in that report are not being restated herein.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 111th M.I. Group, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1 - NIS, Charleston, S. C. (RM)
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Report of: [redacted]
Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: December 18, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

National Headquarters located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta. Identity of National Officers and members of Central Committee set forth. Character of organization described by STOKELY CARMICHAEL as opposing United States role in Viet Nam and supporting national anti-draft efforts, particularly black youth. H. RAP BROWN states SNCC will strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and U. S. involvement in Viet Nam. Establishment of Internationl Affairs Office in New York announced in order to link SNCC efforts with liberation movements around the world. JAMES FORMAN heads this office. H. RAP BROWN reportedly in contact with CP leaders. Presence of known SNCC members in area where violence erupted set forth. Financial condition of National Office described as poor [redacted]

\- P* -

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC. There are reflected in this report, certain programs and activities of SNCC wherein its personnel were involved in the planning of or engaging in violence.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Information received from [redacted] as recently as December 6, 1967, reflects that the National Headquarters of SNCC is located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On May 22, 1967, [redacted] made available a letter dated April, 1967, which is set forth below:

"IN THE NATION
THE MALAISE BEYOND DISSENT
By Tom Wicker
The New York Times
March 12, 1967

"Vietnam and the racial question are the most dramatic and emotional issues in modern American life...
But you have the feeling nobody is even listening. You don't have a chance... in the vast impersonality of 20th-century society and government, it has become almost impossible for individuals to affect the grinding course of things.

"That is the malaise beyond dissent the fear that dissent does not matter any more; that only action counts, but that no one really knows what action to take."

"Dear Friend,

"Who among us has not often felt helpless in the fact of government action -- or inaction? What American has not felt powerless to affect the institutions supposedly serving 'the people'? Who has not sometimes been ashamed of his own country, yet unable to root out the causes of that shame? We believe that you, as an enlightened citizen, have probably experienced such moments of frustration -- perhaps even despair.

"SNCC believes that dissent does matter -- if teeth are put into it. Effective action is possible -- if programmed to build communities with genuine power.

"From its earliest days, SNCC has maintained that power must flow from the bottom up. Community needs must prevail over political expediency. Institutions should be made to serve people, rather than people serving or being used by institutions.

"We have no sure-fire ways to accomplish these ends. But in our past work we have seen how group strength can be mustered to counter the forces of reaction and oppression. This summer, SNCC is conducting a major project in Washington, D. C., where almost a million people, the majority black, have long been denied a voice in government -- in their own affairs. In various rural and urban areas, we will initiate or continue to build 'freedom organizations' geared not only to electoral participation but also to the daily economic and social needs of Afro-Americans -- most of whom are poor. From these organizations we hope to see emerge a national power base of gathered strength, a new political apparatus. This year, we are also supporting black candidates for crucial local offices in Mississippi and in a special election scheduled for Green County, Alabama. Some of us will be working in other areas to organize poor whites.

"Because we stand not merely for civil rights but for human rights, we have opposed the U.S. war in Vietnam. We are supporting national anti-draft efforts, particularly among black youth. We are also organizing student conferences on a nationwide basis, with the goal of establishing communication between campuses and a true consistency of black students.

We ask you to support our program -- not just for SNCC's sake, but for your own sake in the struggle against powerlessness. Your support is not a matter of 'helping' others but helping yourself as a dissenter. SNCC is a voice, an important voice. Directly or indirectly, it speaks for you too.

"Please send a contribution today, in the enclosed reply envelope. It is an investment in your political future. It is a guarantee that dissent in this country will stay alive. Thank you.

"Yours sincerely,

/s/ Stokely Carmichael"

On November 27, 1967, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter signed H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC which reads in part as follows:

"Dear Friends,

"The struggle for the liberation of black people and other oppressed minorities in this country has reached a critical stage. Rebellions and revolts are occurring throughout the land, because the United States power structure has been unwilling to yield to the basic demands of its black population and their allies. It has chosen to create scapegoats--to shift the burden of responsibility for the upheavels from the oppressor to the oppressed--rather than to undertake the task of correcting centuries of evils.

"In this important era, SNCC has intensified its efforts to give political direction to the resistance against police brutality and the degrading social, economic and cultural effects of our society.

"SNCC has officially declared itself a Human Rights organization in May, 1967. As an organization 'technically' composed of America citizens, we feel that our first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government. Hence, we will strengthen our programs of opposition to the draft and the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

A. LOCATION OF OTHER KNOWN SNCC CHAPTERS AND/OR OFFICES

On May 1, 1967, [redacted] advised that he had heard that SNCC had established

a chapter in Buffalo, New York. He did not know anything about its membership or its officers. He said one FRED READING claimed to represent SNCC in Buffalo. It was also indicated that the Buffalo Office of SNCC was made up primarily of the READING family, including the wife of FRED READING, SANDRA, and brother JOHN.

On June 12, 1967, advised he had recently learned that two lieutenants of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, recently arrived in Hartford and were seeking a headquarters for a SNCC branch in that city.

RON LUCAS was the Master of Ceremonies and there were two other speakers. According to information received from on August 9, 1966, LUCAS was appointed a member of the Ohio CP State Board, which held a meeting on August 3, 1966, at Cleveland, Ohio.

advised on September 20, 1967, that during the aforementioned meeting, RON LUCAS made the comment that no active SNCC chapters existed in the Cleveland area and the purpose of the meeting was to get one started.

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OFFICE

On November 27, 1967, furnished a copy of a letter signed by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, which states in part: "Realizing that oppressed peoples throughout the world share common bonds, SNCC has established an office of International affairs in New York City, in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world."

According to information reported by JAMES FORMAN, in addition to being Director of the New York Office of SNCC, 100 - 5th Avenue, New York City, is the Director of International Affairs Commission of SNCC.

On September 18, 1967, advised that FORMAN was in charge of the SNCC International Office and that the New York Office of SNCC was being converted to that purpose.

On November 9, 1967, advised that GEORGE WALTER BROADFIELD resides in Apartment 7F, 444 Central Park West, New York, and is believed employed by the Urban League of Greater New York, 204 West 136th Street. The source described BROADFIELD as an advocate of "Black Nationalism" and who often quotes from the works of MAO TSE-TUNG.

According to BROADFIELD had stated that SNCC now has a permanent office in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, and coordinated its national operation.

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

A. NATIONAL OFFICERS

On May 12, 1967, advised that SNCC made an official announcement as to the result of the election of national officers for the year 1967. These individuals are identified as follows and certain background information secured from other sources is set forth under their names:

1. H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman

[redacted] advised that BROWN was elected National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, replacing STOKELY CARMICHAEL. According to records of [redacted] [redacted], BROWN was born October 4, 1943, in Baton Rouge. [redacted] advised that BROWN utilizes the address of 850 West End Avenue, S. W., Apartment 12, when he is in Atlanta, Georgia. [redacted] advised that while in New York City, BROWN utilizes the address of 530 Manhattan Avenue, New York City.

Investigation in Washington, D. C., reflects that when BROWN is in that city he utilizes the address of his sister, PATRICIA ANN BROWN, [redacted] [redacted]

2. STANLEY LE ROY WISE, Executive Secretary

The Bureau of Vital Statistics of Charlotte, North Carolina, reflects that STANLEY LE ROY WISE was born June 12, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina, to CLARENCE EUGENE WISE and JOSEPHINE BELTON.

Information furnished by [redacted] on December 7, 1967, reflects that WISE resides at 156 Fairfield Place, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, and can be contacted at telephone 794-6730.

3. RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE
Program Director

The records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, District of Columbia, reflect that RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE was born in Washington, D. C., on May 26, 1939. Birth Certificate No. 428919 identified his parents as JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, SR., born July 5, 1912, in New Jersey, and ANNIE BROWN, born April 19, 1913, in Maryland. The records

of the District of Columbia Teachers College reflect that FEATHERSTONE was admitted to that college on September 9, 1957, and awarded a Bachelor of Science Degree on June 13, 1963, with a Major in Speech Correction. The District of Columbia Board of Education records reflect that FEATHERSTONE was employed on January 27, 1964, as a temporary speech teacher, this employment ending on June 30, 1964.

On November 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that FEATHERSTONE is now residing on Gordon Road, Atlanta, in the Paradise Apartments with KAREN ESMOND and JENIFER LAWSON, both associated with SNCC in Atlanta.

4. ETHEL HARRIET MINOR
Communications Director

The records of the Cook County Bureau of Vital Statistics, Chicago, Illinois, reflect that ETHEL HARRIET MINOR, a Negro female, was born on November 9, 1938, at Provident Hospital. [redacted] advised that MINOR resides in Apartment 2, 2930 Del Mar Lane, S. W., Atlanta.

B. MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SNCC

The following individuals, according to [redacted] compose the Central Committee of SNCC and although they serve on this committee, they do not, by necessity, reside in the Atlanta, Georgia, area.

1. JOHN AUGUSTA WILSON

The records of the Passport Division, U. S. Department of State (USDS) reflect that WILSON was born September 29, 1943, at Baltimore, Maryland, and as of August 28, 1967, maintained the permanent residence address of 520 E. 12th Street, New York, New York. His mother is identified in the records as ANNE WILSON.

2. FAYE DELORES BELLAMY

According to the records of the Passport Office, USDS, BELLAMY was born May 3, 1938, at Clairton, Pennsylvania. Her parents are identified as MALBRO BELLAMY, born May 27, 1910, and PEARL FORDHAM, deceased. Information furnished by [redacted] on November 12, 1967, reflects that BELLAMY resides in Apartment 18, 138 Lamar Street, S. W., Atlanta.

3. JOHN EDWIN JACKSON

The records of the Tuskeegee Institute, Tuskeegee, Alabama, reflect that JACKSON was born January 17, 1948, at Lowndes County, Alabama, and as of January 3, 1966, resided at Route 1, Box 191, Hayneville,, Alabama.

4. JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

According to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), New York City, LESTER was born January 27, 1939, however, no city was indicated for this birth. Information furnished by [redacted] on November 12, 1967, reflects that LESTER is a photographer working out of the New York Office of SNCC. The INS records reflected that as of May 9, 1967, he resided at 329 W. 21st Street, New York City.

5. WILLIAM HALL

According to the records of the Passport Division, USDS, Washington, D. C., HALL was born September 2, 1936, in New York City. His father is identified as HENRY L. HALL, born in Florida, and his mother as DOROTHY M. CARTER, born in Durham, North Carolina. His permanent residence is reflected as 1985 - 7th Street, New York City. His mother resides at [redacted]

6. GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE, JR.

According to the records of the USDS, WARE was born April 21, 1940, at Camp Hill, Alabama. Information received from [redacted] on November 12, 1967, reflects WARE resides at Apartment 18, 156 Fairfield Place, Atlanta.

7. JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

According to the records of [redacted] FORMAN was born October 4, 1928, in Chicago, Illinois. Information furnished by [redacted] on November 12, 1967, reflects FORMAN presently resides in New York City.

8. CHARLES EARL COBB, JR.

9. ROBERT FLETCHER

V. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP,USA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

On October 31, 1967, [redacted] advised that the 12th Annual Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (FUPI) was held on October 27, 28 and 29, 1967, at the Hollywood Cafe, Ponce de Leon Avenue, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. [redacted] made available the Declaration as ratified by the Congress at its conclusion on October 29, 1967, which reads as follows:

"FUPI XII Congress - General Statement.

"Gathered at this Twelfth Congress, we, members of the FUPI, an organization that represents the student body of the University of Puerto Rico in its struggle for national liberation agree;

"To dedicate the results of the Congress to Jose Rafael Varona, who was seriously wounded by the Yankee Air Force while visiting a North Vietnamese school

as a delegate of our organization; to the heroic Vietnamese people who with courage and sacrifice have assumed the position of the first battlefront in the universal struggle against imperialism, and we dedicate the results of this Congress to the courageous Commander Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

"To all the aforementioned, we dedicate this Congress with a revolutionary promise that, inspired by their example of courage and sacrifice, we will continue the struggle for the liberty of all men.

"We express our solidarity with the heroic people of the United States especially its vanguard, the Negro people, headed by SNCC which carries out the difficult task of destroying the enemy from within."

A characterization of the FUPI appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

A. AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

On April 23, 1967, [redacted] furnished a circular reflecting that JOHN WILSON and EVELYN MARSHALL, both associated with SNCC in the south for three years, would appear on a program sponsored by the Freedom Socialist Party on Sunday, April 23, 1967, at Freedom Hall, 3815 - 5th Avenue, N. E., Seattle, Washington. A circular indicated that EVELYN MARSHALL was originally from Seattle, Washington, and that JOHN WILSON was one of seven young Negroes from the Atlanta SNCC Office indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of Interfering with the Administration of the Universal Military Training Act and Destruction of Federal Property.

A characterization of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of Washington appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

The Spring, 1967, issue of the magazine "Freedomways", which is the second quarter for 1967, is

self-described as "a quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement." A notation appearing in this issue credits the picture on the inside cover to DIANE NASH BEVEL and states that the pictures on the back cover are presented through the courtesy of SNCC.

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix of this report.

On July 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former head of SNCC and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, JR., the former Program Director for SNCC, have reservations on Pan American Airways (PAA) flight 104 departing JFK Airport, New York City, at 8:15 P.M., July 14, 1967, arriving in London, England, at 7:55 A.M., July 15, 1967. The source indicated they have further reservations at London on Aeroflot flight 32, departing

London at 12:30 P.M., July 15, 1967, arriving Moscow at 6:15 P.M., July 15, 1967. These arrangements were made by the New York Office of SNCC.

A characterization of the SDS appears in the Appendix of this report.

On July 7, 1967, [redacted] furnished a report covering the SDS National Convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 - July 1, 1967. The source said about 400 people attended this convention. The source said that one of the resolutions passed by the convention was that the National Office be empowered to support and defend radical movements and organizations that the Government cracks down on. It was said that SDS would support the groups against the Government even though the SDS does not support the ideology of that group. In relation to this, one of the speakers told of contact he had had with SNCC members in Texas. He said the five SNCC members had been arrested for murder in Houston, Texas, recently and wanted people to come to their trial in order to disrupt the proceedings.

An article which appeared in the October 21, 1967 issue of the "Albuquerque Journal," a daily newspaper published at Albuquerque, New Mexico, set forth that the Alianza Federal De Mercedes (AFDM) would hold a convention at the Albuquerque Civic Auditorium on October 21-22, 1967. This article also set forth that the following organizations set delegations to the convention:

SNCC
Atlanta, Georgia
headed by RALPH FEATHERSTONE

On October 23, 1967, [redacted] observed the following concerning the meeting of the AFDM. He was in attendance all day Saturday, October 21, 1967.

Most of the proceedings were in the Spanish language and there were evidently no Spanish-speaking reporters present and REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA, President, AFDM, commented that the news media were asking State Police Officers to translate the proceedings for them.

REIES TIJERINA stated that "We are not Communists," but the organization is open to any and all that would like to join.

JAMES KENNEDY, known to source and who had been publicly identified as a member of the CP, USA, was observed at the meeting. He was not seen to take an active part. He and those around him would clap at the wrong time because they evidently did not speak the Spanish language.

PATRICIA BLAWIS from Santa Fe, New Mexico, who source has heard is a Communist, was observed at the meeting but no special activity on her part was seen.

> [redacted] advised on June 28, 1966, at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, held at New York, New York, June 22-26, 1966, PAT BLAU BLAWIS was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA.

On October 21-22, 1967, [redacted] attended sessions of the convention of the AFDM at Albuquerque, New Mexico, and reported the following information:

There were from 300 to 400 persons in attendance, most of whom were Spanish-American. There were about 30 to 40 Negroes present who included delegates

from SNCC, a militant civil rights group, including WILLIE RICKS and RALPH FEATHERSTONE from Atlanta, Georgia. There were five persons in the SNCC group. A Spanish-looking girl by the name of MARIA VARELA was there who was with the SNCC group and the impression was gained that she came with them. There were also persons present representing the Black Panthers and the Black Caucus, Los Angeles Negro organizations, and the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) from Los Angeles. As far as known to the source, there were no local Negroes present or local Negro groups represented.

On October [illegible] and [illegible], 1967, ██████████ advised that RALPH FEATHERSTONE spoke as a representative of SNCC. In his address, he disagreed with Reverend CLARENCE DUFFY's suggestion to form a new political party and his advocacy of the use of peaceful means only. There were five individuals representing SNCC from Atlanta, Georgia.

REIES TIJERINA informed everyone present that the AFDM had formally signed a treaty with the Negro organizations represented and with the Hopi Indians. The treaty pledged that each group would not interfere with the other in their individual problems but would unite against their common enemy. REIES TIJERINA identified the organizations signing the treaty as SNCC, Congress On Racial Equality (CORE), Black Muslims, Black Caucus, Black Panthers, and the Hopi Indians.

Tijerina claimed that the Negro groups from California had taken the treaty with them to be ratified and it will thereafter be sent to SNCC Headquarters for ratification and then returned to the AFDM.

██████████ advised on October 17, 1967, that a Mrs. MARIA VARELA, supposedly a secretary of SNCC, had arrived in Albuquerque. She apparently came to help with arrangements for the convention and [illegible] at AFDM headquarters.

[redacted] advised on October 22, 1967, that he identified PAT BLAU BLAWIS and her husband, JACK BLAWIS of Sante Fe, New Mexico, as being in attendance at the afternoon session of the AFDM convention in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on October 21, 1967. This source also identified JAMES KENNEDY and his wife, MARTHA KENNEDY, in attendance on this same day. Informant advised that although KENNEDY told representatives of the press that he was at the convention as a representative of the SDS, KENNEDY advised some others that he was actually attending as a representative of SNCC

On October 31, 1967, [redacted] advised that the 19th Anniversary Celebration of the "National Guardian" was held at the Imperial Ballroom, Americana Hotel, New York City, on October 27, 1967.

The source said there were 15 tables seating five persons each at this celebration and the ballroom was filled. The source said H. RAP BROWN walked on the stage and took a seat with the other speakers and received a standing ovation from those in attendance. When BROWN was introduced, he said that "Bad breath and body odor are not the problems in America today. It is the problem of survival. Black people are rebelling because of conditions they have been under for many years. Watts and Detroit are examples where black people are not talking about freedom. They are going to be free and by any means necessary. White people are talking about joining but we don't need liberals. We can't afford to talk about politics. We are in favor of wars of liberation. My advice to the left is, 'don't go left.' The revolution is going on with or without you. We need the 'Guardian.' You taught us to be violent. We talk about need for alianess. Why do black people need guns? America only respects counterforces. Plainfield, New Jersey was successful because they had guns. If you chose to oppose me, you are my enemy. Johnson says if Viet Nam doesn't come around it should be burned down. I say the same thing about America. As our oppressors you will be destroyed."

A characterization of the "National Guardian" appears in the Appendix of this report.

B. AFFILIATION OF SNCC WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING A CP BACKGROUND

[redacted] advised that H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of the SNCC and possibly STOKELY CARMICHAEL were invited by W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH, Director of the Ohio Freedom Movement, local Dayton civil rights group, to speak at a job rally in the Negro west side section of Dayton, Ohio. This rally was scheduled to be held at 8:00 P.M., June 14, 1967, at the Wesley Community Center, 2301 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio, and was to be called the "West Side Job Rally."

Source advised that the purpose of this rally was to discuss the recently-formed Police Community Relations Unit; the role of the Negro in the forthcoming city elections; more anti-poverty funds; and to promote orderly action in the field of employment.

W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH

[redacted] advised in 1949 that W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH was a member of the CP [redacted]

On June 21, 1967, [redacted] furnished information that the subscription of SNCC to the "Peoples World" had expired, possibly in 1967, and had not been renewed.

The "Peoples World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

[redacted] on August 3, 1967, made available a published report of the National Association of Stenographers of Cuba (in exile). This Association, on a daily basis, monitors broadcasts from Cuba, and thereafter publishes a transcription of the more important news items. The published reports made available by the source contain information from broadcasts from Cuba that were monitored on August 1-2, 1967. The information obtained is as follows:

Radio Havana - Cuba

STOKELY CARMICHAEL read a message over Radio Havana - Cuba which he had written to "CHE" GUEVARA. He said that the Afro-Asians in the United States feel a great admiration for "CHE." "We await with eagerness your writings in order to read them, digest them and to plan our strategy based on them," he said. "We want you to know," he continued, "wherever you are, you are an inspiration not only to the Negroes in the United States, but to the fights for liberation throughout the world."

ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA was the former head of the National Institute of Agrarain Reform (INRA) of the Cuban Government.

Radio Havana - Cuba (August 2, 1967)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL declared in Havana that the U. S. Negroes are planning guerrilla warfare in the cities because they have no other way to obtain their rights.

[redacted] made available on August 1, 1967, a copy of the July 26, 1967, issue of "El Mundo" which contained an article captioned, "More Delegates Arrive For OLAS." This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and GEORGE WARE of SNCC, are already in Cuba as guests to the OLAS conference. Both received a greeting of welcome from Captain OSMANY CIENFUEGOS, President of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 27, 1967 issue of "El Mundo." This issue carried the complete speech of Premier FIDEL CASTRO, made on July 26, 1967, at Santiago de Cuba, at the ceremony commemorating the 14th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. In his speech, CASTRO stated that many important guests were present at this commemoration. He referred to STOKELY CARMICHAEL by name and stated the following:

"Also present for the first time at this meeting, or at a meeting of this kind, is one of the most noted leader for civil rights in the United States, STOKELY CARMICHAEL."

"El Mundo" is a daily afternoon newspaper published in Havana under the control and direction of the Cuban Government.

The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 28, 1967, issue of "Granma" which contained an article entitled, "Carmichael Comments on Fidel's Speech." This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, described as the well known integrationist fighter from the United States, said that one of the things which impressed him most was "The very clear manner of explaining to the people the problems of the country," and he added that the First Secretary of the CP of Cuba showed once more that he knows thoroughly the problems of the international situation.

"Granma" is published daily as the official organ of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

VI. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF SNCC WHEREIN ITS PERSONNEL WERE INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF OR ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of June 13, 1967, reflecting that in Prattville, Alabama, National Guardsmen and State Troopers armed with carbines and ordered to kill if necessary, surrounded a small house in Happy Hollow early the preceding Monday and ended a five-hour sporadic gun battle resulting from the arrest of black power leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The article reflects that SNCC immediately announced a "Declaration of War" and said that Alabama would be the battle ground. CARMICHAEL had been arrested when officers answered a call that a Negro had threatened a white man with a shotgun at a church where a civil rights rally was in progress. The article reportedly sets out that CARMICHAEL told Assistant Chief KEN HILL to "Take off the tin badge and I'll take care of this myself." According to the article, CARMICHAEL then turned to another Negro and said "Hand me the gun and I'll take care of him." After CARMICHAEL's arrest, shots were fired at patrol cars in the area. One car was shot at three times.

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal" of June 15, 1967, reflects that a white teenager was shot by Negroes in a passing car, although racial riots had been generally eased in Cincinnati, Ohio, the preceding night. The article stated violence hit Cincinnati and JAMES SHIRK, age 15, was listed in poor condition with a bullet wound in his back. Fire bombs were used in several places and unruly crowds formed, then dispersed as cruisers and National Guardsmens' jeeps raced to the scene. The violence followed a militant civil rights meeting where H. RAP BROWN asked Negroes "How can you be non-violent in America, the most violent country in the world? You better shoot that man to death; that's what he's doing to you." After this WILLIE RICKS, SNCC officer, said he and BROWN were in Dayton "to make the white men get on their knees."

[redacted] advised that H. RAP BROWN, National Chariman of the SNCC and possibly STOKELY CARMICHAEL, were invited by W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH, Director of the Ohio Freedom Movement, local Dayton civil rights group, to speak at a job rally in the Negro west side section of Dayton. This rally was scheduled to be held at 8:00 P.M., June 14, 1967, at the Wesley Community Center, 2301 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio, and was to be called the "West Side Job Rally."

Source advised that the purpose of this rally was to discuss the recently formed Police Community Relations Unit; the role of the Negro in the forthcoming city elections; more anti-poverty funds; and to promote orderly action in the field of employment.

Source advised BROWN was introduced at the rally by ALBERT HOLLAND, Director of Moving Ahead Together (MAT), a West Dayton anti-poverty agency whose application for renewal of Federal funding has been rejected by Supporting Council On Preventive Effort (SCOPE).

The "Dayton Daily News," a newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article titled, "Brown Raps 'honkies,' But Not Like Stokely," on Page 6 of the June 15, 1967 edition. This article quoting BROWN in regard to the Press stated, "Newspapers are a weapon against black people...after each rebellion, they call it a riot...dig 'em; they are out to get you."

This article quoting BROWN in regard to black power stated, "We ain't seeking no love. We seekin' power, and the 'honkie' better understand that."

On June 14, 1967, [redacted] Dayton, Ohio, advised that after the rally at about 9:45 P.M., June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles. Traffic was temporarily routed by the police around the area, and several shop windows in the area were broken, and there was some scattered looting. Disturbance of the same nature continued into the morning hours of June 15. During the night of June 14 and morning of June 16, police reported only scattered instances of broken windows and minor looting.

[redacted] stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance.

On June 14, 1967, [redacted] Dayton, Ohio, advised that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting of H. RAP BROWN and W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH. He stated, "I think it had a great deal to do with this disturbance. I think it triggered it."

The following information was furnished on June 18 and 19, 1967, by [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia:

On Friday and Saturday nights the merchants at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, 2179 Verbena Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, employ Fulton Detectives, uniformed guards service with special police officers, to discourage theft and also as a preventive measure against disorder in this community of Negro residences.

On Saturday night, June 17, 1967, around 8:30 P.M., three Fulton Detectives observed EDDIE WILKINS, a Negro male, drinking beer in the outside area of the shopping center and asked him to leave the premises. WILKINS refused to leave and was thereafter placed under arrest. WILKINS resisted and it became necessary to subdue him. A crowd began to congregate, and the special officers placed a call to the Atlanta Police Department for assistance.

EDDIE WILKINS' sister, GEORGIA WILKINS, Negro female, nineteen years of age, accused the special officers of hitting her brother. GEORGIA WILKINS also was placed under arrest by the special officers for cursing them and hitting one of them in the face and chest with her purse. JOSEPH KINDRICK, Negro male, 21 years of age, also scuffled with the special officers and was also placed under arrest. GEORGIA WILKINS was charged with Assault and Battery on an officer, Cursing and Resisting Arrest. EDDIE WILKINS was charged with Assault and Battery, Cursing and Malicious Mischief. JOSEPH KENDRICK was charged with Interfering with an Officer Making an Arrest, Assault and Battery on an Officer, and Using Profane Language.

By the time the above arrests had been completed and the individuals arrested had been removed from the area, approximately 300 persons had gathered and several rocks were thrown. Several windows were broken, one of these windows being the window of a grocery store operated by BERNARD SLOMAN. The crowd gradually dispersed and no other arrests were made.

During the early evening of Sunday, June 18, 1967, a crowd congregated at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, more or less for curiosity, to see if anything was happening. As the evening grew on, additional police cars came into the area to observe and stand by in the event of difficulty. Around 8:30 P.M, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of the SNCC appeared on the scene, accompanied by a group of individuals some of whom were connected with SNCC. CARMICHAEL and some of these individuals walked around talking with the small groups of spectators who were just standing around in the shopping center observing. CARMICHAEL was wearing a green sweatshirt on which was painted an image of the late MALCOLM X, with the name MALCOLM X printed under the image. CARMICHAEL was also wearing plaid shorts, sandals and sun glasses. At this point there was no disorder. CARMICHAEL walked up to Captain EVERETT LITTLE and asked him why there were so many police cars in the area. Captain LITTLE informed CARMICHAEL that they were there to see that there was no disturbance and instructed CARMICHAEL to "move on." At this time CARMICHAEL started dancing up and down in front of Captain LITTLE, clapping his hands and singing words to the effect that if the police cars were not moved out they might have to riot. Captain LITTLE again instructed CARMICHAEL to move on, and after CARMICHAEL failed to do so, Captain LITTLE arrested him, charging him with Disorderly Conduct - Failure to Obey an Officer to Move On.

Shortly after the above individuals were booked at the Atlanta Police Department, they were visited by HOWARD MOORE, an attorney of the Negro race, who represents SNCC. Approximately 45 minutes after MOORE's departure, Dr. ROY C. BELL, a dentist of the Negro race,

appeared at the police department and arranged for the release of the above individuals on $25.00 bond each. As these individuals were signing their bond release forms prior to being released, CARMICHAEL complained that he would not sign his bond release until he was given his comb, claiming the comb had been taken from him after his arrival at the police department. When the officers in the Station Captain's Office stated that they had no knowledge of any comb being taken from CARMICHAEL, he told them to take him back upstairs as he did not want to be released without his comb. A comb was later located and exhibited to CARMICHAEL, at which time he identified this comb as being his property. A Municipal Court hearing was set for 3:30 P.M., June 19, 1967.

The crowd at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center continued to remain in the area milling around and talking late into the night of June 18, 1967; however, no other arrests were made.

On June 19, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at the Atlanta Municipal Court, at which time his case was reset for June 22, 1967, due to the fact the attorney representing CARMICHAEL was unable to appear on June 19,

[redacted], advised on June 20, 1967 that as a result of disturbances at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center on June 19, 1967, the Dixie Hills Supermarket, operated by [redacted], was closed during the day of June 19, 1967.

At 12:30 P.M., officers [redacted] and [redacted] were seated in their patrol car in the vicinity of the shopping center area. They heard the burglar alarm

on the store at which time they observed DOUGLAS RICHMOND, a Negro male, 21 years of age, beating on the burglary alarm bell, which is located on the side of the building with a broom handle. The officers had observed RICHMOND in the area earlier and at that time had instructed him to leave, as he had obviously been drinking. Officer [redacted] instructed RICHMOND to stop hitting on the bell with the broom handle and RICHMOND charged [redacted], hitting him on the back with the broom handle and also throwing a brick at [redacted] which caused a laceration on [redacted]'s right arm. During the scuffle, several bystanders charged Officer [redacted] to prevent him from subduing and arresting RICHMOND. Officer [redacted] pulled his service revolver, shooting RICHMOND in the left thigh. Officer [redacted] and RICHMOND were taken to the hospital, where both were treated and released.

Following the above incident, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who had been released from jail earlier in the day, held a press conference during which he charged police brutality and announced that a protest meeting would be held at St. Joseph's Baptist Church on the evening of June 19, 1967. This church is located in the close proximity of the Dixie Hills Shopping Center. The meeting began at about 8:00 P.M. with approximately 250 Negroes in attendance. State Senator LEORY JOHNSON was the first speaker and attempted to calm the attitude of the crowd. Reverend JOSEPH E. BOONE, who is connected with the Operation Breadbasket, a function of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was the next speaker who urged that a committee be formed to present grievances and protests to the police department relative to conditions in the community.

The next speaker was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, who made reference to the detective who had aided in the arrests made in the community on Saturday night and said that, "We don't want a hunkie lover like Detective Bailey in our community. If that Negro

comes into our community he is going to get shot." CARMICHAEL said that his audience should not clap because they let off steam in this manner and that was their trouble as they were letting off steam when they should have slapped some heads.

CARMICHAEL was cheered and appeared to have the support of most of those present. The meeting was over shortly after 9:00 P.M., and the crowd surged to the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, where it soon increased in number to about 1,000. It appeared that STOKELY CARMICHAEL left shortly after making his appearance at the church. When the crowd left for the shopping center there were only about 40 police officers in the community and when the crowd started throwing rocks and bottles at officers and shouting "kill hunkie" the officers took cover behind patrol cars which received extensive damage at the hands of the mob.

[redacted] advised on June 21, 1967, that H. RAP BROWN arrived at the SNCC Office in Atlanta around 4:50 P.M., on June 20, 1967, while a press conference was in progress, and announced that he had just returned to Atlanta from Cincinnati, Ohio. This press conference, which was covered by various national news media, revolved around the position of SNCC concerning the racial disturbances in the Dixie Hills area. RAP BROWN remarked during the conference that Negroes should be the ones to determine what goes on in a Negro community without any outside influence whatsoever.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC, appeared for trial in the Atlanta City Court on June 22, 1967, on the charge made against him at the time of his arrest on June 18, 1967, for "D.C. - failure to obey an officer to move on." CARMICHAEL was found guilty on this charge and sentenced to pay a fine of $53.00 or serve 50 days in jail in the Atlanta City Stockade.

On July 26, 1967, an article appeared in the "Atlanta Journal", datelined Washington, D. C., reflecting that H. RAP BROWN, the National Chairman of SNCC, had been arrested on Maryland State charges of Inciting Negroes to Riot in Cambridge, Maryland. The article reflected BROWN had spoken at a rally in Cambridge shortly before an outbreak of arson and disorder in the Negro section of the Eastern Shore community on Monday night, July 24, 1967. Maryland National Guardsmen were called in to restore order and a warrant charging BROWN with Inciting to Arson was issued.

Another article appearing in the July 28, 1967 issue of the "Atlanta Constitution", datelined Washington, D. C., reflects that BROWN urged cheering Negro supporters on the preceding Thursday to defeat President LYNDON B. JOHNSON in 1968 as a "wild mad dog, an outlaw from Texas" and to ignore appeals by moderate Negro leaders to abandon violence. BROWN added, "I say violence is necessary, violence is part of America's culture and is as American as cherry pie. Honky (the white man) is going to kill you--if not in Vietnam, on the streets of America. We built it up and you know what to do if it don't come around. If Washington don't come around, burn it down."

A characterization of SSOC appears in the Appendix of this report.

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 3, 1967, datelined Washington, D. C., reflects that Police Chief JACOB W. SCHOTT of Cincinnati, Ohio, told a Senate Judiciary Committee that rock throwing, fire bombing violence erupted in the streets of Cincinnati after STOKELY CARMICHAEL had urged Cincinnati Negroes to fight the police and burn the city. This was on April 29, 1967, he said, and after months of sporadic outbreaks they were undergoing a guerrilla type operation with kids operating from autos.

Police Chief JOHN A. SORACE of Nashville, Tennessee, told the Committee that a riot there on April 8, 1967, was caused by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, H. RAP BROWN and other functionaries of SNCC.

Chief SORACE said that the trouble began after SNCC held a week-long annual meeting in Nashville. He said CARMICHAEL had given speeches in the area for three days prior to the trouble and SNCC leaders from all parts of the country were in the city. He added that they had information that SNCC was planning a large-scale disturbance in Nashville.

Police Chief BRICE KINNAMON of Cambridge, Maryland, put the blame of a July 24, 1967, riot in Cambridge squarely on H. RAP BROWN. KINNAMON said a highly inflamatory speech by BROWN was the sole reason for the riot. It was a well organized and well planned affair.

On August 5, 1967, [redacted] Lexington, Mississippi, furnished the following information:

Approximately 125 Negroes assembled outside Lexington City Hall during the 50-minute meeting symbolizing peaceful protest. Two or three white civil rights workers were observed among the crowd and a few white citizens appeared as spectators.

Mayor KENNA informed the committee he is willing to receive their written charges or affidavit at a hearing, but did not set a date.

At 7:30 P.M., August 5, 1967, approximately 100 Negroes marched, chanted, and demonstrated on the Lexington town square without notifying local authorities. Some shopping bags were pulled from the arms of shoppers by Negro demonstrators. No arrests were reported.

The Lexington Police Department and Sheriff's Office were on the scene and 30 to 35 members of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol (MHSP) Riot Squad were dispatched to the area in the event violence occurred.

Approximately 10 Negroes were identified as out-of-state SNCC workers and have established a Black Liberation School in Lexington and will remain until after the November election campaigns.

At 10:00 P.M., August 5, 1967, the Lexington Police Department, Sheriff's Office and MHSP appeared to have the situation under control.

On August 11, 1967, [redacted] advised that the general racial situation in Lexington, Mississippi, appears to have returned to "normal".

[redacted] further advised that symptoms of unrest which existed in Lexington last week appear to be appreciably reduced.

According to [redacted] on August 10, 1967, the Black Citizens Committee met for the second time in six days at Lexington City Hall with Mayor W. B. KENNA.

The members of the Black Citizens Committee were dressed in business suits and an objective, unemotional exchange of views prevailed. The committee appeared to accept Mayor KENNA's decision to retain W. C. "Fats" JORDAN, Negro Police Department Officer, against whom the committee previously lodged oral complaints locally of brutality and harassment.

On the other hand, the committee voiced to Mayor KENNA a need for Negro representation in city Government. Allegedly Mayor KENNA advised them that the primary election on August 8, 1967, revealed a large turnout of Negro voters in Lexington and Holmes County, Mississippi, and that in the future through the ballot they can elect any qualified candidate(s) of their choice.

[redacted] stated that the entire meeting was tape-recorded.

Reportedly the meeting concluded with the committee and Mayor agreeing that problems in Lexington can best be equitably and fairly resolved without the presence of assistance from the out-of-state SNCC workers in Lexington.

In regard to the SNCC workers, [redacted] stated a meeting of Negroes was held in Lexington the evening of August 10, 1967, for the purpose of making a progress report of the Black Citizens Committee with Mayor KENNA. After the above facts were announced, WARREN BOOKER

Lexington, Negro male, engaged in a heated verbal exchange with an unidentified SNCC worker. Allegedly BOOKER informed the SNCC workers that Lexington Negroes are being encouraged to withdraw their children from the SNCC Black Liberation School in Lexington. BOOKER allegedly stated that the type of education endorsed and pormoted by SNCC at their school is not wanted or needed.

No recent arrests of Negroes reported by Lexington Police Department or Sheriff's Office. Officer JORDAN currently is assigned duties in another section of Lexington. No meetings or demonstrations are planned in the near future.

ERNEST CORNELIUS STEPHENS, SNCC, Negro male, date of birth May 25, 1941, at Detroit, Michigan, address [redacted] interviewed at Lexington August 11, 1967, by Special Agents of the FBI. STEPHENS admitted having supervisory control of 12 paid SNCC workers in Lexington. STEPHENS stated their purpose in Lexington is political organization, meaning the promotion of Negro Freedom Democratic Party candidates in the general election in November. STEPHENS advised a Black Liberation School has been established in Lexington and is attended from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. five days a week by both male and female students ranging in age from 10 to 21 years. Allegedly the school is financed through local contributions. STEPHENS stated their movement is a non-violent one; however, if attacked by a white person they will defend themselves. A .22 automatic rifle and a box of .22 cartridges were observed in the office where STEPHENS was interviewed. STEPHENS stated the weapon belonged to anotheroffice worker STEPHENS was asked if the Negroes in Lexington were obtaining firearms, and he said "yes." STEPHENS would not describe the number, types, or source(s) of these weapons. STEPHENS stated that no violence or riots are planned by them unless it becomes necessary to defend themselves against white people. STEPHENS stated that he personally sees no difference between a Lexington, Mississippi Policeman, Jackson, Mississippi Policeman or a Ku Klux Klansman.

AT 100-6488

The following article appeared on Page hhhh2 of the October 13, 1967 Latin American daily report of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service concerning an interview with a SNCC leader regarding guerrilla warfare. This article is set forth as follows:

[Text] Havana--George Ware, one of the leaders of the combative Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the United States, has confirmed that the U.S. Negro population has no better way than guerrilla warfare to fight against its oppressors. "We cannot line up on one side of the street and permit the U.S. Army to line up on the other side in order to then start a battle. We must organize urban guerrillas for that confrontation in areas where the Negro population is in the majority," Ware stipulated.

Replying to a questionnaire from the Cuban magazine PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, Ware noted that those who hold power in the United States will never hand it, or part of it, over of their own spontaneous volition. "But we will be able to take that power if we fight for it," Ware said.

In its introduction, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO recalls that SNCC--the organization headed by Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown--"thinks of its struggle as part of the total struggle of the third world; that the causes of the racial violence in the United States are the same as the ones of the war in Vietnam and the guerrilla uprising in Latin America."

To a question about the change in the formerly moderate Negro movement, Ware replied: "The latest struggles represent a form of self-defense against police violence. All of the actions have begun in reaction to the brutality of the white guards. In that sense, they are manifestations of self-defense, but, at the same time, (?they constitute) an offensive by Negroes who refuse to accept the economic and ideological exploitation to which they are subjected."

Then the young Afro-American declared that the struggle for integration in the United States does not constitute a complete solution to the problem and that it can occur only when all persons are equal. [Passage indistinct] "We have never heard any talk about a cultural exchange with the Negro population. We have always been told that we should integrate ourselves and that, if we integrate ourselves, we would become white."

To the whites who maintain that thesis, Ware replied that "I will not become a carbon copy of you in order to be accepted by you, because one would also have to take into account whether I am willing to accept you as you are, and this has never been discussed." Integration, he added, "confused many people. We believe that if a person wants to live in a Negro community, he should be granted the right to do so. The only obstacle would be if that person were to create a structure that would not permit the whites to live there or that the aforementioned person were to decide to move to a white community and its members, by force, prevented him from doing so. Therefore, instead of fighting for integration, we prefer to struggle to eliminate discrimination."

GEORGE WARE has been identified by [redacted] as a local Atlanta SNCC member and active in these matters in Atlanta, Georgia.

On November 1, 1967 [redacted] furnished an article which appeared in "Granma", Havana copy of October 26, 1967. This article reflects in part that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had said on October 25, 1967, at Havana, that the immediate plans of his organization were to establish relations with the countries of the Third World, they will strengthen resistance to the war in Viet Nam, and they will intensify the revolution among the Negro masses in the United States.

An article appearing in the "Santa Barbara News-Press" (California) dated August 24, 1967, captioned "Students Discuss Ways to Destroy Universities" mentioned that STANLEY WISE of SNCC was a speaker at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California. WISE stated the institutions of this country must be destroyed and he is committed to the destruction of the present setup of the United States Government in that his organization, SNCC, was absolutely without a doubt responsible for the race riots throughout the country this summer.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

On June 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC was distributing leaflets in opposition to the war in Viet Nam. This leaflet bears a photograph of "Uncle Sam" and states in part, "Uncle Sam Wants YOU Nigger." Notes appearing on this leaflet are to the effect, "Become a Member of the World's Highest Paid Black Mercernary Army;" "Fight For Freedom... (in Viet Nam);" "(Die Nigger--you can't die fast enough in the ghettos);" "Support White Power--travel to Viet Nam You Might Get a Medal!;" "Receive Valuable Training in the Skills of Killing Off Other Oppressed People!;" "So Run To Your Nearest Recruiting Chamber!" Source stated that part

of the SNCC plan was to distribute these leaflets primarily in the area of college campuses.

On June 23, 1967, [redacted] advised that on June 21, 1967, a gathering took place at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas, at the new University Center beginning at 7:30 P.M. and 8:30 P.M. The meeting was held under sponsorship of the Viet Nam Summer Project and was chaired by GLEN DUVAL and DAVID SHROYAR. The main topic was discussion of activities being planned under the head of Viet Nam Summer. During the meeting the question was asked regarding what group would be more effective in certain areas on certain problems. This question was answered by it being pointed out that special notice should be paid to SNCC. It was further stated during the conference that H. RAP BROWN and JAMES FORMAN, both associated with SNCC, possibly stayed some place on Blodgett Street while they were in Houston, Texas.

On July 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that the Atlanta Office of SNCC was planning to open a Freedom School at 430 Hunter Street, Atlanta.

This source later advised, however, that the City of Atanta Department of Health had made an examination of the premises and had adjudicated that they were not suitable for the operation of a school, therefore, the school never materialized.

On July 9, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC was planning to have an organizational meeting at the T. E. Houston Funeral Home, 2480 Bankhead Highway, N.W., for the purpose of organizing a "Defense Committee." The purpose of this Committee is to select certain areas of Atlanta wherein a committee would be formed headed by a member of SNCC and the other members being composed of Negroes in the community. The purpose of this Committee was to effectively cover any police action in that particular area. The source subsequently advised that after several

meetings this plan of SNCC never materialized for the lack of interest on the part of the people outside the SNCC organization.

[redacted] furnished information in 1967 reflecting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, probably in connection with the operation of an International Office of SNCC in that City.

[redacted] advised on August 21, 1967, that Radio Havana, Cuba made the following broadcast on August 14, 1967:

"Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader who attended the OLAS (Organization of Latin American States) Conference in Havana as a special guest, stated in Havana that revolution is the most appropriate means to put an end to the cruel exploitation of the Negro population in the U.S. In an interview with Prensa Latina, Carmichael repeated the determination of the Afro-Americans to fight for their rights throughout the Nation. This battle will be hard and difficult, but there is no other way, according to Carmichael.

"He said that the Negro American is fully convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence with their exploiters will never bring positive results. Carmichael stated that upon his return to the U. S., he will recommend a change in the name of his organization, the Student Coordinating Committee for Nonviolent Action, to the Negro Liberation Movement. He explained that the new name of the movement will influence the minds of Afro-Americans toward a concept of battle for total emancipation, since they will realize it is linked with the battle to liberate the exploited nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

VIII. FINANCIAL CONDITION

On September 14, 1967, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter signed by WILLIAM PORTER of the Publication Department of SNCC, which states in part, "Due to the financial conditions and scarcity of news letters, we must ask for payment of the newsletter in advance. The cost of this subscription is $2.00 per year. To be on our mailing list requires a contribution of $5.00 per year and you receive news releases, Afro-American Reports, SNCC News Letter and a publications list of other available literature. We hope you are interested." According to this source, this letter was directed to all the people on the SNCC mailing list.

On November 13, 1967, [redacted] advised that STOKELY CAMICHAEL was reported to have arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 10, 1967, for the purpose of attending a fund raising endeavor that the SNCC was sponsoring at the

Magnolia Ball Room, Sunset and Magnolia Streets, Atlanta, Georgia. The source advised that CARMICHAEL did not, in fact, arrive in Atlanta, but on November 11, 1967, it was learned that CARMICHAEL would be arriving in the United States through the port of New York sometime prior to Thanksgiving Day, 1967, and that he would spend about one and one-half weeks with his family in that city, before coming to Atlanta, Georgia. The source pointed out that CARMICHAEL's mother and sister reside at 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York.

The source pointed out that the National Headquarters of SNCC is in extreme dire financial circumstances The source subsequently advised that the affair at the Magnolia Ball Room came off very nicely and was attended by approximately 50 to 75 persons. No incidents arose. It was obvious, however, that the affair was not the financial success that SNCC had hoped it would be.

IX. APPENDIX

APPENDIX

FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO-INDEPENDENCIA (FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE) (FUPI)

The FUPI was organized in October, 1956, at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, as a student organization working to obtain independence for Puerto Rico. A source advised on May 28, 1962, that the FUPI was elected an integral member of the International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia, in October, 1960.

On August 25, 1966, ALBERTO PEREZ PEREZ was interviewed by public news media and he stated he was President of the FUPI; had just returned from travel to Moscow, U.S.S.R., on an official FUPI trip, and subsequent conferences of the IUS in Bulgaria, Cairo, Egypt, and Havana, Cuba; the FUPI continues to be affiliated with the IUS; and he and the FUPI advocate independence for Puerto Rico, preferably without violence, but would resort to violence to obtain independence if it appeared other methods would fail.

When interviewed on April 8, 1966, JOSE RAFAEL VARONA BERRIOS stated he was the Secretary of International Affairs of the FUPI; the FUPI is affiliated with the IUS; and he believed in violence as a method of obtaining independence for Puerto Rico if conditions indicated violence might succeed, or aid, in obtaining Puerto Rican independence. VARONA reportedly was injured during a bombing raid by the United States' planes while he was visiting North Vietnam in April, 1967.

The IUS has been cited by the Internal Security subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956 as being among "international communist fronts functioning at the present time," and by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, in 1951, as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations."

APPENDIX

FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, aka
Freedom Socialist Party (FSP)

In April, 1966, a source advised that the members of the Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), executed a statement of resignation from the National SWP, dated April 9, 1966, following which they referred to themselves as the Seattle Branch, SWP (Unaffiliated), and temporarily adopted the name Freedom Socialist Party of Washington, aka Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). The group lead by RICHARD FRASER, aka Dick Fraser, Richard Kirk, Dick Kirk, formerly a member of the SWP National Committee, and his wife, CLARA FRASER, aka Clara Kaye, Organizer of the Seattle Branch, SWP, were known as the KIRK-KAYE Tendency. Their disagreement with the National SWP was over the questions of the Negro struggle, the colonial revolution, the Vietnamese War, regroupment, woman's emancipation, and party organizational principles.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In July, 1966, this source advised that the above group and others held a convention on July 9, 1966, at their headquarters, Freeway Hall, 3815 - Fifth Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, having issued a call to "all signers of the FSP Nominating Petition at the 1964 Nominating Convention and all revolutionary socialists who wished to help build the FSP."

In October, 1964, a second source advised that the name Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of the State of Washington was used by the Seattle Branch, SWP, in its then current political campaign.

The first source further advised that at the convention on July 9, 1966, the group adopted the name FSP of Washington, became a membership organization, and appointed a committee pending the general organization of the group.

According to the first source, the FSP held a meeting on July 24, 1966, at which CLARA FRASER gave the Executive Committee report, and the recommendations of the committee, including the selection of officers, were unanimously accepted by the membership. The officers selected were:

APPENDIX

FRANK KRASNOWSKY, Organizer;
GUS CARLSON, Associate Organizer;
MIRIAM RADER, Recording Secretary;
BOB PATRICK, Finances;
DICK FRASER, National Relations and writer of documents;
CLARA FRASER, Publications, with other duties assigned to other members.

In August, 1966, the first source furnished the August 5, 1966, issue of "The Freedom Socialist", self-described as the "Voice of the FSP of Washington." This publication states, "We are a new revolutionary socialism organization," stating that it is comprised of the former Seattle Branch, SWP, "individual independent radicals who were part of the 1964 united socialist electorial coalition which created the FSP," and "A new segment of radical youth who have recently adopted Marxism as their political philosophy."

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the New York State Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

The Second Quarter, 1966, issue of "Freedomways," self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

John Henrik Clarke, Associate Editor
Esther Jackson, Managing Editor
J. H. O'Dell, Associate Managing Editor
John L. Devine, Art Editor

A third source made available information on July 1, 1964, indicating that John Henrik Clarke attended the first and founding meeting of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which was held on December 19, 1963, and continued on January 10, 1964.

This source also made available information on August 14, 1964, indicating that Clarke is an "Associate" of AIMS.

This source advised in July, 1962, that as of that period, O'Dell was considered by the CPUSA, as being a member of its National Committee.

On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

NY 100-[illegible]

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THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning the "National Guardian":

> "1. Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. *** Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."
>
> (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL," August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) with headquarters at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student", which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On August 12, 1966, a third source advised that Donald Leslie Boner, white male, age 22, of 3105 Louise Drive, Nashville, Tennessee, had been in the CP about four months.

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On February 28, 1967, a fourth source advised that Patti Rabbitt of Seattle Washington, a member of the Northwest CP District, had gone to Nashville, Tennessee, to organize in connection with a CP assignment.

On June 8, 1967, source five advised that Patti Rabbitt, Brian Heggen, Donald Leslie Honer and wife Carol Stevens Honer are all active members of SSOC in Nashville and that Heggen is now editor of the official SSOC publication, "New South Student."

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The masthead of the June, 1967, issue of "Southern Patriot", official publication of SCEF, lists Carol Stevens Boner and Anne Braden as Editors and lists Carl Braden as Executive Director.

The "Nashville Banner", Nashville, Tennessee, newspaper issue of May 5, 1967, reported that SSOC was preparing for the May 17, 1967, appearance of Mike Zagarell, National Youth Director, CPUSA, at Vanderbilt University; that Bill [illegible], Press Agent for SSOC, on May 12, 1967, brought to the "Banner" office publicity material which the CP had sent to SSOC.

The April, 1967, issue, Volume IV, No. 4, of "New South Student", published each month, October through May, by SSOC, carried an article on page 72 entitled "CIA American Labor," by Ronald Boner, a review of a book entitled, "The CIA and American Labor," authored by George Morris, Labor Editor of "The Worker," east coast Communist newspaper. Boner is described therein as an active member of the Nashville SSOC chapter.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

December 18, 1967

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-SNCC

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	5/14/68	1/8-5/3/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	bjc
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTERS	

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [redacted] 12/18/67. Bureau airtels dated 1/31 and 4/15/68.

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LEADS

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GA.

Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from date of this report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None						ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR XX YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES XX NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1-Birmingham (157-2425) (RM)
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3-Atlanta (100-6488)

REC- 44

15 MAY 15 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACSI	NIC	OSI	SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	ISD, CRD, CRIM., IDIU, STATE, CIA (BY LIAISON)			
Date Fwd.	5/24/68	[illegible]		
How Fwd.				

Notations

66 JUN 3 1968

1-Boston (100-35267) (RM)
1-Buffalo (157-213) (RM)
1-Chicago (100-40342)(RM)
1-Cincinnati (100-14158) (RM)
1-Columbia (100-131) (RM)
1-Dallas (100-10996) (RM)
1-Detroit (100-31374) (RM)
1-Houston (100-10390) (RM)
1-Indianapolis (100-14281)(RM)
1-Jackson (100-186) (RM)
1-Jacksonville (100-635) (RM)
1-Knoxville (157-102) (RM)
1-Los Angeles (100-63822) (RM)
1-Memphis (157-109) (RM)
1-Mobile (100-1693) (RM)
1-Newark (100-47817)(RM)
1-New Haven (157-527)(RM)
1-New Orleans (100-16890)(RM)
1-New York (100-147963) (RM)
1-Philadelphia (100-46820)(RM)
1-St. Louis (100-19355) (RM)
1-San Francisco (100-50885) (RM)
1-Savannah (157-222)(RM)
1-Seattle (100-26956) (RM)
1-WFO (100-41626) (RM)
1-CO, OSI, OSI District 6, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)

AT 100-6488

INFORMANT DATA:

Source	Date of Activity	File Location
	10/23/67	100-6488-4056
	12/18/67 1/22/68 2/12/68	100-6488-4066 4180 4280
	12/8/67	100-6488-4095
	12/8/67	100-6488-4095
	12/2/67 11/15/67 11/28/67	
	12/11/67 3/22/68	 100-6488-4571
	1/2/68	100-6488-4130
	11/20/67	
	2/1/68	100-6488-4306

Source	Date of Activity	File Location
[redacted]	1/20/68 3/14/68 4/24/68	100-6488-4315 4524 4757
[redacted]	1/12/68	100-6488-4276
[redacted]	5/7/68	instant report
[redacted]	2/28/67	100-6488-4394
[redacted]	7-8/67	100-6488-4400
[redacted]	2/25/68	100-6488-4414
[redacted]	11/29/67	Used to character ize KENNETH and ELIZABETH ROTTGEI
[redacted]	1/66	" "
[redacted]	2/19/68	100-6488-4428
[redacted]	----	Used to character ize [redacted]

AT 100-6488

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified Secret, no foreign dissemination, no dissemination abroad, as information contained herein was so classified by information attributed to [redacted].

[redacted]

Bureau airtel dated 4/15/68, indicated that offices contained in the copy count of this report are to submit 90 day reports on SNCC as long as the organization remains active in their particular areas. A copy of this report is being furnished each of these offices for information so that they will be apprised of the national SNCC activity.

In view of Bureau instructions, Atlanta is not repeating in instant report information developed by these offices.

[redacted]

[redacted]

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

Copy to: 1-Commanding Officer, OSI, OSI District Six, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: May 14, 1968

Field Office File #: AT 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Ga. [redacted]. Jewelry store closed for lack of business and plans made to open anti-draft office in same location. SNCC officials identified as having visited Cuba. Instructions re security of travel information of officials set forth. Several SNCC personnel worked temporarily with the SCLC. Individuals with CP affiliation identified as making temporary housing arrangements for SNCC personnel arriving in New York City. National program and policies of organization set forth. [redacted]

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GROUP I
Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification

SECRET

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION
NO DISSEMINATION ABROAD

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

The National Headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are located at 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. This address is situated in a semi-industrial area and is surrounded by commercial establishments.

[redacted] advised on February 25, 1968, that SNCC had planned to move the Atlanta SNCC Office to New York because it was felt that H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, would be in New York for some time. This source later indicated, however, that in view of BROWN's arrest for violation of his bail bond provisions, the plans to move SNCC had been changed, but that the printing plant maintained in Atlanta would be moved to New York.

B. Shop Operated by SNCC

On November 20, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC was opening a jewelry store located at 8 Raymond Street, Northwest, and that this store would be in charge of JENNIFER LAWSON. This source subsequently advised that the store made money for a while in its sale of costume jewelry, but that in the weeks prior to May 1, 1968, business had dropped off tremendously. [redacted] advised that because of the decreased business, the jewelry store was being closed and that in its place SNCC would operate an office devoted to anti-draft matters. The source pointed out that one of SNCC's prime objectives is to oppose the United States Government's policy of intervention in Viet Nam.

On December 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that he received information through rumors that several individuals affiliated with SNCC had traveled to Mexico City seeking funds and support through speeches and related activities there.

On December 8, 1967, [redacted] advised he received information from an unrecalled individual that other SNCC members had traveled to Mexico in September or October of 1967, seeking support for the organization in that city.

On December 11, 1967 [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter prepared by BENETTA IVEY, associated with the Distribution Department of SNCC, reflecting on the financial conditions of the organization. This letter reads as follows:

"Dear ____________________

"Please accept our apologies for our present and past inadequacies; specifically our distribution of literature.

"We have been beset by numerous setbacks and hardships, most of them financial.

"Because of our previous problem of no lights and present problem of no telephones, our production departments have been stifled.

"We donnot mean to burden you with our problems, but such is the nature of an organization such as ours that is dedicated to the alleviation of oppressions on all levels, when it encounters and runs counter to the aims and aspirations of the power structure.

"Some of our mechanical problems have been solved but our ever pressing financial situation is still very much a reality.

"Nevertheless, we are working dilligently, trying to fill orders, etc. despite our acute shortage of materials.

"We appreciate your patience and your consideration.

"Sincerely,

"(Miss) Benetta Ivey
Distribution"

On January 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that there apparently had been some type of reconciliation between the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and SNCC. The source stated that while STOKELY CARMICHAEL was out of the United States from August, 1967, to December, 1967, and H. RAP BROWN was involved in legal matters concerning his activities, SNCC as an organization began to fall apart. The source said that they were in such bad financial condition that some of the SNCC members in Atlanta reportedly contacted Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. of SCLC for financial assistance so that SNCC could get back on its feet financially. According to the source, Dr. KING reportedly advised the members of SNCC that he would be willing to give them financial assistance provided SNCC adopt a more non-violent attitude in regard to civil rights activity. The source advised that after consideration, SNCC finally agreed to adopt a more non-violent attitude and as a result was given financial assistance by SCLC.

[redacted] advised on May 7, 1968, that some SNCC personnel were working at SCLC as the need for funds was urgent and they had no other source of income.

On February 8, 1968, [redacted] advised that he learned that the SCLC had employed three SNCC members to work in its department of information. The decision on the part of SCLC to employ these individuals was made by WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD, Executive Director of SCLC, primarily because additional personnel was needed and these three individuals were without employment. The source advised that he was not aware of any particular significance being attached to SCLC having employed these three people and that in the past, Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., then President of SCLC, had cautioned the organization that SCLC not permit these individuals to influence SCLC employees with "any SNCC philosophies."

[redacted] advised that CAROL RUTH SILVER, KENNETH WILLIAM ROTTGER, and BETTY ROTTGER were contributors and/or subscribers to the SNCC. On January 17, 1968, CAROL RUTH SILVER advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is a member of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Community Alert Patrol, Los Angeles, California, and that she was an attorney with the California Rural Assistance League, which is a private agency operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In January of 1966, [redacted] indicated that ELIZABETH ROTTGER was the Educational and Literature Director of the 23rd District Club of the Southern California District Communist Party.

III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

Information secured from [redacted] identifies the following as national officers of SNCC:

H. RAP BROWN

H. RAP BROWN was elected National Chairman of the organization in May of 1967. Since that time BROWN has been arrested on charges ranging from Federal Firearms Act to assault on a federal officer. At the present time BROWN is free on bail and is currently staying in New York City, taking an active part in functions of SNCC. He has traveled recently with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC.

STANLEY LEROY WISE

STANLEY LEROY WISE is the Executive Secretary of SNCC. He currently resides in Atlanta, Georgia, and has made trips to New Orleans, where he met with SNCC sympathizers in an effort to raise bond for H. RAP BROWN, who was then

confined to jail in that city. According to [redacted] WISE is extremely militant in his Black Power philosophy and is considered a leader in the SNCC organization.

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

FEATHERSTONE was elected Program Director of the organization in May of 1967. Since that time he has made trips to Cuba at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO. FEATHERSTONE was formerly a Project Director for SNCC in Neshoba, Mississippi, and has served on the Central Committee of SNCC. His name appears on the mailing list of the National Committee to Abolish the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and also on the Draft Resistance Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE

WARE is Program Director of SNCC and more recently has been active in the Akron, Ohio, area. WARE is alleged to be associated with the National Student Union and has been active in organizing campus programs.

ETHEL HARRIET MINOR

MINOR is the Communications Director of SNCC and has resided in Chicago, Illinois, where she was active in the Nation of Islam organization. She has been described by [redacted] as a dedicated SNCC employee, working long, hard hours in getting literature and publications ready for rallies by SNCC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on March 14, and 15, 1968, and reportedly stayed at MINOR's apartment while in Atlanta. MINOR appeared on platform with CARMICHAEL at Black Congress sponsored rally for defense of HUEY NEWTON, Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968.

IV. NATIONAL PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF SNCC

An article appearing in the Atlanta Constitution of December 28, 1967, reflects that JULIUS LESTER, writing in the current issue of the SNCC newsletter, has advocated making President LYNDON B. JOHNSON "afraid to leave the White House", as a tactic of protest over Viet Nam. LESTER advocated that protests should be aimed at the President's limousine "To resist is to make the President afraid to leave the White House because he will be spat upon wherever he goes to tell his lies." "His limousine will find the streets filled with tacks and thousands of people who will surge around it, smashing the windows and rocking the car until it is turned on its side." LESTER is described as having recently returned from a trip to North Viet Nam and Cuba.

The article continued that STANLEY WISE, Executive Secretary of SNCC, said that the LESTER article did not mean SNCC endorses such tactics.

In the same issue of the SNCC newsletter, SNCC said it "reaffirms its political opposition to Zionism." SNCC said that reaction to its anti-Israel statements has ranged from intellectual dishonesty and moral hipocracy to outright racism. The newspaper article continued that a third article appearing in the SNCC newsletter by Chairman H. RAP BROWN called on Negroes in the United States to "prepare yourself psychologically" for guerilla war against the apartheid government of the Union of South Africa.

[redacted] on January 2, 1968, made available an article which appeared in "Granma", Havana, Cuba, on December 8, 1967.

"WE HOPE THE VIET NAMESE WIN - STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Paris, Dec. 7 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL, American Negro leader, in speaking at a meeting, stated that the basic duty of all revolutionaries throughout the world is to help the Viet Namese, who are fighting the third world war to defend the entire world.

"We can state our position, loud and clear: we do not want peace in Viet Nam. We want the Viet Namese to beat the United States in Viet Nam," said CARMICHAEL.

"He stated we must shed our blood for our brother nation of Viet Nam, and that is not too high a price to ask. He said that we must cut off the hands of the American Imperialists in order to stop their desire to conquer the world. Viet Nam is the vanguard of this battle.

"Those who suffer most in the Viet Nam war are, naturally, the Viet Namese and American youth, white and black, but we Negroes are those who supply cannon fodder for this war. That is no surpise, because we have always been in the front line in the wars carried on by the Western Imperialists."

"Concerning the battle within the United States, CARMICHAEL stated: "The time for words has passed. Now is the time to differentiate between the protest movement and the resistance movement. Now we must fight.....we must tell JOHNSON that we do not want to be a nation of assassins. If it is necessary, we will sink the U. S. in chaos. We must say it loud and strong. Now we are escalating our resistance movement against the war in Viet Nam. We are escalating because the Viet Namese are not our enemies, the Viet Namese are our brothers, the Viet Namese are our comrades in arms."

"Finally, CARMICHAEL explained that his presence in France had been merely to attend the meetings organized

during "Che Guevara Week," and he stated the rumors that he was there to create problems for the French government were ridiculous. "

On February 12, 1968, [redacted] furnished an article which appeared in "El Mundo", Havana, Cuba, on February 4, 1968. This article is as follows:

"HELP FOR SNCC IN PARIS

Paris, Feb. 3 (PL)--The "Committee of Friends of SNCC" (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the U. S.), created in Paris last January 20th, is carrying out many activities "to give concrete help to the Negro battle for liberation in North America."

According to the most recent information issued by the Committee of Friends "meetings have been held at which detailed reports have been made by Afro-Americans

and Africans on the principal problems coming from the Negro uprising in the U. S."

The speakers discussed the U. S. draft, which affects a number of Negroes, to send American soldiers to Viet Nam."

In March, 1968, [redacted] furnished the following statement issued by SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, New York, New York:

A SHORT MESSAGE TO REVOLUTIONARIES

For the black revolution to be successful, it is necessary that we develop a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program. We must understand that our first fight is the fight for survival. Therefore, for every act of violence that is directed toward us, we must retaliate two-fold. To do this it is necessary that underground groups be formed that can avenge the community, not once, twice, but many times. These groups therefore, must out of necessity be secret, not only from 'the man', but from the community. We must not forget that there are still many traitors inside of our own communities.

We must remember that revolutions do not happen over night. The Vietnamese have been fighting for more than 25 years and they're still fighting. Therefore, we have to begin thinking of committing our lives to the liberation struggle. Every black person has a role and it is each person's responsibility to discover how he can best fulfill that role, be it on the job or on the block. In a revolution there is room for every skill and every talent and there is no one without a skill or talent. Dedicate that ability to the revolution.

We must begin to strengthen the militant organizations that now exist inside the country. These organizations are prime targets of the Government for destruction and it is the responsibility of the black community to see that they are not destroyed. We are able to keep our fine cars filled with gas, yet we let those organizations that stand in the vanguard get along on a tank of gas and most of the time, a drop of gas. We can fill the white man's pocket full of money and not ever think about how those who have quit their jobs to work full-time for the revolution make it from day-to-day. And when we are asked for money to support these organizations, we say that all they want is our money. But we get mad and want to fight if someone says that we are not revolutionary.

SNCC is one of those organizations that is in the revolutionary vanguard. All over the country blacks talk about Black Power, a concept that SNCC developed, yet SNCC is in constant danger of being destroyed because it lacks the necessary funds to operate. Yet, SNCC is respected in the black community and a vacuum would be created if SNCC were to be destroyed by 'the man.' It is the responsibility of the community to see that this does not happen. If we are to do the job that needs to be done, we need your support.

SNCC
100 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

On February 15, 1968, [redacted] made available the following Position Paper of SNCC:

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKA, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 July - August 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INDIVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM, APARTHEID AND COLONIALSM

Position Paper of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the sjambok. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that : "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with

its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates the original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettoes of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of _any_ American nationals, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Viet nam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

> The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:
>
> We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, jus as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for th

freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African

phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans — and their allies — are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "baas" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these practices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked — without their consent — to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well

as all levels of government have tried to undermine, contain, or simply destroy the organization. Numerous incidents might be cited, but a very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 487 students (some of whom they also beat) — with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A.. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer

its moral support to all Africans engaged in liberation struggles. We also come to assert that we consider ourselves and other black people in the United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the America front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements with regard to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has <u>never</u> accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired before the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC

staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the

future. There are those who still hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those — among them, we of SNCC — who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the <u>status quo</u>? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casulties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?" Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, <u>if</u> and <u>when</u> such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
688-0331

March 4, 1968

MARCH 20-----DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN and THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

White america has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white america always treats her enemies----SHE MURDERS THEM!!!

The most recent example of white america's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to white america: it's material possessions.

So---take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle----but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

BLACK POWER

the aims, aspirations, and techniques — including armed struggle — of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect and the constant omission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:

1.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Question of the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."

5.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 on the question of South West Africa.

7.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8.

We especially encourage and recommend that all member states and non-governmental organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence "the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

9.

We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGO and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10.

We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

Appendix A: SNCC STATEMENT ON VIETNAM January 6, 1966

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries a as the Dominican Republic, the congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.
We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly, in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.
We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.
Samuel Younge was murdered because U.S. law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are being murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The U.S. is no respector of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires. We recall the indif- ference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.
We know for the most part that elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and concern. We question then the ability and even the desire of the U.S. government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of "preserve freedom in the world" is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashed liberation movements which are not bound and refuse to be bound by the expediency of the U.S. cold war policy.
We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft, which would compel them to contribute their lices to U.S. aggression in the name of the "freedom" we find so false in this country. We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16% of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a "democracy" which does not exist for them at home.

We ask: Where is the draft for the Freedom fight in the United States?

We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam.

FACTS REGARDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AT CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

FACTS REVEAL THAT NOT ONLY DOES THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK FINANCIALLY SUPPORT APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT IT PRACTICES ITS OWN PERSONAL APARTHEID ON ITS NEGRO EMPLOYEES HERE IN THE UNITED STATES AT ONE CHASE MANHATTAN PLAZA, NEW YORK CITY — THE MAIN BRANCH, HEAD OFFICE.

THE FACTS TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS STARTLING CHARGE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. On March 22, 1967, seven male Negro employees filed complaints with the new York City Commission on Human Rights, under the direction of William Booth, charging their supervisors with discriminatory practices in the areas of:

   a. Job related training and schooling
   b. Promotion and advancement opportunities
   c. Unequal and unfair distribution of work loads

2. On March 23, 1967, five female Negro employees filed complaints with the same Commission, charging similar practices on the part of their supervisors.

3. During the interim of the filed complaints and the Commission's lengthy investigation, several attempts on the part of the Negro employees to meet with responsible bank officials to resolve the differences were denied by the bank.

4. After the complaint had been filed and the Bank officials notified, those Negroes who had filed the complain and other Negroes friendly toward them became the victims of even more intensified discrimination, intimination, harassment, constant surveillance (as though they were criminals), insidious acts, vicious remarks, and even pressured resignations by Bank authorities.

5. On May [illegible], 1967, a detailed report was submitted in writing to the City Commission [illegible] Human Rights, stating the continuation of discriminatory practices and acts described above and offering recommendations of the complainants to be submitted to responsible Bank officials as possible solutions to the racial problems.

6. Several attempts by the Human Rights Commission to bring the complainants and the bank officials to a friendly conference table were refused by the Bank authorities. Thus, the Commission was forced to subpoena the responsible Bank officials to a conference table on June 6, 1967. The Bank's representation at that conference was so pathetic that at one point in the discussion, the attorney from the Commission told the senior Bank official : "I would like to inform you that some of your replies to these people's questions are very out in left field".

7. On June 26, 1967, a Negro employee (provoked and harassed by one of the guilty [illegible]) was discharged from the Bank because of some petty nonsense on the part of that same supervisor. Eight other Negro employees spoke up in defense of their co-worker, charging that the discharge was unfair. One by one, they in turn were discharged from the Bank's employ and told to leave the premises immediately. Nine men, most of whom have wives and children, lost their jobs in less than one hour and a half!!

June 13, 1967

STATEMENT TO AFRO-ASIAN MISSIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON EVENTS IN PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA

The following statement, sent to all African and Asian Missions to the United Nations on June 12, 1967, was released today by James Forman, Director of International Affairs for SNCC ("Snick"):

Dear brothers and sisters:

We reject the position of the United States government that intolerable racism in the United States is a purely domestic concern. We find this claim as hypocritical as the claim of the racist government of South Africa that its supression of the human rights of 13,000,000 Africans is an internal matter, or a similar claim by the government of Portugal. Such claims are typical of colonial powers. We maintain that unwarrented and brutal suppression of black people in the United States is a matter of international concern. We are therefore addressing to you an appeal for your moral support, in the form of direct or indirect pressure upon that government which loudly proclaims its concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people yet will not guarantee basic human rights to black people in this country." We make this appeal in the spirit of SNCC's declaration, made formal in May, 1967, that it is a Human Rights Organization 'concerned with human rights not only in the United States but throughout the world.

Needless to say, the suppression of the human rights of black people is a long-standing reality in this country. The immediate basis for our appeal is the recent attack on black people in Prattville, Alabama, about which we would like to inform you at this time.

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 11, a meeting of black people to discuss political organizing was held on the grounds of the St. Mark's church in Prattville, Alabama, a small town located in Atauga County, about 40 miles from Montgomery. It is in this county that Mrs. "Ladybird" Johnson has extensive land holdings. The meeting was being addressed by former SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael when a police car drove up and an officer began harassing Brother Carmichael for speaking of "Black Power" to the gathering. This officer was Kim Hill, who earlier this year was accused of murdering a black prisoner in the Prattville jail (he was later cleared despite strong evidence of guilt). Hill repeatedly harassed Brother Carmichael for saying "Black Power" and finally arrested him on charges of disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. This was at approximately 5 p.m.

Black people in Prattville, angered by the arrest, moved swiftly to protest it at the jail and elsewhere. Gunfire was exchanged by black and white residents. Later that evening, a meeting of black people was taking place in the home of Mr. Daniel Houser, a local resident. Ku Klux Klansmen and other whites began firing on the house, where there were approximately 40 persons, the majority of them women and children. SNCC Executive Secretary Stanley Wise and Alabama Field Secretary Johnnie Jackson were also in the house. The police cordoned off a large area of the community; newsmen and others were not allowed through. A unit of the National Guard arrived from Montgomery. The house remained under siege until approximately 4 a.m. The local telephone operator repeatedly cut off calls between the house and SNCC staff as well as newsmen. Rumors that Stokely Carmichael had been lynched spread in the town.

At about 4 a.m., police ordered those in the house outside. Stanley Wise, together with Theophas Smith and Ulysses Hunley, two Alabama volunteers working with SNCC, were arrested on a charge of inciting to riot. The other black people went back into the house about an hour later and remained there until late in the morning, Monday, June 12.

[redacted] furnished a copy of a letter dated March 4, 1968, issued by the SNCC at Atlanta, Georgia:

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, Atlanta (100-6486)

Date: April 9, 1968
FBI File No. 100-439190
Lab. No. D-559234 IK

Re: SNCC
IS - SNCC

Specimens received 3/26/68

Q1 One-page typewritten letter dated 3/4/68, signed "Ralph Featherstone"

Kc1 Photocopy of Georgia Operator's License #047406 bearing known signature STANLEY LE ROY WISE

Result of examination:

It was determined that the Wise signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by STANLEY LE ROY WISE, FBI#120801F, whose known writings consist of specimen Kc1 and signatures on fingerprint cards in his identification record.

It was determined that the Featherstone signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, FBI#[illegible], whose known writing consists of a signature on a fingerprint card in his identification record.

Specimens Q1 and Kc1 are returned herewith. Photographs have been retained.

V. CHARACTER OF SNCC

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

[redacted] advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

[redacted] advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

VI. TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES BY SNCC MEMBERS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Articles appearing in the public press and other news media reflect that between the period of June, 1967, and December, 1967, CARMICHAEL visited numerous European countries. In June, 1967, he participated in the meeting of the Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Other articles appearing in the public press indicate that during his absence, he also visited Hanoi, North Viet Nam.

JOHN PEARL TILLMAN

During June and July of 1967, it was determined that invitations had been sent to youth organizations in the United States to send representatives to the International Youth Meeting in Leningrad, USSR. TILLMAN was one of the two representatives of SNCC selected to attend this meeting.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE

WARE has been identified as being in Cuba with STOKELY CARMICHAEL during late July and early August of 1967.

STANLEY LEROY WISE

On November 17, 1967, WISE was a guest speaker at a Black Power meeting held on November 16, 1967, in Chicago, Illinois. During his speech WISE related his experiences of his travel to North Viet Nam.

WILLIE FLOYD RICKS

RICKS is a Field Secretary for SNCC. It has been reported that on the evening of January 10, 1968,

the Associated Press Bureau in Miami, Florida, advised that Havana Radio identified RICKS as being in Havana, Cuba.

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

This individual was identified through the same media above as having been in and traveled to Havana, Cuba.

JENNIFER KAREN LAWSON

This individual has also been identified through the aforementioned sources as having traveled to and been in Havana, Cuba.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-6488

Atlanta, Georgia
June 24, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	6/24/68	5/6/68-6/20/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		jgd
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RACIAL MATTERS		

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Atlanta dated 5/23/68.
Newark airtel to Director dated 6/3/68.
Bulet to New Orleans dated 5/13/68.

- P -

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION

At Atlanta, Ga.

Will continue to develop information indicating possible conspiracy on the part of leaders of SNCC to violate one or more of Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, Title 18, U. S. Code.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [X] YES [ ] NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [X] NO

APPROVED [initials] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-1928 REC-14

1. JUN 27 1968

COPIES MADE:
10 - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
1 - OSI, District #6, Robins Air Force Base, Ga. (RM)
1 - 111th MIG, Region 5, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	NCSI	NTC	OSI	SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	CAO: IDIU	CRD	CRTM	CIH (BY LIAISON)
Date Fwd.	7/5/68			
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	RTB/JKF			

Notations: DEPT: J. Waite ... (Atlanta ...)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 JUL 10 1968

INFORMANTS:

Source	Date of Activity	File Locations
[redacted]	3/6/68	100-7098-977
[redacted]	3/15/68 3/19/68 5/7/68	100-7098-1058 -1057 100-6488-6816
[redacted]	3/22/68 6/20/68	100-7098-1057 Instant report
[redacted]	4/19/68	100-7098-1138

FD-263 (Rev. 3-3-59)

C O N F I [redacted] N T I A L

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

1 - OSI, District #6,
Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

1 - 111th MIG, Region 5,
Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Atlanta

Date: June 24, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

[redacted]

Other literature directed by SNCC urges public support of total involvement in their struggle. [redacted]

\- P -

DETAILS:

[redacted] advised that on February 21, 1968, after H. RAP BROWN was arrested on a charge of assaulting a federal officer, [redacted]

[redacted]

C O N F I D [redacted] N T I A L

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

By letter dated March 6, 1968, [redacted] furnished the following "news letters" received by him March 5, 1968 in a letter postmarked at Atlanta, Georgia, March 4, 1968, bearing return address "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia, 30313."

These "press releases" are as follows:

1. Hold massive rallies (demonstrations, marches, picket lines) in support of Rap Brown in as many cities, towns, areas, as possible. Contact all groups and individuals involved in the Black Liberation Struggle and ask them to help in this massive effort.

2. At rallies etc., enumerate charges against Rap and read letter from prison which Rap has sent to his brothers and sisters.

3. Engage in any acts of civil disobedience which you consider appropriate, acts that will completely tie up the enemy's system--by any means necessary!

4. Send telegrams in support of H. Rap Brown, demanding his release to U.S. Atty. General Ramsay Clarke, Washington, D.C.
Send telegrams protesting the Orangeburg Massacre and demanding that the murderers be punished to Gov. McNair in Columbia, South Carolina.
Please send copies of telegrams to: SNCC
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

5. Above all, let's take care of business the same way that the man takes care of business with us---in the only language he will ever understand. Our time is running out fast. We must learn a good lesson from our Vietnamese brothers who are defeating America--the so-called "most powerful country in the world." SELF DEFENSE and RETALIATION---with GUNS and STRATEGY---is the only answer! For Orangeburg, for Rap Brown, for Huey Newton, for Max Stanford, for LeRoi Jones, for Cleveland Sellers, for all of us, the word is MAXIMUM RETALIATION TO THEM with MINIMUM LOSSES TO US!!!

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMM.
360 [illegible] St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

A LETTER FROM PRISON

TO MY

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS

February 22, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to it's fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroits, And for every Orangeburg, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight! It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of 68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not

NOTE TO AMERICA!

AMERICA: If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

LASIHE TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA

WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

On March 15, 1968, [redacted] furnished a copy of "A Letter From Prison From H. RAP BROWN," dated February 21, 1968, at New Orleans, Louisiana.

This letter is set forth as follows:

A LETTER FROM PRISON FROM H. RAP BROWN

Parish Prison
New Orleans, La.
2/21/68

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

For everyday I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs -- that Black People must be free. The Government has taken a position true to its fascist nature: Those who we cannot convert, we must silence. This government has become the enemy of Mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to Freedom. For our people, Death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire Freedom is not enough.

We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroits. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every Black Death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. You must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA

America, if it takes my Death to organize my people to revolt against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize Mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life! But my soul belongs to MY PEOPLE.

Lasima Tushinde Mbilashaka. (We shall conquer without a doubt.)

H. RAP BROWN

On March 22, 1968, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that the texture of the paper and the general makeup of the leaflet is of higher quality than local printing facilities of SNCC are capable of producing. These sources advised that the letter was obviously prepared by someone with a working knowledge of SNCC and its policies, but they seriously doubted it was authored by H. RAP BROWN as it contains language and organization beyond BROWN's capabilities. These sources were unable to furnish any information indicating the possible identity of the individual preparing this leaflet.

On April 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that on February 29, 1968, he had obtained the same leaflet from a table filled with copies at SNCC Headquarters, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

As of March 23, 1968, [redacted] advised he had been unable to obtain information which would establish SNCC's and/or BROWN's authorship of the leaflet.

On May 7, 1968, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter dated March 4, 1968, issued by the SNCC office at Atlanta, Georgia. This letter is set forth as follows:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
688-0331

March 4, 1968

MARCH 20------DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN and THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

White america has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white america always treats her enemies------ SHE MURDERS THEM!!!

The most recent example of white america's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. we in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to white america: it's material possessions.

So---take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle----but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!!

Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

In connection with the aforementioned letter, handwriting specimens of STANLEY WISE and RALPH FEATHERSTONE were secured and forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for comparison with the handwritten names of these individuals appearing on the letter of March 4, 1968.

The results of this examination were as follows:

To: FBI, Atlanta (100-6488)

Date: April 9, 1968
FBI File No. 100-439190
Lab. No. D-559234 IK

Re: SNCC
IS - SNCC

Specimens received 3/26/68

Q1 One-page typewritten letter dated 3/4/68, signed "Ralph Featherstone"

Kc1 Photocopy of Georgia Operator's License #047406 bearing known signature STANLEY LE ROY WISE

Result of examination:

It was determined that the Wise signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by STANLEY LE ROY WISE, FBI#120891F, whose known writings consist of specimen Kc1 and signatures on fingerprint cards in his identification record.

It was determined that the Featherstone signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, FBI#329023G, whose known writing consists of a signature on a fingerprint card in his identification record.

Specimens Q1 and Kc1 are returned herewith. Photographs have been retained.

On March 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had heard the matter mentioned in the March 4, 1968 letter discussed in Atlanta. The source said that the plans set forth were not directives of the National Headquarters of SNCC, but were ideas that have been distributed to affiliated offices throughout the country. The source added that any demonstrations were to be peaceful in character as SNCC believes that to provoke agitation would further adversely affect their financial condition.

APPENDIX

1

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a West coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government of every level."

A second source advised on September 25, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

1

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader," from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely nonwhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World"; that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if an RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where STANFORD resides.

AT 100-6466

1

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of the organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

H.I. 100 648 5

CONFIDENTIAL

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

X

27

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	11/26/68	6/25/68 - 11/15/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	mcc
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTERS	

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [redacted] 6/24/68

-P-

LEADS:

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization and submit 90 day report.

(COVER PAGE)

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					None	ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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3-Atlanta (100-6188)

REC 55

100-439190-1993

REC 55

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NIC~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,	
Request Recd.	[illegible]: ISD, CRD, RAO [illegible]	
Date Fwd.	HOW FWD: [illegible]	
How Fwd.	DATE FWD: [illegible]	
By	BY:	

61 DEC 31 1968

INFORMANT

Informant	Date of Activity	File Location
[redacted]	5/17/68	100-6488-6859
	6/11/68	7046
[redacted]	6/11-13/68	100-6488-7031
	7/9/68	7212
	9/1/68	7510
	9/30/68	7607
[redacted]	6/11-13/68	100-6488-7175
[redacted]		
[redacted]	August, 1968	100-6488-7362
	6/25/68	7364
	6/25/68	7370
	7/24/68	7481
[redacted]	8/22/68	100-6488-7399
[redacted]	7/24/68	100-6488-7472
	9/30/68	7592
	8/26/68	7594
[redacted]	9/9/68	100-6488-7514
[redacted]	9/3/68	100-6488-7554
[redacted]	[illegible]/16/68	157-3518-1

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "confidential" as information contained herein attributed to [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] were secured from sources active in and closely associated with the Civil Rights movement. Should the identities of these sources become known to individuals outside the Bureau, it could seriously effect

their continued usefullness in furnishing intelligence information regarding this movement.

* Priority One
**Priority Two

C*
(COVER PAGE)

FD-3 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-CO, OSI, OSI District Six, Robins AFB, Ga. 31093 (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Fort McPherson, Ga. 30330 (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: November 26, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National Headquarters located 360-362 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta. Voluntary contributions dropped sharply. Appeal made in September, 1968, of $10,000 for taxes, office supplies, subsistence wages for staff and program expenses. In September, 1968, appeal made to National Episcopal Church, New York City, in name of Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta for $[illegible]0,000 to better race relations in Atlanta. [redacted] reports National Episcopal Church will furnish $34,000 soon after the first of 1969. Reasons for expulsion of STOKELY CARMICHAEL from organization set forth. Objectives adopted at annual conference in June, 1968, set forth. Alliance with National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, Black Liberators, Black Student Alliance, Black Panther Party, and Students for a Democratic Society set forth.

-P-

DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

Information received from [redacted] reflects that the National Headquarters of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia.

II. FINANCES

A. Source of Funds

In August, 1968, [redacted] advised that financial assistance has been rendered SNCC through the circularization of fund raising type letters under the signature of such prominent Negroes as HARRY BELAFONTE, the actor, and JAMES BALDWIN, the author, and through voluntary contributors from "liberals" both Negro and white. The source added, however, that during the year, 1968, efforts to circulate such fund raising correspondence has not been undertaken and voluntary contributions have dropped sharply. The source attributed this to the fact that all "liberal money" is currently being donated to the "MC CARTHY For President" Campaign. The source was of the opinion that after the Democratic Convention, donations would increase should Senator MC CARTHY fail to secure the presidential nomination.

On September 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that under date of September 1, 1968, SNCC had circulated the following appeal for funds:

Student
Nonviolent
Coordinating
Committee

[illegible] Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia [illegible]
[illegible]

September 1, 1968

DEAR FRIENDS:

In our unrelenting struggle for the liberation of oppresses people, both in America and abroad, we have met with many obstacles and varying forms of repression. New ways to quell our thrust are being invented daily.

The record shows that SNCC has been the vanguard group in the struggle to build economic and political power for the oppressed. Yet, the mass media and national leaders portray us as a band of unthinking and irresponsible individuals. Those who seek to maintain the system may be fooled; the oppressed are not.

During our annual spring meeting, the SNCC staff underwent a major reorganization. We evaluated and expanded our program to build a Black political party. We developed programs to increase Black economic strength and to establish liberation schools across the nation. These actions were part of our continual effort to serve Black people more effectively.

YOU CAN HELP SNCC to implement its objectives by spreading the principles of liberation thoughout your communities. Literature is available from any SNCC office.

YOU CAN HELP SNCC to keep its national office open for services to Black people through your financial contributions. Ten thousand dollars is needed for taxes, office supplies, subsistance wages for our staff, and for program expenses.

SNCC is pledged to continue its resistance until all oppressed people are liberated. Our stand is firm; our commitment is great. With your help in the words of Rap Brown, "We will conquer without a doubt."

Yours for liberation

Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary

III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

A. Election Held in Atlanta, June, 1968

On June 17, 1968, the New York Office of SNCC, located at Room 803, 105th Avenue, issued the following release:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
100 Fifth Ave
Room 803
N.Y., N.Y. 10011

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: June 17, 1968

SNCC REORGANIZES

Within the past two years repression against the Black community has increased to the point where we are now faced with the question of whether or not we survive as a race of people. Along with this repression, we have witnessed the intense persecution of militant Black leaders such as Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Cleve Sellers, Herman Ferguson, and H. Rap Brown who served as Chairman of SNCC from May, 1967 until June, 1968.

In order to better deal with this repression and persecution and to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, at our annual staff meeting held in Atlanta, June 11-15, decided to restructure the organization.

The following people were elected Deputy Chairmen of SNCC:

George Ware of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Johnny Wilson of New York City
Donald Stone of Atlanta
James Forman of New York City
Bob Smith of Atlanta
Brother Crook of Los Angeles
Former Executive Secretary, Stanley Wise of N.C. and Louisiana

Other Deputy Chairmen will be elected later. Phil Hutchings of Newark was elected Program Secretary.

Rap Brown continues to be active in the organization.

Some of the crucial issues discussed at the staff meeting included: (1) creation of a national mass political party, (2) anti-war, anti-draft activity, (3) formation of liberation schools, and (4) southern student unions. Knowing that police repression will be increased and intensified this summer in the Black community, SNCC also discussed survival refugee stations throughout its projects and defence units.

On June 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that a National Chairman for SNCC was not elected at the annual meeting of the central committee but that instead PHILLIP HUTCHINGS was elected vice chairman in charge of the program department. Source added that the positions of vice chairman or deputy chairman were being created and that in addition to HUTCHINGS, mentioned above, JOHN C. WILSON had been designated a deputy chairman for New York City, DONALD P. STONE would be a deputy chairman for Atlanta, Georgia, and ROBERT SMITH would be a deputy chairman for the Atlanta, Georgia area. JAMES FORMAN would be deputy chairman in New York City, as well as being in charge of the international division of SNCC. STANLEY LEROY WISE had been designated deputy chairman in charge of North Carolina and Louisiana, and BROTHER CROOK would be designated a vice chairman in charge of Los Angeles. BROTHER CROOK is identified as RONALD LEROY WILKINS, a resident of Los Angeles, California. He was born August 12, 1946, in San Francisco, California.

Information received from [redacted] reflected that GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE had been designated a deputy chairman in charge of college campuses through the United States andmt the states of North Carolina and South Carolina.

F. Central Committee of SNCC

On June 25, 1968, [redacted] identified the following individuals as being members of the Central Committee of SNCC:

JOHN [illegible], Charleston, South Carolina

ROBERT SMITH, Atlanta, Georgia

BOB MOORE, Baltimore, Maryland

LESTER MC KINNIE, Washington, D. C.

JAMES [illegible], New York City, New York

ETHEL MINOR, Atlanta, Georgia

FREDDIE GREENE, Atlanta, Georgia

FRED MEELY, New York City, New York

WILLIE RICKS, Atlanta, Georgia

JAMES FORMAN, New York City, New York

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE, Tuskegee Institute

DONALD P. STONE, Atlanta, Georgia

PHIL HUTCHINGS, Newark, New Jersey

C. Expulsion of STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On August 22, 1968, an article appeared in the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia, reflecting that SNCC had disowned STOKELY CARMICHAEL, according to PHIL HUTCHINGS, the National Program Secretary. The announcement reflected that "it is with regret and no pleasure that SNCC announces it has terminated STOKELY CARMICHAEL's relationship to the organization". The article continued "Brother CARMICHAEL, both as a member and as chairman of SNCC made tremendous strides in the fight for black liberation over the past 8 years. It is our hope that the black people of America, and throughout the world will judge this decision based both upon the present and future activities of SNCC, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. We are sorry it had to come to this".

On August 22, 1968, [redacted] advised that CARMICHAEL had been officially "fired" by SNCC for the following reasons:

1. Failed to report to SNCC on his personal matter

2. Failed to report on his daily activities as related to SNCC

3. Has been a threat to the SNCC leadership in Washington, D. C.

D. Statements of Objectives Adopted at June and July, 1968 Meetings

On July 24, 1968, [redacted] made available the following objectives adopted by SNCC at the annual conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, in June, 1968:

"We, the Africans who live in the United States, are the descendants of those wrenched from the shores of Africa, transplanted in an alien land, enslaved, forced to develop under political servitude the resources of the United States. We are merely one part of the dispersed African population that the White Western slavers have scattered throughout the world. During our forced exile away from the continent of Africa, every attempt has been made to rupture our ancestral ties with Africa and to so brainwash us as to make us feel we have no relationship with the continent of Africa.

We assert today that we are part of the African continent.

We are Overseas Africans living in the United States.

We are committed to the liberation of the African continent.

We are committed to the liberation of African people wherever they exist and are the victims of racism, exploitation and oppression.

We make these assertions in the spirit of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. The concept of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism makes it imperative that all Africans unite and wage a fight against racism, capitalism, and imperialism--those intertwined triple hyenas that have dispersed our people throughout the world, that keep us in bondage and that oppress mankind.

We the people of African descent living in the United States must be extremely conscious of our need to cooperate especially in the liberation of Southern Africa where the white western powers have decided to maintain colonialism in its most brutal and savage forms. At the same time we must redouble our efforts to unite all oppressed people suffering from imperialist domination led by the United States. Concerning our internal situation in the United States, we form a colony within the United States. We are a colonized people, We suffer from racism, political domination and economic exploitation as well as cultural degradation.

The struggle of our people has been one of resistance to the colonizing process in the United States. We resisted on the high seas during our enslavement. We resisted throughout the period of our enslavement and we fought with weapons in the United States Civil War for our so-called emancipation from the status of slaves to neo-slaves.

We resist today and we shall continue to resist!

Within the brief span of the history of our own organization, we have seen efforts by the United States government and the White Power People and Press (WPPP) to further explain away the spirit of our resistance. On February 1, 1960, four students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were engaged in a new wave of rebellious activity by black college students that has mounted and raised the consciousness of our people to new heights of resistance in the streets of Watts, Newark, Detroit and many other cities throughout the United States. The armed rebellions of black people in the so-called ghettoes are just another manifestation of the resistance spirit of our people.

We are not unaware that the United States government through its vast propaganda network in Africa, Asia, and Latin America has tried to deceive our brothers overseas that the sit-ins were merely attempts to integrate into the mainstream of American life. This is a lie.

Our struggle during the early sixties was a struggle against white supremacy and its racist, exploitative manifestations in the areas of public accommodations and lack of political representation. Even as we struggled then we were committed to fundamentally changing the political and economic framework of this country in which racism and white supremacy run rampant.

We see today on many fronts efforts to explain away and to remove the fire from the concept, Black Power. There are those who would like to take the revolutionary sting away from black power and make it merely another American reform movement.

Therefore, it is necessary to state that Black Power is a revolutionary force that seeks the elimination of capitalism and the industrial-military complex which undergirds it. We call upon all our brothers and sisters to intensify the revolutionary consciousness among our people to unite in the fight against racism, capitalism and imperialism. It is through our unity and an unrelenting struggle by whatever means necessary that we will help in the liberation of oppressed people throughout the world."

On August 29, 1968, [redacted] furnished the breakdown of goals and objectives adopted by SNCC at a meeting of the Central Committee in New York City, July 27-29, 1968. These goals are as follows:

1. As overseas Africans, we demand the extraction of all investments of the military-industrial-banking complex from the whole of Africa. In connection with this, we seek a liberated, united independent Africa.

2. We demand the cessation of political and diplomatic intrigue into the affairs of the third world.

3. We demand a respect for the cultural integrity of non-western people and a destruction of institutional and cultural racism which is the foundation of attitudes that allow for the oppression and exploitation of non-western people.

4. We seek the end of the present captialist, economic systems and the institution of a more humanistic system that calls for a more realistic distribution of wealth and a more collective, creative life style.

5. We seek the abolition of participation of Black men in the military machinery of this present system.

6. We seek the establishment of liberation schools for the purpose of bridging the cultural and historical gaps that separate us from our connections with the past and also for the purpose of creating a class of Black revolutionaries.

7. We seek the establishment of a National Black Revolutionary Party that will address itself to the liberation of Black people.

8. We seek the establishment of survival refugee stations.

IV. PARTICIPATION IN AND/OR SUPPORT OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

A characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] advised that the National Headquarters of this organization had appointed JOHN P. TILLMAN, a known SNCC associate as the one to be in charge of the Atlanta Office of this organization. The source advised that in June, 1968, TILLMAN had attempted to organize a movement in Atlanta, and did, in fact, establish office at 8 Raymond Street, NW. The conference for the NDAWADU was held in Atlanta, and a social dance was held with the prospect of developing support for the movement in Atlanta. However, due to mismanagement on the part of TILLMAN, this movement was a complete failure in the Atlanta area, and never attained any proportion of success.

B. Harambee Sisters

[redacted]

Information received from this source reflects that the Harambee Sisters continued to meet each third Wednesday, and at present are hoping to sponsor a penny festival to help support SNCC and its program.

C. Black Liberator

[redacted]

D. Black Student Alliance

[redacted] has advised that although SNCC has not openly and actively supported the movement of this organization on the campus of the Atlanta University System, CLEVELAND SELLERS the former program director of SNCC, who presently resides in Atlanta, Georgia, has been active in attempting to organize this alliance on the Atlanta University Campus. The source said that the facilities of SNCC have been used in the past in preparing literature distributed by the Black Student Alliance.

E. Black Panther Party (BPP)

Characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

The following article appeared in the Atlanta, Georgia Constitution of July 23, 1968:

SN[illegible] Allies With Black Panthers

By LESTER CARSON

NEW YORK (AP) — The Black Panther party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have formed a "working alliance" which the two militant groups hope will be the genesis of a black political party, it was disclosed Monday.

James Forman, former SNCC chairman, said the alliance will try to unify all black militant groups in the country against what he called the "mounting forces of repression," examples of which, he said, were the "stockpiling of arms and the arming of white citizens" and "assassinating black leaders."

The alliance was formed Feb 19, Forman said, "the birthday of Huey P. Newton." Newton who founded the Panthers, is being tried in Oakland, Calif. on charges of killing a policeman.

STOKELY & RAP

In the alliance, SNCC leaders also hold offices in the Panthers. Forman, now SNCC chairman of international relations, is the Panthers' minister of foreign affairs.

Stokely Carmichael, director of the SNCC Washington, D.C. project, is the Panther's prime minister. H. Rap Brown, who Forman said holds no office in SNCC is Panther minister of justice.

Carmichael, Brown and Forman are all former SNCC chairmen.

[redacted] advised on June 25, 1968, that during the reorganization of SNCC which took place at its annual meeting in 1968, JAMES FORMAN, who was in charge of the international division of SNCC, wanted to structure SNCC in the same pattern as the BPP and proposed a merger of the two organizations. However, according to the source, the latter motion was voted down.

F. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

On September 23, 1968, [redacted] made available a statement issued by the SDS setting out its support of SNCC. This statement is as follows:

September 3, 1968
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE...

Contact: New York Region
SDS
131 Prince St., NYC
(212) 674-8310

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC,
TEXAS SDS, AFRO-AMERICANS FOR BLACK LIBERATION
AND BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The New York office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) announced today its intention to act in support of members of the Black Panther Party, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Afro-Americans for Black Liberation and Texas SDS who have recently met political repression.

The decision stems from events within the past four weeks in Brooklyn and four cities in Texas.

In Brooklyn, concern centers around the arrest of members of the Black Panther Party and the harsh treatment given them by Brooklyn Criminal Court. At their arraignment, 150 helmeted policemen stood between the defendants and the judge. The accused were all given unreasonably high bail. Assistant D.A. Meglio justified this treatment by declaring, "These men are being used as tools by people intent on political movements bordering on anarchy..." Inordinately high bail was set to keep the Panthers out of circulation. It was later reduced, but not to the point where the men could afford to purchase their freedom.

In Texas many events occured which went unreported by the press. SNCC has been gaining strength in Texas and is now doing organizing work in at least seven cities around community control issues. Organizers have been subject to constant harassment, which has now intensified.

15

Organizers in Austin, Dallis, Houstin, and Killen have been jailed on various charges (some have already been sentenced), most of which arose out of demonstrations of organizing activities. In Austin, SNCC, SDS, and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation demonstrated at a gas station about amonth ago. The owner, an open racist, refused to serve anyone with long hair or a beard. Lary Jackson, head of Austin SNCC, was arrested on a trumped-up assault charge. When he was arrested, the other demonstrators--about twenty of them--sat down; they were arrested under a Texas anti-labor law that prohibits the obstructing the labor of others. Lary was sentenced to two years probated and a $500 fine. Many of the others are still in jail, unable to pay bail, awaiting trial.

In Dallis, SNCC lead demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested; Ernest McMillan, SNCC Field Secretary, and his aide, received ten-year sentences within the past week for "destruction of private property worth over $50" (that is dropping merchandise).

Lee Otis Johnson, head of Houstin SNCC, has been harassed ever since he first came to Texas. Last week he was sentenced to 30 years on a trumped-up narcotics charge. His wife Helen is now on trial, charged with assault, and may receive a life sentence.

In Killen, near Fort Hood, the Summer of Support ran a coffee house which offered GI counseling. The Killen City Council had it closed last week as a "p ublic nuissance." Fifteen people, including its head, Josh Stroud, were arrested. Some were SDS organizers, some were with SNCC. They are still in jail.

Thirty-five more people were jailed last Saturday, August 31

on various charges. They are being processed rapidly by Texas courts and were scheduled for trials on Monday, September 2. They are charged with crimes (such as trespass) which are misdemeanors in New York, but, in Texas, are considered felonies. All of the 35 new defendants could receive up to ten year sentences. All have had no real legal defense, being forced to use Texas public defenders, for lack of funds.

Attorney William Kuntsler of New York has agreed to act as full-time legal coordinator for the Texas cases. He will help acquire volunteer movement lawyers for the accused.

We consider these attacks on SNCC, the Panthers, Afro-Americans for Black Liberation, and SDS instances of blatant political repression. We note particularly the use of the courts (a traditionally respected American institution) as an instrument of this repression. In the Texas and Brooklyn cases, individuals have been given "criminal" treatment for what were political activities.

SDS is planning support actions. The first of these will take place, in support of the Panthers, on Wednesday, September 4, the next date the Panthers are due to make a court appearance. A picket line and rally will be held at the court, 120 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, at 8:30 a.m.

In support of our brothers and sisters in Texas we are mounting a campaign to raise the funds needed for bail and legal defense. Contributors should wire money to: Austin SNCC, 1911 Rosewood Ave., Austin Texas. A support rally will be held on Saturday, Sept. 7, at 12:30p.m. in Union Square, New York City.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX (10/11/68)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tenacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

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NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION (NBAWADU)

On February 5, 1968, a first source advised during the January 27 through 29, 1968 Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)-sponsored National Anti-War conference in Chicago, Illinois, a "black caucus" was held. JOHN WILSON of the New York Office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) announced the Black Caucus had formed a National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU) which would closely cooperate with the SMC.

On March 22, 1968, a second source advised the national headquarters of NBAWADU is located within the New York Office of SNCC at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City (NYC). Source further advised NBAWADU is a SNCC-dominated organization and only Negroes may become members.

A printed and published statement by NBAWADU in the form of a position paper states the basic aims and purpose of NBAWADU are to initiate and/or support anti-war and anti-draft movements and to afford draft counseling to those who wish to resist the draft.

On April 12, 1968, a third source advised NBAWADU has appointed regional leaders in major urban cities throughout the United States. Source further advised NBAWADU has held one national meeting at the Diplomat Hotel, New York City, on April 12-14, 1968.

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FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia 30301
November 26, 1968

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Atlanta report of SA [redacted] captioned and dated as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	3/10/69	11/18/68 - 3/6/69

TITLE OF CASE

SNCC

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: :mah

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [redacted] 11/26/68,
Bureau airtel to Atlanta and other offices, 2/7/69,
Atlanta letter to Bureau, 2/14/69.

-P-

LEADS

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization through sources and submit report 6/10/69.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED	None					ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [X] YES [ ] NO; PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [X] NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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Notations

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
Request Recd.	: ISD, CRD, RAO, INIA, Civ
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW: RS
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 4/7/69
By	BY: FTB / MJ

Cc & cd

56 APR 16 1969

INFORMANTS

Identity of informant	Date of Activity	Location of Information
	12/26/68	100-6488-7826
	12/27/68	100-6488-7840
	12/28/68	100-6488-7840
	12/29/68	100-6488-7840
	2/10/69	100-6488-7941
	3/3/69	Instant report
	11/15/68	
	11/4/68	100-6488-781[illegible]
	12/18/68	100-6488-782[illegible]
	1/7/69	100-6488-7860
	2/12/69	Instant report
,	12/3/68	100-6488-7837
	12/27/68	100-6488-7840
	12/28/68	100-6488-7840
	12/29/68	100-6488-781[illegible]
	12/20/68	100-6488-784[illegible]
	3/5/69	Instant report
	1/7/69	100-6488-[illegible]
	1/6 - 7/69	100-6488-7876
	12/16/68	100-6488-781[illegible]

INFORMANTS cont'd.

Identity of informant	Date of Activity	Location of Information
[redacted]	1/27/69	157-2119
[redacted]	[illegible] 69	Instant report
[redacted]	3/1 - 2/69	Instant report
[redacted]	2/12/69	Instant report
[redacted]	2/18/69	Inst[illegible]
[redacted]	2/27/[illegible]	Insta[illegible]
[redacted]	2/18/69	Instant report
[redacted]	2/5/69	Instant report
[redacted]	2/13/69	Insta[illegible]
[redacted]	2/28/69	Ins[illegible]

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified confidential [illegible] tion contained herein attributed to [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] was secured from sources active [illegible] closely associated with the civil rights movement [illegible] the identities of these sources become known to ind[illegible] outside the FBI, it could subsequently affect their [illegible] in furnishing intelligence information regarding this [illegible]

(COVER PAGE)

Bureau airtel dated 2/7/69 instructed that Atlanta and other offices conduct appropriate investigation to resolve statements made by DONALD P. STONE in interview over Radio Havana concerning the existence of liberation school and the addition of the words "Black Power" in the title of the SNCC organization. Atlanta has reviewed the replies received from other offices and has included only the pertinent information received.

[illegible]

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1-OSI, District 6, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1-NIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: March 10, 1969

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National headquarters located at 360-362 Nelson St. Atlanta. [redacted] Staff meeting held in Atlanta 12/28 - 29/68, described as "no active accomplishments and few proposals for action" suggested or approved. CLEVELAND SELLERS and WILLIE RICKS dismissed from SNCC because of efforts to organize the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Atlanta. DONALD [illegible] STONE in interview over Radio Havana, Cuba, 1/16/69, advised [illegible] is Deputy Chairman of SNCC in charge of Liberation Schools and alleged that words "Black Power" have been added to the title [illegible] the organization. Investigation fails to establish wide ex[illegible] of liberation schools and does not substantiate that "Black P[illegible]" has been added to title.

-P-

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification

I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

On March 3, 1969, [redacted] advised that the national headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continued to be located at 360-362 Nelson Street S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

II. FINANCES

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

In January, 1969, [redacted] advised that SNCC is currently in a state of internal confusion, completely lacking in financial resources to effectively function as it has in the past. Source attributed the financial difficulties to the position that SNCC took in the Fall of 1967 after it had made known its strong Pro-Arab position, with respect to the Israeli-Arab War in June, 1967.

SNCC felt that their Pro-Arab position would dissipate and donations would resume; however, with the advent of peace candidates seeking elective office both nationally and locally in 1968, funds were being channeled toward the campaign funds of these peace candidates and SNCC continued to be unable to meet its operating expenses in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia. The source felt that SNCC has completely lost its effectiveness and appeal to the black communities throughout the country, and with the increased organizational activity of the Black Panther Party (BPP) throughout the country, what little appeal that did exist for SNCC was lost to the BPP because of its extreme militant policies and superior financial situation. The source said that the [illegible]

financial situation of SNCC prevailed throughout 1968 causing difficulties and dissension among and between the national leadership of SNCC. This dissension and fighting among the national officials caused many of the nationally known individuals such as RALPH FEATHERSTONE, STANLEY WISE, STOCKELY CARMICHAEL, and H. RAP BROWN to either disassociate themselves from the organization or being dismissed by SNCC.

[redacted] advised on December 16, 1968, that recently JAMES FORMAN, Deputy Chairman of the International Affairs Office of SNCC had written a book entitled Sammy Younge, Jr. This book has been published by the Grove Press and is to sell for $5.95 per copy in the hardback edition.

This book is a story of a Negro college student who was shot and killed in Alabama after he attempted to use the white restroom at a service station.

Arrangements have been made through the publisher so that the publisher will sell each book to SNCC for $2.00 per copy and SNCC in turn hopes to handle most of the retail sales of this book, charging $5.95 per copy.

[redacted]

III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

A. Central Committee and Staff Meetings

On January 7, 1969, [redacted] advised that a staff meeting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was held at SNCC Offices, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, on December 28 and 29, 1968.

According to this source, there was no active accomplishments and few proposals for action. This source advised that JAMES FORMAN, SNCC Deputy Chairman from New York, proposed a Four Year College Campus Chapter Program and that IRVING DAVIS, SNCC Deputy Chairman from New York, proposed a re-evaluation of the SNCC staff and programs in which each were involved. He also introduced a program for "Revolutionary Economics", but details were not secured by this source.

Source stated further that proposals by DAVIS and FORMAN had a demoralizing effect on the staff and a number of members left before the official ending of this meeting on December 29, 1968. A small group of college students affiliated with SNCC in Texas, attending this meeting, stated that SNCC does not know where the people are any more, and that the organization had no worthwhile working programs.

A characterization of the "Black Panther Party" appears in the appendix section of this report.

[redacted] SELLERS was dismissed from the SNCC staff as was WILLIE RICKS for the same reason.

Source also advised that GEORGE WARE, SNCC Campus Coordinator, was also dismissed at this meeting and was replaced by an SNCC staff member from New Orleans, Louisiana, known only as "SCROOGE". This source added that WARE was dismissed because of his travels, particularly his current trip to Biafra, Africa. Source believed WARE left London, England for Biafra prior to Christmas Day, 1968 for an indefinite period, but had no additional data in this regard.

[redacted] advised approximately 30 individuals were present at this staff meeting and the majority of the time set aside for this meeting was devoted to arguments relative to the dismissal from SNCC of CLEVELAND SELLERS and WILLIE RICKS for their efforts to organize a "Black Panther Party" Chapter in Atlanta, Georgia, and the dismissal of GEORGE WARE, an SNCC official from Tuskegee, Alabama, for his failure to maintain contact with other SNCC officials.

The source stated the meeting was officiated over by PHIL HUTCHINGS, SNCC Program Director, and during the course of this three day meeting strong "Anti-JAMES FORMAN" feelings were exhibited by the majority of the national leadership and particularly by IRVING DAVIS, SNCC International Affairs Director from New York City.

[redacted]

According to this source, considerable discussion was entered into regarding the formation of a "Political Party" in the South initially, and eventually moving organizational efforts to the northern urban areas; however, no concrete plan was put forth. The purpose of forming such a political party being to overshadow the "Black Panther Party's" (BPP) influence.

[redacted] advised that IRVING DAVIS, who holds the position of Deputy Chairman of SNCC for the East Coast and is also associated with the International Affairs Office of SNCC in New York City, reported that he had recently returned from a three month trip visiting SNCC Chapters in Paris, France, Denmark and Sweden. He also had spent more than a month visiting Cuba. DAVIS indicated that he did not want to relate the details of his trip to Cuba at this open session for security reasons as there were many new people in attendance.

DAVIS did state that the Paris, France chapter of SNCC is in a fairly stable condition, especially since the riots in France in the Spring of 1968. DAVIS stated that this chapter and its members had supported these riots against the French Government and as a result had

been able to gain local support from the population. DAVIS stated that the Paris Chapter is in need of people from the United States to come to Paris to assist in the operations of this chapter. DAVIS said he found that black people in Paris are in as bad shape in regard to jobs, housing, education and so forth, as black people in the United States. DAVIS indicated that the Paris Chapter has 120 members and is in need of money. The main problem relating to money is that this chapter has to deal with the white population in order to obtain funds.

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During the staff meetings it was decided that the term "fund raising" would be changed to "revolutionary economics". IRVING DAVIS commented that the following plans are being considered by SNCC to raise funds:

1. SNCC would contact people and ask them to put money in trust funds and bonds in the name of SNCC so that SNCC could borrow money against these bonds and trust funds.

2. SNCC will also contact people and attempt to get these people to purchase shares of bank stock in the name of SNCC so that SNCC could borrow money against these stocks.

3. DAVIS said that SNCC has purchased a one-third interest in a printing business, not further identified, in Brooklyn, New York, which business is considered to be a good money making operation. This printing business handles all types of printing work and SNCC will make contact with all types of businesses in an attempt to interest them in doing business with this printing company.

4. SNCC will reactivate the Afro-American News Service which SNCC had formerly operated. This news service would contain news of interest to black people and would be sold to Negro orientated newspapers and radio stations.

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5. SNCC will really push the sale of the book entitled Sammy Younger, Jr. by JAMES FORMAN. Black colleges will be contacted in an attempt to make mandatory reading among all students and attempts will be made to get these colleges to place this book in the library and college book stores.

It was decided that alliances, which SNCC had formed with such alleged para-military groups as the Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) and the Black Liberators of St. Louis, Missouri, would not be made public and that all SNCC members should receive military training in line with a proposal made at the Central Committee meeting of SNCC held at Baltimore, Maryland in October, 1968. This military training would be clandestine in nature and within the next four to six months a training session would be held at some location to be identified in the future where representatives of SNCC and alliance groups would be present. This training session would be conducted by MICHAEL RESHARD of ODAC and CHARLES KOEN of the Black Liberators, who also is Deputy Chairman for SNCC in the Mid-West. Instructions would be given in the use and handling of weapons and explosives.

It was decided that each SNCC chapter should form a para-military group which would operate underground with membership on a select basis and that continued attempts should be made to form alliances with other para-military type black organizations.

SNCC should also encourage the establishment of gun clubs for black people who for one reason or another do not want to be associated with any black organization.

On December 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that a staff meeting of SNCC would be held on Saturday and Sunday, December 28-29, 1968 in Atlanta and the subject to be discussed at this meeting was "Where To From Here?"

[redacted] and [redacted] advised that a series of staff meetings of captioned committee was held at the national headquarters of SNCC, 360 Nelson Street S.W., Atlanta, on the following dates:

December 27, 1968 (Friday), 7 P.M. to 4:15 AM, December 28 (chaired by PHIL HUTCHINGS)

December 28, 1968 (Saturday), 1 P.M. to 1 A.M., December 29 (chaired by ROBERT SMITH)

December 29, 1968 (Sunday), 2 P.M. to 1:30 A.M., December 30 (chaired by DANIEL W. ALDRIDGE, Jr.)

These sources advised that the decision was reached that the present system of having deputy chairmen operate the organization is proving effective and no current plans are being considered to revert to the old system of having a national chairman, and other elected officials, as such.

During the entire period of the conferences, [redacted] advised that no mention was made or proposed by the organization to stockpile firearms and ammunition.

Approximately 53 people, representing Dallas, Texas, New York, California, and Ohio, attended the meeting. Those known to the sources as being present are identified as follows:

JAMES FORMAN from New York
JOHN PEARL TILLMAN from New York and Atlanta
GWEN PATTON from New York
SHOCKLY last name unknown from New York
JAMES last name unknown from New York
PHIL HUTCHINGS from Newark, New Jersey
CHARLES KOEN, Prime Minister of Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri
YUSEF SHABAZZ, member of Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri
SCROOGE last name unknown from Louisiana
DANIEL W. ALDRIDGE, Jr., [redacted] Detroit, Michigan, [redacted]
DOROTHY DEWBERRY, Detroit, Michigan
SANDRA SELLERS from Tuskegee, Alabama
ERNEST STEPHENS from Tuskegee, Alabama
COURTLAND COX from Washington, D.C.
CHARLES COBB from Washington, D.C.
GRIFF last name unknown from California
ERNEST McMILLAN from Dallas, Texas
WILLIAM COLEMAN from Atlanta, Georgia
CAROLYN COLEMAN from Atlanta, Georgia, wife of WILLIAM COLEMAN
STANLEY LEROY WISE, former Executive Secretary of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia
LEAH JOHNSON WISE, wife of STANLEY WISE, Atlanta, Georgia [redacted]
WILLIE FLOYD HICKS from Atlanta, Georgia
CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS from Atlanta, Georgia
BOB SMITH from Atlanta, Georgia
CHARLES JENKINS from Atlanta, Georgia
FLORA STONE from Atlanta, Georgia

HOWARD SPENCER from Mississippi, a member of the Central Committee of SNCC and believed to be connected with Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi

H. RAP BROWN. BROWN appeared at about 12 midnight December 29, 1968. He indicated he had been to Alabama to attend the funeral of a friend and made no statement relative to SNCC policy and said that he would be leaving Atlanta on December 30, 1968, to return to New York City.

[redacted] and [redacted] advised JAMES FORMAN, who appeared to be the overall director of the meeting, spoke about expelling WILLIE FLOYD RICKS and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, Jr., from SNCC as he could not understand how they could have become interested in the Black Panther movement as that organization had openly attacked the SNCC organization in New York City. CLEVELAND SELLERS said that he had joined the Black Panther movement because that organization was in a position to pay him whereas SNCC was not. He pleaded for reinstatement in the SNCC organization after it had been voted by those in attendance to expel him along with WILLIE FLOYD RICKS. WILLIE RICKS appeared at the session held on Saturday and also pleaded for reinstatement in the organization. It was decided that any such reinstatement of RICKS and SELLERS would have to be the decision of the Central Committee and a vote on reinstating them was postponed until the February 1, 1969 meeting to be held in Atlanta.

PHIL HUTCHINGS, the present Program Deputy Chairman, gave a brief report on the Detroit organization and said that it is headed by DANIEL W. ALDRIDGE, Jr., who is on the staff at Wayne State University.

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CRIPPS from California gave a brief report and stated that the relation between SNCC and the Black Panther Party in California is not very good at this time.

With regards to definite accomplishments of the meetings, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that no agenda was prepared to be followed and individuals in attendance merely gave "off the cuff reports" and much arguing transpired relative to local petty problems involving personalities in the various locations.

It was decided, however, that an attempt would be made in the local chapters to maintain a Child Day Care Nursery which would be a form of community service sponsored by SNCC in an effort to improve their image around the country.

Another project to be undertaken is to look into the possibilities of SNCC establishing their own bonding facility to be utilized by persons active in the civil rights movement in the event they are arrested.

HOWARD SPENCER from Mississippi said that he had been notified by mail that he had been elected a member of the Central Committee. He said that he had been attempting to establish an SNCC program at Jackson State University but has not been too successful in this regard.

DONALD STONE, identified as being in charge of the Liberation School, was further identified as having traveled to Cuba within the past few days. After his tour of Cuba he expects to go to North Vietnam and will be out of the United States for approximately six weeks. It was said that the international office of SNCC, run by IRVING DAVIS in New York, had arranged STONE's trip to Cuba.

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B. Availability of Personnel For Speaking Engagements

On February 10, 1969, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter which had been prepared by BOB SMITH, National Deputy Chairman, SNCC, which reads as follows:

"S.G.A. President"
"Knoxville College"
"Knoxville 21, Tennessee"

"Dear President:"

"SNCC has been sending speakers to communities and college campuses to push its ideology and program each year since its inception. This year will be no different.

"Rap Brown, past chairman of SNCC, Jim Forman, International Affairs Director, Cleveland Sellers, Draft Coordinator, Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary, Willie Ricks, Deputy Chairman at Large, Donald Stone, Deputy Chairman of Freedom Schools, and Bob Smith, National Deputy Chairman, all of SNCC, are available to accept speaking engagements and lectures in communities and college campuses.

"Issues on which they will expound are, "The Draft and War and How It Relates to Afro-Americans," and "Afro-Americans from a State of Restfulness and unawareness, to a State of Unrest and Awareness." They will give lectures on, "Campus and Community Organizers."

"Additional information will be available at your request."

"For Black Liberation,

Bob Smith, National Deputy Chairman"

IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

A characterization of SSOC is included in the appendix section of this report.

B. Efforts of SNCC at Atlanta University Center

[redacted] has advised in the past that certain student disorders have existed at the Atlanta University Center which is composed of six colleges attended by Negro students. Some of the demands made by the dissident students included a relaxation of curfew as well as liberalizing the dressing habits of individuals espousing Negro history.

[redacted] advised that there appeared to be little if any inroads in the student body of the six Negro colleges on the part of the SNCC.

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C. Travel to Cuba by DONALD P. STONE and use of "Black Power" slogan by him

On January 27, 1969, [redacted] furnished a verbatim transcript of an interview of DONALD P. STONE which had been conducted over Radio Havana on January 16, 1969. In this interview, STONE identified himself as Deputy Chariman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee - Black Power in Charge of Liberation Schools. In explaining the addition of the words "Black Power" to the name of SNCC, STONE stated that SNCC was the first organization to shun Black Power and in order to get the people to understand have a closer relationship to the revolutionary aspects of Black Power with the original name SNCC. STONE said this was done to get people to understand that "Black Power" is a revolutionary concept. It is not a reformist concept that is intending to integrate people through the main stream of imperialist America. But what we are about is a destruction and we are trying to redefine, to give a very strong definition in revolutionary terms to the words "Black Power."

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In commonting on the liberation schools, STONE stated that the purpose of these schools is to build a revolutionary consciousness among the black youth in America. STONE defined these schools as supplemental educational institutes where "we teach courses in Afro-American history, African history, political education, martia arts such as karate and judo and we also teach the art of self-defense in terms of weaponry.

Because of the above remarks from STONE, investi gation was conducted to determine if in fact SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization for the purposes indicated by STONE. Inquiry was also made relative to the establishment of liberation schools by SNCC. The result of this investigation is set forth as follows:

On February 12, 1969, [redacted] advised that when liberation schools were originally formulated by SNCC, they were supposed to be set up throughout the country with a curriculum including African history and culture, as well as instruction in self-defense tactics and political education; however, this project has never gotten off the ground.

The source said that STONE attempted to get such a school started at Atlanta, Georgia, but received no response from the black community and prior to his departure for Cuba, he occasionally held such classes in the Atlanta YMCA, and the most it ever attracted was four or five ... STONE limited his instruction to topics involving black history only, and the classes were not held on a regular basis.

The only other liberation school to materialize to any degree was that sponsored by the Student Organizat...

for Black Unity at Long Island University (SOBU), which is not controlled or governed by SNCC in any way, however, they did, at inception, assist members of SOBU run it; however, in recent months it has declined. SNCC only offers assistance. The curriculum did include Black Heritage and some karate instructions but nothing else. The source concluded by stating that STONE reportedly made a recent speech over the Havana radio, and the entire text of it, with the exception of his name and position in SNCC, was false. SNCC has never carried the phrase "Black Power" as part of its original title, and from STONE's remarks it was apparent he was trying to build up the prestige of the organization, being fully congnizant of the fact its appeal to the black community was gone. STONE's remarks regarding SNCC and Black Power were completely erroneous and apparently stated by him in an attempt to impress the Cubans.

SOBU is a Black Nationalist organization at Long Island University at Brooklyn, New York. It has an approved charter from the University.

Concerning the above liberation school in Atlanta, [redacted] advised that in May, 1968, a group of Negro women, some with current association and some with former association in the SNCC, met at the residence of FLORA STONE, 2170 Penelope Avenue, N.W., Atlanta, for the purpose of forming a group to work in the vicinity of Vine City, a popular Negro community within the City of Atlanta. The purpose of this group would be to assist the underprivileged residing in that community. It was decided the organization would be named the "Harambee Sisters" and after meetings in June and July a program of the organization was prepared. According to the informant, the program included establishing a day nursery in the Vine City area which would be sponsored by the Harambee Sisters where the children would be exposed to African culture and history. These children were to be of pre-school age and would be kept for varying times during the day, particularly at times which would permit the mother

of the children to be gainfully employed. The source said that much effort and time was spent at trying to organize this school, which actually could be considered a type of liberation school but that the matter never appeared to be accepted by this community which prevented the Harambee Sisters from becoming, or developing, a completely accepted organization.

[redacted] said that since the original inception of the Harambee Sisters, many projects were advanced by the members but none of them have really developed beyond the talking stage and currently the Harambee Sisters is holding monthly meetings and is not actively engaged in any type of community project.

On February 10, 1969, [redacted] stated that "Black Power" has not been incorporated in the name of SNCC. The source said, however, that about one year ago the letterhead stationery utilized by SNCC had been changed to include the words "Black Power" at the bottom of the letterhead. Prior to this time, the phrase "One Name One Vote" appeared in this location.

[redacted] advised on February 26, 1969, that she was unaware of any change in the name of SNCC. Further, she had never heard of the addition of "Black Power."

She also advised that she had never heard of nor has it come to her attention that any SNCC - Black Power liberation schools are being held on the West Coast and particularly in the San Francisco area. She also stated she had never heard of these liberation schools.

She stated that several months ago SNCC took a strong stand in favoring a policy of the revoluntionary aspect

of Black Power and because of the adoption of this policy, lost part of their national sponsorship. She did state that SNCC was attempting to attend conventions of other organizations where they attempt to have the organization change the word "Negro" to "Black."

On February 2[illegible], 1969, [redacted] advised that at the Atlanta conference of SNCC, which was held December 27, through December 29, 1968, JAMES FORMAN and PHIL HUTCHINGS stated that the SNCC Central Committee would consider several suggestions and subsequently adopt a new name which would thereafter be furnished to the individual SNCC chapters during the course of routine mail or telephone contacts or same might be held until the First National Political Conference, for the purpose of unity and to eliminate confusion. [redacted] said that the First National Political Conference is to be held in East St. Louis, Illinois, March 1 and 2, 1969, and that the new name would probably be made known at that time. [redacted]

[redacted] advised, however, on February 13 and 20, 1969, that a SNCC liberation school was started by Cincinnati SNCC in 1968, at the Rockdale Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, which is also the present location of the Cincinnati SNCC headquarters. This school was originally started by THOMAS JAMES F[illegible], who is presently residing and employed in Baltimore, Maryland, and was thereafter supervised by the present Cincinnati SNCC advisor, [illegible]. This school

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originally met two nights a week from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. and delt with matters of black history, culture, tactics, and economics, and was generally attended by approximately twenty-five persons, no age limits or identification required and no attendance records maintained. The school increased in popularity and was expanded to four nights a week and also moved to the Samuel Aches Junior High School, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source said the school was thereafter returned to the Rockdale Temple where it is presently located and has continued to operate four sessions a week, two hours each session. [redacted] advised that no weaponry instructions are associated with the school and no classes are being conducted in judo or karate because of lack of facilities. The source advised that although SNCC has maintained a supervisor status relative to the school, it is encouraged by such organizations as the Avondale Committee Council, which is composed of Negro leaders and businessmen of the Avondale section of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Black Youth and Parents Union, a Cincinnati group composed of Negro leaders and parents confronted with the education and activities of Negro children in the Cincinnati public schools. The source added that the Black Youth and Parents Union became actively involved in the SNCC liberation schools to the degree that they obtained $10,000 from the Unitarian Church to aid in the continuation of same. The source added that the same "liberation school" has been used by Cincinnati SNCC interchangeably with the name "Freedom School" [redacted] stated that the "liberation schools" were discontinued almost immediately.

[redacted] advised on February 18, 1969, that he has no information indicating that SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization. Source further advised there is no liberation school being operated in the Houston, Texas, area. The source said, however, that it has been reported for the past three or four months LARRY

AT 100-6488

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JACKSON has been "heading up" a liberation school in Austin, Texas, probably on 11th or 12th Street in Austin. It was reported that several female students at the University of Texas were participating in the school. It was source's understanding that most of these girls graduated and left Austin at the end of the past school semester. On March 5, 1968 [redacted] advised that several months ago JACKSON proposed a liberation school for children from ages 3 to 16 years. The source added that the school never materialized and no other such schools are known to be operated by JACKSON.

[redacted] advised on February 27, 1969, that he could develop no information to indicate that SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization or that SNCC is operating any type of liberation school in the Houston area. [redacted] could furnish no positive information concernint either of these allegations.

[redacted] and [redacted] advised on February 5, 1969, and February 17, 1969, respectively, that a liberation school called the "Proud Black School" began operation in Jackson, Mississippi, in the fall of 1968, under the sponsorship of HOWARD HERSCHELL SPENCER, Jackson, Mississippi, SNCC activist. Classes are held on Saturdays at 1:30 p.m. at 3100 Pocahontas Street, Jackson, Mississippi, in the Georgetown ghetto area of Jackson. The building in which the classes are held is a rundown building with no electricity or heating. Instructors at the school are HOWARD SPENCER, REGINA DRAKE, Negro female student, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, RICHARD ADAMS, Negro male, student, Tougaloo College, GERALDINE SMITH, Negro female, age 29, a resident of the Georgetown ghetto area and DONALD WILSON JACKSON, Negro male, who is an independent Black Nationalist and a student at Tougaloo College.

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Students at the school number 20 to 35 each week and range in age from 10 to 14 years. The majority are boys. Subjects taught include Black Culture, African history, Negro U. S. history, Remedial Mathematic courses and some limited agricultural training. No extremist activity is being taught at the school yet. Instructors on occasion take the youths to Tougaloo College for a tour of the campus, library, and similar buildings. Meetings with parents of the children have been held periodically, however, attendance by parents is minimal and parental support is almost entirely lacking at present.

[redacted] and [redacted] advised in February, 1969, that no information concerning the addition of the words "Black Power" to the name of SNCC nor the evidence of any liberation schools in the State of Louisiana has come to their attention.

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similarly interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, [illegible] through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, [illegible], a second source advised that SSOC continued to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source also noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Weler, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward closer relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

2 APPENDIX

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the masthead describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tenacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revoluntionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revoluntionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BBP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

March 10, 1969

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Atlanta report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	8/1/69	3/11 - 7/25/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
CHANGED; STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE		:sat
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC	

Title marked "Changed" to reflect name of organization as Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) based on information furnished by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, at a news conference held 7/22/69, at SNCC Office, New York City. The organization was previously known as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted], 3/10/69, at Atlanta; and New York airtel and LHM, 7/24/69. 100-439190-2081

- P -

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization through sources

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUITTALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:
11 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - OSI, District Six, RAFB, Warner Robins, Ga. (RM)
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1 - NIS, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
2 - New York (100-147963) (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488)

cc - 206

100-439190-2083

REC 9

12 AUG 4 1969

EX-103

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV., DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, 7 DIO, Cum
Request Recd.	HOW FORW: 45
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 8/5/69
By	10CP

Notations: CIA (Via Liaison), ATFD (Via Liaison), STATE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

58 AUG 21 1969

and submit quarterly report.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity	Location of Information
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8066
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8092
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8079
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8111 8126 8367 8373
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8120
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8142 8219 8221
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8284 -8322 -8370
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-6488-8338

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential as information contained therein is attributed to sources continuously active in and closely associated with the civil rights movements in Atlanta and New York. Should the identities of these sources become known, it could seriously affect thei future usefulness in furnishing intelligence information regarding this movement.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:
1 - Naval Investigative Service, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, District Six, Robins Air Force Base, Warner Robins, Georgia (RM)
1 - 111th Military Intelligence Group, Region I, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: August 1, 1969

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: H. RAP BROWN held a press conference 7/22/69, and identified self as having been elected Chairman of the organization which is now known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. New structure of organization consists of creation of Revolutionary Political Counsel, a propaganda network and building of an all black party. IRVING DAVIS replaces JAMES FORMAN as Director of International Affairs Commission. New programs outlined. SNCC associates read portion of "Black Manifesto" to congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on 5/18/69. [redacted] SNCC, Atlanta, [redacted] Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta, sponsors H. RAP BROWN Education and Recreation Center, a day school for children. National headquarters reportedly moved to New York, but H. RAP BROWN recommends return to Atlanta. No positive action taken re this suggestion.

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Group 1
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

DETAILS:

I. ADDRESS

[redacted] advised on June 3, 1969, that as of June 7, 1969, the national office of SNCC in New York City would officially move from 100 Fifth Avenue, Room 807, to 360 West 28th Street, New York City, telephone number 242-9669. The source added that the Universalist Church is located at this address and the above telephone number is listed in the name of the church. The church is affording SNCC space at this location and the New York City Office of SNCC now functions as the national headquarters of the organization.

On April 14, 1969, [redacted] advised that approximately two or three weeks ago the national headquarters for SNCC had been moved from 360 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Room 803.

II. FINANCIAL CONDITION

III. SNCC CONNECTION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Students For A Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix of this report.

B. Black Liberators

On March 6, 1969, [redacted] advised that on March 1-2 1969, approximately 30 to 40 individuals attended meetings held at St. Louis, Missouri, sponsored by a group known as the Black Liberators, an all-Negro militant organization, located primarily in the St. Louis area. The source said that the Black Liberators have affiliated itself with SNCC and CHARLES KOEN, who has been a leader of the Black Liberators, is also Deputy Director of SNCC in the midwest. The source said that on the same dates, other meetings of black nationalist organizations at East St. Louis, Illinois, were being held in East St. Louis, Illinois.

According to [redacted], most of the individuals attending the meeting on the evening of February 28, 1969, went to an Afro-Arts Festival, which was being held at Washington University in St. Louis. Mo.

[redacted] said that the meetings on March 1, 1969, began at approximately 12:30 p.m. and SAM PETTY of the Black Liberators, was in charge. It was indicated that PETTY would be the new Prime Minister of the Black Liberators inasmuch as CHARLES KOEN had to give up the position as he was employed full-time travelling throughout the midwest in his position as a Deputy Director for SNCC. The meeting on March 1, 1969, was opened with the definition of Revolutionary Economics, given by PETTY as a term used in the obtaining of funds through revoluntionary means and ways. PETTY indicated that in the last twelve months the Black Liberators were the only black militant organization in the midwest, who were engaged in the obtaining of finances through revolutionary action. He specified that these finances were obtained through robbery and burglary of small business establishments. He indicated that all material obtained in these criminal acts, that was not actually money, had been sold to fences and cash obtained.

[redacted] said that the meeting on March 2, 1969, began at 9 a.m. with CHARLES KOEN remarking that this was the last day of the meetings. KOEN indicated that he might travel to Cuba this summer in order to talk to Cuban officials about the black peoples' movement in the midwestern part of the United States and also to determine if the Cuban officials would accept any dedicated black persons that might travel to Cuba. KOEN claimed that most of the persons responsible for hijacking aircraft to Cuba were "brother facing long prison sentences. KOEN claimed that CASTRO collects $25,000 in United States currency for every hijacked airplane that Cuba returns to the United States. He did not indicate who paid this money, but he wants to talk to Cuban officials to determine if some kind of agreement could be reached with them that the Black Liberators would receive compensation from Cuban officials for every aircraft that was hijacked by a "brother" recommended by KOEN.

Additional suggestions to obtain finances included such things as stealing payroll checks and money orders and cash these items, using false identification. It was also suggested that in the event any of the "brothers" needed specific material with which to use, such as firearms and clothing, etc., that stores dealing in this type of equipment should be selected for possible burlgary. As a result of these meetings, it was decided by those

attending that plans would be started in an attempt to raise money:

1) Offer protection to small business firms;

2) contacting "brothers" at rental car agencies to determine how easy it would be to steal automobiles;

3) stealing of money orders and payroll checks; and

4) selection of business firms for burglary that had material which could be used.

[redacted] advised on July 8, 1969, that he had received information alleging that the alliance between a Negro militant group in St. Louis, Missouri, known as the Black Liberators, and SNCC has been dissolved. The source added that KOEN no longer holds the position Prime Minister of the Black Liberators and has been relieved of his position as midwest director of SNCC and has been expelled from SNCC. [redacted] added that apparently the ideology expressed by the Black Liberators and KOEN were in direct conflict with the ideology, policy and programs of SNCC.

IV. NEW PROGRAMS OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

[redacted] furnished the following information:

Date 7/22/69

[redacted] furnished the following information on July 22, 1969:

H. RAP BROWN, newly-elected chairman of the Student National Coordinating Committee (formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) (SNCC), held a press conference at the SNCC Office, 300 9th Avenue, near 28th Street, New York City, at 11:00 AM on July 22, 1969. At the conference SNCC issued a press release which set forth the points covered by H. RAP BROWN in his remarks to the press, which were as follows:

"Results of the SNCC annual Staff meeting, held in New York City this year found H. Rap Brown once again being elected Chairman of our organization. The staff meeting was held at the Washington Square Episcopal Church, 36 W. 4th Street, between June 16--19, 1969.

"Our organization has changed its name to the Studen t National Coordinating Committee, still retaining the initials S.N.C.C. but denouncing any relationship to the concept of nonviolence as a solution to the problems of oppressed people.

"There has also been a change-over in the administration of SNCC. The new structure consists of:

"(A) The creation of a Revolutionary Political Council which replaces the old SNCC Central Committee as governing body,

"(B) A Propaganda Network, under the direction of Phil Hutchings, former head of SNCC,

"(C) The building of an all-Black Political Party.

On 7/22/69 at New York City, New York File # NY 100-147963

by [redacted] bs Date dictated 7/24/69

"Other noted changes are the selection of Irving Davis as the director of SNCC's International Affairs Commission. He replaces James Forman in that position, who because of extensive duties with the "Black Manifesto", can no longer serve in that capacity. Forman still remains a SNCC staff member, however.

"Jimmy Johnson, formerly of the "Ft. Hood 3", was named to head [illegible], SNCC's draft program. Johnson is presently in Vietnam, representing our organization for the release of American POW's, an arrangement made recently by Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization Committee.

"New Programs"

"Some of the new programs we hope to advance forward in the coming months, will be a People's Medical Center, with absolutely free medical care for Black People and a People's Sewing Center to build on the concept of Black People Controlling their own productive forces, as well as freeing the potential productive forces of Welfare Mothers. These first two programs will be launched in Brooklyn, as models for the other Black Communities to follow. Another program of prime importance is an Agrarian Reform Plan to deal with the plight of Black Tenant Farmers in the South. The International Affairs apparatus will direct its attention to violations of the U.N. Charter on Human Rights, working with Black Law Students. Finally, SNCC is determined that "Ahmed Evans - must not die". We plan to launch a massive campaign toward that effect, with hopes of obtaining enough support to save that Brother's life. We call upon all people of good will to join with us in the struggle to free Ahmed Evans."

Concerning Ahmed Evans, New York Daily News, July 23, 1969, Page 75, described him as "Black Nationalist convicted in the ambush slaying of a Cleveland Policeman".

In a question-and-answer period following the above remarks, H. Rap Brown said that the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals. "We do not accept unconditional non-violence as a tactic. All tactics must be considered and all violent tactics must be considered because we're living in a world of violence." In response to a question concerning President NIXON's recent press comment concerning violence in the streets, RAP BROWN stated, "Tell NIXON we are going to put violence in his house, not only in the streets. He should be concerned about violence in his home. White people have always been violent. Black people have been violent towards each other. We are talking about re-directing our violence."

[redacted] advised on July 23, 1969, that H. RAP BROWN and WILLIAM HUNT presided at the above mentioned press conference. WILLIAM HUNT represented the Brooklyn Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and said that the SNCC has a number of medical doctors lined up to treat medical cases without charge, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville Sections of Brooklyn, New York. [redacted] advised that although RAP BROWN remarked that he was "elected" Chairman of SNCC, his leadership was actually acquired by "African Concensors", that is, take over. In explanation, [redacted] said that several weeks ago SNCC discussed changing its name to the Black Revolutionary Action Party, and RAP was considered Chairman of that.

Since it was basically SNCC with no programs or plans, the name was scrapped two days later.

V. OPERATION OF DAY SCHOOL IN ATLANTA.

On July 16, 1969, [redacted] advised that a H. RAP BROWN Education and Recreation Center had been established by the SNCC Office at Atlanta and was located at 849 Beckwith Street, Atlanta, Georgia, telephone Number 753-0551.

According to [redacted], this organization was sponsored by the Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta, which society, according to [redacted], reportedly received a $14,000 grant from the Episcopal Church in New York City to set this school up.

[redacted] advised on July 28, 1969, that this school continues an operation at 849 Beckwith Street and was "the brain child" of BOB SMITH and CHARLES JENKINS, known SNCC associates in Atlanta. They are assisted in this operation by students that attend Morehouse College which is located in the close proximity of 849 Beckwith Street, Atlanta.

VI. PARTICIPATION IN STUDENT UNREST.

On April 17, 1969, [redacted] advised that at 4:25 p.m., a large group of students numbering about 200, were gathered outside the Administration Building of the Atlanta University Center on Chestnut Street, just off Fair Street, Atlanta.

[redacted], advised on April 17, 1969, that trustees of the various institutions comprising the Atlanta University Center were in a meeting this week. [redacted] stated that trustees of Morehouse College were meeting on April 17, 1969, in the Administration Building of the Atlanta University Center.

[redacted] stated that about the time the trustees were ready to adjourn their meeting for the day, a group of students, numbering between 15 and 20, approached the trustees and made their departure from the building while making demands that white members of the board of trustees be requested to resign and that they be replaced by black members.

[redacted] advised that this action occurred between students at approximately 4:00 p.m., April 18, 1969, and that the trustees and students agreed to meet at 9:00 a.m. on April 28, 1969, at the Administration Building of the Atlanta University.

VII. PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES.

First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that on May 18, 1969, three Negroes entered the sanctuary

These individuals were afforded an opportunity to speak to the congregation and one of the individuals, later identified as MELVIN HINTON KING, read from a "Black Manifesto". said that they identified themselves as associates of the National Black Economic Development Conference and the purpose of reading the "Black Manifesto" to the congregation was based on a paper prepared by JAMES FORMAN and presented by him at the National Black Economic Development Conference which had been held in Detroit, Michigan.

A purpose of the "Black Manifesto" is to secure $500 million reparations from the white Christian churches and synagogues in the United States. This money is to be used by the Negroes as a sort of debt repayment the white man owes the Negroes.

advised that the three individuals involved in the above incident were CHARLES E. JENKINS, ROBERT LEE SMITH, and MELVIN KING, all known SNCC associates in the Atlanta area. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

advised that on May 25, 1969, these three individuals reappeared at the church office

at about 6:00 p.m. to determine what the church intended to do about the demands placed on it on the preceding Sunday.

stated that CHARLES JENKINS, MELVIN KING, and ROBERT SMITH were the ones who reappeared at the church on May 25, 1969.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS

X. STAFF MEETING AT ATLANTA AND NEW YORK

On June 3, 1969, [redacted] advised that the annual June staff meeting, which features among other things the election of officers, will be held in New York from June 15, through 19, 1969. Arrangements were being made by the National Office to accommodate from 60 to 80 people, and each chapter of SNCC was being requested to submit a list of those people who planned to attend from each area.

On June 23, 1969, [redacted] advised that the national staff meeting of SNCC was held at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York, between June 16 and June 17, 1969. The meeting

was chaired by H. RAP BROWN, former National Director of SNCC. BROWN advised those in attendance that he considered the present national staff lacking in efficiency, citing one example that he visited the SNCC Headquarters in New York while a majority of the personnel were absent. He said he viewed money, checks, and other vital correspondence unopened and lying carelessly around the office area. [redacted] said that a considerable portion of the meeting was taken up with general conversation about the present situation in the Southern area of the United States and past SNCC activities in the New York area.

Source said that the session held on June 17, 1969 was opened by PHIL HUTCHINGS, who indicated that the purpose was to elect a new chairman and staff for the organization. HUTCHINGS said that he would not run for chairman for a second term.

Later, during this particular meeting, H. RAP BROWN interrupted with a statement that it was obvious that the present SNCC leadership has done nothing during the past year and that he and eight members present at the meeting saw fit to declare a standing takeover to put an end to the present agenda as it was insufficient in regard to the relativity of black people in America. He declared the meeting to be under a dictatorial chairmanship with all powers of recommendation delegated to himself.

Later, BROWN advised that there would be a training course of a six weeks period held at the Atlanta Headquarters which would consist of 15 to 20 students who would be instructed by such individuals as CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Negro Communist Party member from Chicago; and the Hoodlum Priest, Father Clement; and three or four other individuals, names unrecalled. Part of the training would be to develop a cadre of political organizers to be used by the organization. BROWN explained that individuals trained in this course would infiltrate present organizations working with black people such as Government funded organizations and civil action groups, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These people would then turn these organizations to the aims and

purposes of SNCC. BROWN directed that all securities and present funds, foreign and national contacts, United Nations contact, and all other SNCC material or organizational items be turned over to him. He said that the files of the SNCC Office should be shipped immediately to the Atlanta Headquarters and Brother CHE (WILLIAM PAYNE) would be in charge of setting up the new office in Atlanta.

JAMES FORMAN appeared at the conference at approximately 6:00 P. M., June 16, 1969, and for four hours rambled on about his "Black Manifesto" and potential of the National Black Economic Development Conference held in Detroit in April, 1969. He concluded his remarks by calling for the demise of SNCC and everything else, and rallying behind the ideals of the "Black Manifesto". Some receptiveness to his proposal was voiced but again internal conflict precluded anything from being finalized. Source concluded by stating that the staff meeting accomplished nothing but personality conflicts and arguments among those present and absolutely nothing was accomplished or resolved and it became so chaotic

during the June 17, 1969 session that RAP BROWN walked out saying he was disassociating himself with the organization because they lacked the ability to accomplish anything or relate to anybody. The source said that the only item of business that was decided was to adjourn this meeting for one month and reconvene in Atlanta sometime in July, 1969, the exact date to be established in the near future.

[redacted] said that no representative from the Atlanta, Georgia Office of SNCC was present at this meeting due to the fact they were not given notification of it by the New York City Office.

On June 25, 1969, [redacted] advised that the financial backing for the recent National Staff Meeting of SNCC held in New York City, June 16-17, 1969, the Washington Square Episcopal Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, was donated to SNCC by the officials of this church. According to [redacted]

On July 2, 1969, [redacted] advised that the staff meeting of SNCC is scheduled to commence at Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969. The meeting will be held at the former National SNCC Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, S. W., and could last as long as four or five days and will be attended by possibly as many as 40 people. The source stated that the purpose of this meeting, which was a continuation of the one held in New York, would be to determine whether SNCC was to recognize or disband, and a new organization could take its place.

On July 16, 1969, [redacted] advised that the meeting scheduled for July 17, 1969, at Atlanta, Georgia was not held as "CHE" ROBINSON, who was given the responsibility of organizing and setting up the meeting in Atlanta, as well

AT 100-6488
JC:pab

as setting up the meeting in Atlanta, and notifying all of the persons who would attend, did not carry through with his assignment of organizing and coordinating this meeting. No information as to a possible future date of another meeting has been set.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klonsky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

FD-323 (11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

August 1, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted], at Atlanta, dated August 1, 1969, and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 3 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 2-5

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 2 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
JACKSON	JACKSON	10/7/68	4/18 - 10/7/68

Title of Case	Report made by	Typed By
BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-14, 1968, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA	ccs
	Character of Case: RM-SNCC	

NON-PROSECUTIVE SUPPLEMENTAL SUMMARY

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, U. S. Department of Justice, dated 8/15/68.

\- P -

LEADS:

JACKSON

AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Approved RKM Special Agent in Charge

Do not write in spaces below

100-439190-1975 REC-78

EX 109

OCT 10 1968

8 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Jackson (RM)
2 - MIGp, Jackson (RM)
1 - USA, Jackson (RM)

3 - Jackson (157-9613)
(1 - 100-186)
(1 - 100-1072)

Dissemination: J. Walter Yeagley (Attn: Paul Vincent) Ref. your lot 8/7/68, Bu let 8/15/68)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: CRD, RAO / DIV, CRIM
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 10-22-68
BY:

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Copies Continued:

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1 - Cincinnati (100-1615-) (RM)
1 - Charlotte (1[illegible]) (RM)
1 - Cleveland (1[illegible]-2[illegible]) (RM)
1 - Detroit (1[illegible]) (RM)
1 - Houston (100-10390) (RM)
1 - Memphis (157-100) (RM)
1 - Newark (100-47817) (RM)
1 - [illegible] (1[illegible]) (RM)
1 - [illegible] (RM)

* *

JN 157-9613

[illegible] identify all persons attending conference [illegible].

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	157-9613-[illegible]
[redacted]	Characterization of Political [illegible] (PAC)
[redacted]	[illegible] PAC

B

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157-9613-38

1 7- -13-

100-186-962

10 -136-

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157- 612-4

NEGATIVE [illegible]:

Identity	Date
	/2 /
	/2 /
	8/2 /
	9/21/
	9/21

C
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The Detroit Office contacted established ...es in the racial matter field regarding Black ... Conference, 4/12-14/68, at Tougaloo, Mississippi, ... negative results.

The Detroit Office also contacted local law enforcement agencies who also advised that they could furnish no information concerning captioned matter.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is being classified [redacted] ...se of information furnished by confidential informants [redacted] through [redacted] whose identity if revealed could ...omise their future activities thereof.

Copies of this report are being furnished ...tlanta, Cincinnati, Charlotte, Cleveland, Detroit, ...on, Memphis, Newark, New York, and WFO Offices ...nformation purposes in view of the fact these ...es have received previous correspondence on captioned matter.

Copies of report being furnished USA, Jackson, ...t Service, Jackson, and MIGp, Jackson, in view of ... act they have previously been furnished copies of ...nications.

D*

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FD-263 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Jackson, Miss. (RM)
2 - MIGp, Jackson, Miss. (RM)
1 - USA, Jackson, Miss. (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: JACKSON
Date: 10/ /68

Field Office File #: JN 157-9613 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-14, 1968, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Confidential informants advised Black Thought Conference held 4/12-14/68, Tougaloo College, Mississippi, was arranged by the Tougaloo Governing Association and Tougaloo Political Action Committee (PAC). Persons responsible for conference were ... RD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREWER, members, Tougaloo College PAC, an affiliate of SNCC; affair was held during Easter holidays when students ... on Easter vacation. Confidential informants advise it is uncertain that Black Thought Conference sponsored by SNCC. Confidential Informant [redacted] advised purpose of Defense Workshop was to prepare those present to return to their respective areas where they could take an active part in a cooperative effort directed at organizing committees adjacent to college campuses as well as persons on the campuses to work together for mutual defense against the "power structure". However, no specific plans were known to have been made at the time of the Defense Workshop to be undertaken in any general area or areas. [redacted] advised in August, 1968, that a number of Negro senior students ... Lanier High School, Jackson, Miss., were invited to conference

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

to stimulate interest in political affairs, however, the conference turned out to be more of a social event than a conference. Several confidential informants who are familiar with Black Nationalist activities in the United States were contacted in August and September, 1968, and all advised they could furnish no information concerning Black Thought Conference.

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DETAILS:

By letter dated August 7, 1968, Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, U. S. Department of Justice, requested the Director of the FBI to ascertain the names of individuals who planned, programmed, and instructed at the Defense Workshop of the Black Thought Conference which was held April 12-14, 1968, at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. Also requested was to determine the purpose of the workshop, if workshop was sponsored by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and if this was an overall plan of possibly other black militant organizations to take over individual cities within the United States by force and violence by means of open warfare.

I. ARRANGEMENTS FOR BLACK THOUGHT CONFERENCE

On March 22, 1968, and April 8, 1968, [redacted] and [redacted] respectively advised that notices were mailed to forty colleges advising that a conference of the Student Governing Association and the Political Action Committee (PAC) would be held at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, on April 12-14, 1968.

Sources advised persons responsible for this conference were HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREWER.

On August 29, 1968, VARRIA JONES, [redacted] Pearl, Mississippi, advised that she is a member of the Political Action Committee (PAC) at Tougaloo College, Mississippi.

She stated that HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREWER were instrumental in organizing the "Black Thought" Conference at Tougaloo in April, 1968.

On April 15, 1968, and September 25, 1968, [redacted] and [redacted] respectively advised that the Tougaloo College Political Action Committee (PAC) is a student group committed to the struggle or psychological and physical liberation of black power. Sources advised that it is affiliated with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A characterization of SNCC appears in the appendix of this report.

On January 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that SNCC has no office or project in Mississippi. The SNCC contact in Mississippi is HOWARD SPENCER.

On September 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that concerning the Black Thought Session held at Tougaloo College on April 12 through April 14, 1968, was arranged by HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREWER. This affair was held during the Easter holidays so that students could attend this conference. However, the conference turned out to be primarily a social

event and was a time of relaxation for Negro students similar to white students who migrate to Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Source stated HOWARD SPENCER graduated from Tougaloo College on May 26, 1968, and is no longer chaiman of PAC.

On October 16, 1967, HOWARD SPENCER was interviewed in connection with a bombing matter investigation at which time the following description was obtained:

Name	HOWARD HERSCHELL SPENCER
Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	May 25, 1945
Place of Birth	Eupora, Mississippi
Height	5'9"
Weight	145 pounds
Hair	Black (long) (wears mustache)
Eyes	Brown (wears sunglasses)
Marital Status	Single
Military Service	None
Selective Service Number	[redacted] (classified 1-A September 13, 1966, and states has appealed this classification)
Parents	Reverend and Mrs. W. B. SPENCER, [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia.

On August 21, 1968, LORETTA JOHNSON, [redacted] [redacted], advised that she is

currently a student at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, and was a member of the Political Action Committee at Tougaloo College from 1966-1968.

The following is a physical description of LORETTA JOHNSON:

Name	LORETTA (No Middle Name) JOHNSON
Race	Negro
Sex	Female
Date of Birth	August 13, 1948
Place of Birth	Carroll County, Mississippi
Height	5'9½"
Weight	137 pounds
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Scars and Marks	One inch scar under left eye
Arrest Record	Admitted to no arrest.

Res. 117 OAK ST. Glenwood, M.

On September 5, 1968, LENORA BREWER, [redacted] [redacted], advised that she is currently a member of PAC at Tougaloo College. The following is a physical description of LENORA BREWER obtained from observation and interview:

Name	LENORA BREWER
Race	Negro
Sex	Female
Date of Birth	April 23, 1948
Place of Birth	Leflore County, Mississippi
Height	5'2"
Weight	93 pounds
Arrest Record	None admitted

NY

Education	Presently a Junior at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi
Employment	During summer of 1968 was employed at the Addiction Services Agency, 325 Broadway, Room 425, New York City
Home Address	
Previous Addresses	While in New York City in summer of 1968, resided at ; also resided at

On September 26, 1968, advised that during the Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, 1967-68 school semester, PAC had 22 members.

On September 3, 1968, Confidential Informants and advised that they do not recall officially that the Black Student Conference was called by the national headquarters of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, and in fact the calling of such a conference in a distant city would not be undertaken by the national headquarters of SNCC. Sources advised that the ordinary procedure for a conference of this type is for a group of students or interested individuals to meet a few days prior to the proposed conference in the area where the conference is to be held at which time they plan the agenda of the conference and subjects to be discussed in workshops.

advised that he believes that the conference was called by a group of students from either Jackson State College or Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi.

In September, 1968, Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that although PHILIP HUTCHINGS, the National Chairman of SNCC, has made statements to the effect that SNCC would open chapters in various cities including Cleveland, Ohio, this plan has not been implemented to date.

Source stated that he has no information to indicate that SNCC sponsored the Black Thought Conference held at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, April 12-14, 1968.

On August 21 and August 23, 1968, [redacted] advised that he doubted that SNCC sponsored the Black Thought Conference, Tougaloo, Mississippi, inasmuch as the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, a SNCC operated project, held its conference April 12-14, 1968, in New York City.

Source further advised that since GEORGE WARE attended the Black Thought Conference, he may have something to do with it since he was head of SNCC campus programs; however, WARE was suspended from SNCC because no one was aware of what he was doing.

II. INFORMATION CONCERNING DEFENSE WORKSHOP HELD AT BLACK THOUGHT CONFERENCE APRIL 12-14, 1968

On September 12, 1968, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised regarding the conference of Negro people, predominantly students, which took place at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, April 12-14, 1968. This conference had also been identified as "Black Thought." One of the workshops at this conference was a "Defense Workshop." The impression was gained that GEORGE WARE, a representative of the national organization of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) did more to set up, plan, program, as well as instruct, this workshop than anyone else. His title with SNCC at that time may have

been Field Organizer. It was indicated that WARE had participated in activity sometime prior to this conference which had taken place at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. This activity had allegedly resulted in the closing of Tuskegee Institute.

Since WARE, a national representative of SNCC, spearheaded the Defense Workshop at Tougaloo College, it appears that it may be said that the national headquarters of SNCC directed and/or approved this workshop.

A second person, Negro male, name unknown, who was indicated to be from Tuskegee Institute, took a prominent part in the conduct of this workshop. He left the impression that he had participated in the prior activity that had closed Tuskegee Institute. His actual connection with Tuskegee Institute is unknown. Someone made a remark during the workshop to the effect that when the members of the Board of Regents at Tuskegee Institute were held hostage, the throat of them should have been cut before release of the hostages. It is believed this individual from Tuskegee Institute was the person who made this remark. He apparently was affiliated with SNCC.

A third party, Negro male, name unknown, who was indicated to be from a college in Tennessee, possibly Tennessee State College, also took a prominent part in the conduct of this Defense Workshop. It is believed this person may have stated or someone else stated of him that he had been in some sort of difficulty with his Selective Service Board regarding induction. He apparently was affiliated with SNCC.

Beyond the above three persons, it would be difficult to say who else, if any, were prominent

in the conduct of the Defense Workshop. Others entered into the discussion from time to time.

Purpose of this Defense Workshop was to prepare those present to return to their respective areas where they could take an active part in a cooperative effort directed at organizing communities adjacent to college campuses, as well as persons on the campuses to work together for mutual defense against the "power structure." By this means, cooperating persons in a community adjacent to a college campus could create disturbance or disturbances which would divert law enforcement authorities away from already existing disturbance on the campus. This would tend to minimize effectiveness of the authorities in dealing with the campus disturbance. This pertained primarily to Negro or predominantly Negro colleges. A long-range objective is to get absolute black control in these colleges and remove them from state control of any kind.

An overall objective is to work toward a breakdown of the power structure. All black students were urged to direct their efforts upon graduation toward promotion of black interests such as black control in black communities and against the power structure to include industry and political set-ups that support the U. S. war machine.

The number of people attending the Defense Workshop averaged about 15 to 20. The only black militant organization known to be represented was SNCC. It was a SNCC activity. A Negro male (first name unknown) BROWN of the national office of SNCC gave the keynote address to the general assembly of

persons attending the conference at the outset. He indicated he was speaking for JAMES FORMAN, a national leader of SNCC. [illegible] left the conference after this speech and was not observed to return thereafter.

Although it was clear at the Defense Workshop that it was desired these persons return to their respective areas and embark on the program discussed, no specific plans were known to be laid at the time of the Defense Workshop to be undertaken in any particular area or areas.

III. AIMS, PURPOSE, AND PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE

On August 1, 1968, [redacted] advised that he was invited to the Black Thought Session by [redacted] along with other senior students from Lanier High School, Jackson, Mississippi, and that this conference would be strictly a social affair.

He stated that students from Lanier High School, a predominately Negro school at Jackson, Mississippi, attended the Black Thought Session because it appeared to be the social event of the year.

[illegible] 2, 1968, [redacted] [illegible] that a group of students from Lanier High School, Jackson, [illegible], was invited to the Black [illegible] in order to [illegible] interest in political activities. [illegible], the Black Thought [illegible] turned [illegible] a social [illegible] conference.

[illegible], [redacted] [illegible] number of students [illegible] High [illegible] Black Thought Conference which was held at Tougaloo College, Mississippi, at the specific invitation of [illegible]ARD SPENCER who advised the students that this would be an outstanding social event of the school year and [illegible] the students [illegible].

[illegible] advised the following individuals [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ;

[illegible]

[illegible];

[illegible];

[illegible]ALLS;

[illegible] [illegible]KLEY.

IV. [illegible]

[illegible] confidential [illegible] familiar with [illegible] activities [illegible] United States were contacted [illegible] and September, [illegible], and all advised they could furnish no information concerning Black Thought Conference.

APPENDIX
1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX 2

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Jackson, Mississippi
October 7, 1968

Title: BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-14, 1968, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Report of Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

(SNCC)

Section 3 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	2/23/68	1/29 - 2/21/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	jtk
	CHARACTER OF CASE IS - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68.
Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated 1/23/68.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO and OSI, Baltimore, Maryland. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the close cooperation between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore Offices of SNCC.

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REC- 44

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How Fwd.	DATE FORW
By	BY:

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
	Characterization of ROBERT B. MOORE
	100-23331-192 and 195
	100-23331-201
	100-23331-216

BA 100-23331

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow the activity of SNCC.

C*
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FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
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Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: BALTIMORE
Date: February 23, 1968

Field Office File #: BA 100-23331
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY -
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

Robert Barber Moore

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a Negro male who was born at Baltimore, Maryland, October 16, 1944. [redacted] MOORE has been arrested several times in Maryland between 1963 and the present in connection with civil rights demonstrations. In 1965, [redacted] on a number of occasions identified MOORE as a staff member of the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN). [redacted] in 1965 on a number of occasions furnished information reflecting that MOORE was active in the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

U-JOIN is the Baltimore community action arm of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Characterizations of SDS and the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam are appended hereto.

MOORE was arrested in Atlanta, Georgia on August 18, 1966 while participating in a demonstration at the United States Armed Forces Induction Center along with several other members of SNCC. [redacted] advised that in March, 1967, ROBERT MOORE was in training in the Research Department at SNCC headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia.

BA 100-23331

B. Officers

Baltimore, Md

WALTER LIVELY is a militant Negro civil rights leader who has been active in Baltimore for several years who was recently an unsuccessful candidate for the republican nomination to the Baltimore City Council and he has been identified publicly as Director and Organizer of U-JOIN.

C. Objectives

On January 6, 1968 advised that SNCC intends to set up training schools in the Baltimore area similar to those that they have held in Nashville, Tennessee and Washington, D. C. These schools will, in all probability, concentrate on instruction concerning political matters, Negro history and self defense. The organization will also concentrate in putting forth a Negro candidate for political office and it is anticipated that WALTER LIVELY will probably be the principal candidate backed by SNCC. It is anticipated that SNCC's major political activities will be concentrated in the Second District of Baltimore City for the time being.

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968, carried a story under the by-line of STEPHEN J. LYNTON which stated that ROBERT B. MOORE, head of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, said that campaigns against crime in the streets of President JOHNSON and Mayor D'ALESANDRO of Baltimore mean "War on the black community." He charged that the Baltimore City Police Department is used to "Stifle the legitimate grievances" of the poor and stated "What's needed is community control of the police department by civilians. Black people should have a voice." He went on to characterize the police as the enemy of the black community and said if Mayor D'ALESANDRO is really concerned about crime they would create money that would filter down to the black community. He criticized the anti-poverty program and characterized the war on poverty as a "Token suggestion and a deception." He added, however, that it hasn't deceived many people and that the situation

in the community is little different than it was four years ago.

On January 18, 1968, [redacted] made available [redacted] report dated January 12, 1968 concerning a "Black power teach-in" which was held at Goucher College on that date. Among the speakers were ROBERT B. MOORE and JAN BAILEY. In his speech, MOORE stated that the United States does not love black people and now the black people are concerned with their own self-preservation. He said that the white people must analyse this country and find out what the problem is now. He concluded his talk by saying that trouble will erupt in Baltimore, Washington and New York.

JAN BAILEY followed Mr. MOORE as a speaker. BAILEY's first statement was "It is going to be a long hot summer." He then held up a match and stated "This is black power." He said that he will ask black soldiers to drop their rifles and return home from the war. He said that SNCC is teaching their young men to be strong, dedicated and disciplined, and in turn, to disrupt, dislocate and destroy the white man because he is our enemy. He said that if a white man touches you "Wipe him out." He said that Negroes should take care of the "honkies" wholly and completely. He said when the black men return from Vietnam we will start because we have no alternative but to use blood, horror and terror to gain our demands.

II. ACTIVITIES

On January 18, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had received information that some person from Washington, D. C. has been visiting Baltimore and holding meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It appears that the purpose of these meetings is to organize teenagers in the area into a youth club. [redacted] made available literature which was distributed at these meetings. The literature was issued by SNCC and more fully described later in this report.

concerning the Panther organization that this is apparently a recently organized group in the Baltimore area consisting of youths who are being advised by SELINA STEWART, a SNCC member who resides at

The Activists, Inc. is a civil rights group formerly known as the Activists for Fair Housing. The members of this group are former members of Baltimore CORE who left CORE when the direction of that organization was taken over by staff members from the national office who formed the Baltimore Target City Project. INCITE is a small neighborhood organization from the predominantly Negro Cherry Hill section of Baltimore. Source had no information concerning the Afro-Asian Art School or LESTER VALLEY.

III. FINANCES

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968 in the story concerning the interview with ROBERT B. MOORE, reflected that MOORE described the chief sources of SNCC funds in the Baltimore area as coming from contributions and sale of literature.

IV. PUBLICATIONS

On January 18, 1968, [redacted] made available literature which was distributed to teenagers who attend meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This literature is as follows:

1. A small blue pamphlet in English and Spanish captioned "Who are the real outlaws." It is a statement by H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC.

2. A pamphlet with a drawing of "Uncle Sam" captioned "Uncle Sam wants you Nigger." On the back of the pamphlet there is a statement which says "For help in avoiding the draft (legally) or for further information call Washington SNCC - 387-7445, 1234 U Street, N.W."

3. A mimeographed pamphlet with a drawing of H. RAP BROWN captioned "It's Beautiful to be Black - Black is Beautiful." This pamphlet is stamped at the bottom "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 107 Rhode Island, N.W., WDC 20001, 387-7445."

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The Evening Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper on February 8, 1968 contained a story under the by-line of GEORGE ROGERS, date-lined Annapolis, which reflected that State Senator CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, III, a Negro, made an emotional speech on the floor of the State Senate, directed

against ROBERT B. MOORE of SNCC denouncing him for his published statement that the police are the enemy of the black community. The article reflects that Senator MITCHELL declared "I happen to be a part of that black community and I do not see efforts to curb crime as war on it." He said that MOORE is no spokesman for Baltimore Negroes and said "These voices of irresponsibility preach the same kind of hatred and bigotry that we have fought on the other side for so long." Senator MITCHELL further declared "There comes a time when people of responsibility should answer those of irresponsibility. To remain silent is to become party to what those people do."

The Evening Sun, on February 12, 1968, contained the story reflecting that Mrs. JUANITA JACKSON MITCHELL, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Maryland, attacked SNCC members as "Merchants of hate and violence." She said that SNCC leaders are spouting "A red Chinese Communist line" with their calls for black power. The story reflected that at the NAACP Annual Brotherhood Conference, Mrs. MITCHELL warned the audience that SNCC is no longer a student group and no longer non-violent.

BALTIMORE COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On November 8, 1965, a source advised that the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam (BCEWV) was organized in Baltimore, Maryland, and that it is affiliated with the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam located in Madison, Wisconsin.

The source also advised, on the same date, that Herman M. Heyn, 5509 Bosworth Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, stated at that time that he was solely responsible for the organization, and that he, Heyn, had formed the BCEWV in order to protest the United States intervention in Vietnam.

On April 14, 1966, the same source advised that the BCEWV is under the domination and control of the "Spartacist Group" at Baltimore, Maryland. The same source also advised that A. Robert Kaufman is head of, and a member of, the Baltimore, Maryland Spartacist Group and has considerable influence in the committee.

There is no specific headquarters for the BCEWV. Business meetings are held in the homes of members. There is no formal membership.

The first source advised on November 1, 1967, and a second source on October 23, 1967, that the BCEWV has not held a meeting or sponsored an affair since November, 1966, and is defunct.

A source, on October 18, 1965, advised that he knew Herman Heyn to have been a Vice-President of the New Era Book Shop, Baltimore, Maryland, in 1964, and a subscriber to "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.

NEW ERA BOOK SHOP, INCORPORATED

On September 19, 1962, a source advised that the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, 101 West 22nd Street, Baltimore, Maryland, was organized by the Communist Party, Maryland - D. C. District, on July 30, 1962, with the sanction and financial backing of the Communist Party, USA. Its purpose is to sell communist literature and serve as a place where new Communist Party members might be recruited. The Book Shop is completely controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, USA.

On May 22, 1967, a second source advised that since June, 1963, the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, has been located at 408 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It continues to be operated under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party, USA. ROBERT LEE, Communist Party member, is managing the Book Shop.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL) Formerly

Known as the REVOLUTIONARY

COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 9, 1964, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. The source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were led by James Robertson.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that James Robertson announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

A third source advised on September 7, 1966, that the RCFI held a Founders' Conference of the Spartacist League (SL) at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1966. On September 4, 1966, it was stated that the objective of the SL was to destroy the capitalist system and the capitalist society and create a workers' class system and a workers' class society.

The May-June, 1967, issue of "Spartacist" discloses it is published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

CONFIDENTIAL

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "Responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

February 23, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] at Baltimore dated February 23, 1968.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	5/24/68	5/9-24/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	cls
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/23/68 at Baltimore.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO, OSI, Baltimore. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close cooperation between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore offices of SNCC. The report also contains information concerning some of the individuals associated with SNCC in Washington, D. C.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:

None

A
COVER PAGE

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (REGIS. MAIL)
4 - 109th MI GP, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - NISO, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - OSI, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - WFO (Info) (100-41626) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Baltimore (100-23331)

-21

MAY 28 1968

REC- 4

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

The information attributed to [redacted] was furnished confidentially and cannot be made public [redacted]

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	100-23331-216,276,277,281
[redacted]	100-23331-276,277
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
Date: MAY 24, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: The Baltimore office of SNCC is located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. ROBERT MOORE is director and BETTYJEAN MURPHY is treasurer. Information concerning individuals associated with SNCC set out. Activities of SNCC in connection with organizing of individuals and groups within the Negro community at Baltimore set forth. Informants report that in March 1968 the Baltimore office of SNCC was not receiving any subsistence from National SNCC. [redacted]

-P*- OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is located at 432 East North Avenue.

([redacted] on May 21, 1968)

BA 100-23331
FJW:cls/na

B. Officers and Staff

OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
[redacted] on May 20, [redacted]

A source advised that SHEILA LEWIS, LOIS WI[illegible]Y, SELENE STEWART, and ANGEL MOSS do most of the work at the Baltimore Office of SNCC; and in the opinion of the informant, they should be considered staff members of SNCC in Baltimore. ANGEL MOSS appears to be regularly employed by SNCC.

SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
[redacted] on various dates
between March 13 and
May 21, 1968)

DORIS WILSON, who lives in Baltimore, is an SNCC field representative on the national level.

SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
[redacted] on March 29, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES:

The Sun, a newspaper published daily at Baltimore, Maryland, on March 5, 1968, contained a story datelined March 4, 1968, at Cambridge, Maryland, which was captioned "Negro Militants Visit Cambridge." The article stated "For the last two Saturdays a group of Negro militants from Baltimore has come to Cambridge for strategy meetings on 'the coming spring offensive'--a proposed continuation of the civil disturbances which have plagued Cambridge since 1963." The story went on to say that Baltimore militants are from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), SNCC, the Civic Interest Group (CIG), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). It said that they met in Cambridge behind closed doors with the Cambridge Black Action Federation (CBAF). They declined to discuss what went on

in the meetings which lasted for three or four hours each time, but they issued copies of a mimeographed "Free Black Press" calling for boycotts of white merchants and detailing what they feel are the unjustices committed against the Negroes of Cambridge's second ward.

CORE and SCLC are nationally known civil rights organizations, both of which presently have offices in Baltimore. The CIG is a local Baltimore civil rights group which operates principally on the west side of Baltimore and has a limited membership. The CBAF is the local militant Negro organization in Cambridge, Maryland.

on March 13, 1968)

On March 12, 1968, a meeting was held at the Baltimore Office of SNCC. More than twenty persons were present many of whom were students from Morgan State College (MSC), Baltimore, Maryland, a predominantly Negro institution. They were trying to get organized to conduct some sort of demonstrations. Several persons were elected as officers of the newly formed organization. They were as follows:

JACKIE GILES, President

FRED MASON, Vice President

JOHN CLARK, Treasurer

GLORIA WILDER, Secretary.

Other persons known to be present were individuals named MICHAEL GREEN, JAN BAILEY, BILLY WILLIAMS, DAVID MARTIN, and SAMUEL DAVIS. One student, who was called "BUTCH," argued about JACKIE GILES being elected president. He was described as a "very hot-headed young man." The meeting

lasted from approximately 9:20 p.m. until 11:05 p.m. BOB MOORE left before the meeting started and SHEILA LEWIS also did not attend the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting it was stated that they would meet on the following Tuesday.

on March 13, 1968)

on March 14, 1968)

on March 14, 1968)

On March 14, 1968, a small group of women met at SNCC Headquarters, and some of the Morgan students again met at SNCC Headquarters.

on March 18, 1968)

The SAAS will meet in Holmes Hall at MSC at 8:30 p.m. on March 21, 1968.

[redacted] on March 20, 1968)

Beginning at about 1:00 p.m., March 20, 1968, DANIEL GANT, Director of the CORE Target City Project; WALTER LIVELY, Executive Director of the Urban Coalition and a former organizer for the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN); ROBERT MOORE of SNCC; and JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., used a room in the Student Union Building at MSC to speak to students. Their talks lasted until approximately 4:00 p.m. and dealt with events that had occurred on a college campus at Orangeburg, South Carolina, during a riot at that institution. The talks also dealt with the necessity for more courses at MSC dealing with Negro culture and history. After leaving the MSC campus the same group went to Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, and spoke for approximately an hour on the same topics. Coppin State College is also a predominantly Negro college.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

During the afternoon hours on March 21, 1968, approximately 200 students conducted a demonstration at MSC in support of Howard University students who were then on strike in Washington, D. C. The president of MSC met with the students and cancelled all classes for March 22, 1968.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

The demonstration at MSC was led by members of the newly formed SAAS.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

On the evening of March 21, 1968, a meeting attended by approximately 400 MSC students was held in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, from approximately 8:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. This meeting was not sanctioned or approved by the school administration. No faculty or press were permitted to attend the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up demands to be made on the MSC administration.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

On March 22, 1968, Dr. MARTIN JENKINS, president of MSC, attended a scheduled meeting of faculty and students on the MSC campus during the afternoon hours. At this meeting a list of grievances was presented to the administration.

[redacted] on March 22, 1968)

At the meeting at MSC on March 22, 1968, members of the SAAS barred the door of the meeting and would not permit news men to enter despite the fact that the president of MSC had invited news men to be present.

(Baltimore Evening Sun, March 22, 1968)

On March 28, 1968, a meeting of the Human Rights Club was held at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, between 7:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Approximately 52 persons attended this meeting which dealt with opposition to the Selective Service draft. JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., was at this meeting. BAILEY is said to belong to a black anti-draft union, and he will organize six groups at various colleges in this general area of the country.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION N/A [redacted] on March 29, 1968)

Approximately 200 students met in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, on the evening of March 28, 1968. Some of them were heard to speak of burning the school down because of inferior building and inadequate facilities. The hard core of the meeting consisted of about 20 students who are members of the newly organized SAAS. JAN BAILEY of Washington

SNCC also attended this meeting, and he suggested that students take over the Administration Building and telephone switchboard and shut down the school completely. The meeting did not end until sometime after midnight. BAILEY's suggestion was given to a committee of 12 to decide what action should be taken.

[redacted] on March 29, 1968)

On March 30, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Baltimore Director of SNCC, filled a speaking engagement at Delaware State College as a substitute for CLEVELAND SELLERS of SNCC, who was originally scheduled to speak. MOORE gave a talk on the meaning of SNCC and how SNCC activities should be organized. He is believed to have received $150 for this speech. OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] on April 2, 1968)

[redacted] on April 6, 1968)

[redacted] Sometime around 4:30 to 5:00 p.m. on April 6, 1968, civil disturbances broke out in Baltimore on the near east side. These disturbances continued through April 11, 1968, and resulted in the subsequent mobilization of the State Police, Maryland National Guard, and Federal troops).

on April 11, 1968)

SELENE STEWART has also organized and tutors a group of about 25 young boys called the Panthers. An informant has heard that JAN BAILEY and LESTER MC KINNIE, both of the Washington office of SNCC, had worked with this group called the Panthers about one time a week during the months of January and February 1968.

on April 11, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE, Director of Baltimore SNCC, and LORIS WILSON attended the First National Conference of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union held at the Diplomat Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York, New York, April 12-14, 1968. JAN BAILEY of Washington and BOB MOORE were designated as regional chairmen for Baltimore and other areas. STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a fiery speech on April 12, 1968, in which among other things he said that "we" should destroy everything American.

on April 16, 1968)

On May 14, 1968, a panel discussion was held at the Grace Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic of the discussion was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." Included as members of the panel were ROBERT MOORE and CLARENCE DAVIS. In his statement, MOORE said that America is built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor. He said that present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. America moves ever closer to committing genocide on black Americans. American society represents institutionalized racism. School systems are run by white people, Negro housing is substandard, and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in black neighborhoods, they do not stop crimes against black people.

The remarks of CLARENCE DAVIS followed the same pattern as those of MOORE concerning genocide and institutionalized racism. DAVIS said that he belongs to several groups at MSC and most of his friends think as he does--that there are no good white folks except maybe in the graveyard. He closed his remarks by saying "You call yourselves liberals. It's all right for you to consider yourselves liberal about my freedom, but I'm a fanatic about it."

[redacted] on May 16, 1968)

III. FINANCES

The SNCC organization in Baltimore is in such poor financial shape that they are selling SCLC informational posters for $2 apiece to raise money. [redacted]

[redacted] on March 27, 1968)

[redacted] on May 20, 1968)

IV. PUBLICATIONS

Some pamphlets handed out at the Baltimore office of SNCC are as follows:

One is a mimeographed sheet captioned "A Letter From Prison From H. RAP BROWN." It is purportedly dated at the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 21, 1968, which urges black people to fight for liberation. One sentence states "May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country." The last paragraph

states in effect, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you...then here is my life."

The second pamphlet is one captioned "An Act Beyond Murder." This pamphlet tells that in South Africa on March 21, 1960, about 3,000 blacks who were demonstrating were fired on and 85 black people were killed. Hundreds of others were shot. The pamphlet then goes on to liken incidents which occurred at Orangeburg, South Carolina, and in Mississippi, Alabama, and Washington, D. C., to the incident which occurred in South Africa. The pamphlet urges people to attend the rally at Howard University on March 21, 1968, for a march and demonstration to the South African Embassy.

A third piece of literature was a petition to Governor SPIRO T. AGNEW, Annapolis, Maryland, which demands that the Governor take immediate steps to correct the mistake the state made in "hastily and unjustly bringing charges of inciting to riot and arson against H. RAP BROWN."

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

V. MISCELLANEOUS

LOUIS PRICE, who has been associated with SNCC in Baltimore, is charged by the Baltimore City Police for inciting to riot; and he is still in jail following the civil disorders that took place in Baltimore, April 6-11, 1968, after the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. There was some talk of SNCC organizing a demonstration during the trial of PRICE.

[redacted] on April 25, 1968)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

May 24, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Baltimore report of SA [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	8/28/68	8/21-28/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: jme

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCES:

Baltimore report of SA [redacted] 5/24/68.

\- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI Group, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore. Copy is also being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close contact between the Baltimore and Washington, D. C., offices of SNCC.

A
COVER PAGE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

SEE COVER PAGE B

2 - Baltimore (100-23331)

REC 37

22 SEP 3 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency		OSI	SS	
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

61 SEP 11 1968

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O—273-877

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (Registered Mail)
4 - 109th MI Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Registered Mail)
1 - WFO (info) (Registered Mail)
2 - Baltimore

This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS:

Informants	Location
[redacted]	Instant Report [redacted]
[redacted]	100-23331, 394, and 395
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-23331-348, 374, and 389 [redacted]
[redacted]	100-23331-383-384
[redacted]	[redacted]

B
COVER PAGE

100-23331-434 and 435

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

C*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE
Date: August 28, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants have furnished information reflecting that MOORE has had close association with the Soul School at Baltimore, Maryland, and has indicated an intention of opening up black book stores and liberation schools in the Baltimore area; however, these plans have not been put into effect. [redacted] Literature distributed by SNCC or under the SNCC name attached.

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DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is still located at 432 East North Avenue.

[redacted] on February 26, 1968)

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be the Director of SNCC in Baltimore.

[redacted] on February 26, 1968)

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

[redacted] on June 25, 1968)

[redacted] s.

[redacted] on July 15, 1968)

[redacted] e [redacted]

[redacted] on July 19, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES

On May 14, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, appeared as a panelist on a panel discussion held at the Grace Methodist Church, Charles Street and Belvedere Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." During this discussion MOORE stated that America was built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor and has a history of mistreating black people. He said that the present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. He said that American society respresents "institutionalized racism". He said that the school systems are run by white people; Negro housing is sub-standard; and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in the black neighborhoods they do not try to stop crimes against black people.

[redacted] on May 16, 1968)

On May 19, 1968, between 5:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. about 150 persons visited the Soul School at 522 North Fremont Avenue for the purpose of observing an African style wedding ceremony and to participate in the festivities at the school. The groom in this particular ceremony was ROBERT MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, and the bride was SHEILA LEWIS, who has been frequently seen at the SNCC office.

[redacted] on May 22, 1968)

[redacted] on June 3, 1968)

[redacted] on June 16, 1968)

On June 7, 1968, a meeting was held in the auditorium of the Northwestern High School located at Park Heights Avenue and Fallstaff Road. This meeting was attended by approximately 100 to 150 students, and it was addressed by ROBERT MOORE, Chairman of the Baltimore Chapter of SNCC, YUSEF KARRIEM (JAMES ARCHIE BOWLING) of the CORE Target City Project, and LEO ROBERTS of CORE. The program also included the playing of a record of a speech of MALCOLM X which invoked black action against the white man including violence. After the morning session of this meeting and during the luncheon period Major WILLIAM HARRIS of the Community Relations Division of the Baltimore Police Department appeared at the auditorium and ordered all individuals who were not students to leave. After calling the police a few names, the above mentioned individuals left the school. The student group continued the meeting and discussed problems of Negro students in the Baltimore School System.

[redacted] on June 13, 1968)

BOB MOORE said that the SNCC in Baltimore was working closely with the Soul School which is located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

[redacted] on July 10, 1968)

A pamphlet called "The Black Liberator", put out by the Soul School under date of June 21, 1968, which was furnished by confidential informant [redacted] on July 19, 1968, states: "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education

and action. It is composed of a Board of Directors and several work shops or committees. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

[redacted] advised on July 10, 1968, that ALI (LESTER VALLEY), a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and overthrow the "system". He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

[redacted] the Baltimore Office of SNCC is planning to open a book store which will deal entirely with the dissemination of black literature. The purpose of the book store is twofold:

(1) It will make available to the black community in Baltimore black literature and information not available through the white mass media or through existing book stores in the area.

(2) The book store will provide needed revenue for SNCC staff members in the Baltimore area.

[redacted] on July 15, 1968)

BOB MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, attempted to start a coalition of civil rights groups in the Baltimore area; but the coalition was unsuccessful because of personality conflicts between the leaders of the various civil rights

groups. This was MOORE's attempt to start a front like the Black United Front. The Black United Front was an idea, name included, which originated with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The purpose was to develop a black shield for all black people and their organizations. Initially CARMICHAEL wanted it to be a coordinating body. It appears, however, that the front became a moving arm of revolution instead, involving many persons who belonged to no other group but who are clearly militant.

[redacted] on July 17, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE has stated that he wants to set up what are known as "liberation schools". These schools would operate on the same principle as does the Soul School in Baltimore. These schools would teach revolutionary tactics and methods. It is MOORE's idea that the money to set up these schools would come from profits made from the proposed book stores which MOORE intends to set up. Because the book stores have not yet been set up no Baltimore liberation school has been set up by MOORE to the best of the informant's knowledge.

[redacted] on July 17, 1968)

III. FINANCES

[redacted] on August 23, 1968)

IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

On May 16, 1968, ROBERT MOORE passed out a leaflet captioned, "Our Fight is at Home", put out by NBAWADU.

on May 17, 1968)

On August 16, 1968, confidential informant furnished copies of three pieces of literature which he received on August 12, 1968. Copies of this literature follow.



Agnew says,

"...KILL A LOOTER OVER A PAIR OF SHOES"

Agnew was elected governor by Black voters, but he has brutally exploited the civil rights struggle to further his own ambitions.

Agnew has openly appealed for the racist vote by insulting and harassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He framed Rap Brown to put himself in the national spot-light. On the eve of Martin Kings assassination he was arresting 200 Bowie College students. This July he told a group of Greek youth, "....kill a looter over a pair of shoes, "

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our hams and elect our own political leaders.

Organize people in your block so that you can <u>defend</u> yourself against the police!

GET A GUN!!!

BLACK PEOPLE AND THEIR ENEMY

In every black neigborhood in this city you will find mad-dog policeman ready to shoot and kill one of the members of your community at the drop of a hat. Whenever a condition like this.exist it needs to be taken seriously. Who will be killed next? Your brother? Your Mother? Your sister? Whenever you have an enemy right in your neigborhood, everyone in that neigborhood is in danger of losing his or her life.

The best way to prevent this is for the people in that community to organize themselves and plan ways to attack that enemy. Its either one of your friends dead or a police dead. Take your pick. I am sure you would prefer seeing those honky police lying on the ground. You know what you have to do!

Its Justifiable Homicide!

COPS AND RACIST

ON THE RAMPAG

WHO WILL PROTECT US IF WE DO NO
PROTECT OURSELVES?
OVER THE WEEKEND, RACIST COPS
KILLED AN 18 YEAR OLD BROTHER AND
WOUNDED A 14 YEAR OLD BROTHER.
ALSO OVER THE WEEKEND WHITE CIVIL
RIDING THROUGH THE BLACK COMMUNITY
AND WOUNDED A BROTHER AND A SIST
IT COULD HAVE BEEN YOUR SISTER, Y
MOTHER, OR YOUR GIRLFRIEND.

WHO WILL PROTECT OUR WO

ARM YOURSELF

OR

HARM YOURSELF

BA 100-23331

Confidential informant [redacted] on August 20, 1968, advised that on August 17, 1968, the Soul School sponsored a Black Arts Festival which was held on the playground of the Harlem Park Junior High School. Throughout the day crowds ranging up to about 400 were entertained by various musical groups playing music for the most part associated with African culture. During the festival three pieces of literature having to do with SNCC were distributed. This literature consisted of a "Baltimore SNCC Newsletter" dated August 19, 1968, a pamphlet entitled, "It's Beautiful to be Black. Black is Beautiful", and "Racism and Revolution". Copies of this literature follows.

SNCC

Price 5¢

"THE VOICE OF REVOLUTION!"

Vol. 1, No. 1 — SNCC Black Community Newspaper — AUGUST 1968

PIGS ON RAMPAGE

TSCHAKA ZULU ARRESTED

In the [illegible] of the black struggle for freedom, justice, and equality, the [illegible]pression of the Established Order and [illegible]'s agents becomes fiercer by the day. [illegible] over the country, these destroyers of humanity are striking at the souls [illegible] black people. However, there are those among us who think things are getting better because a few reforms have been made. To dispel these illusions of our plight, the following are instances of clear cases of repression and harassment.

On Monday, August 5, 1968, a young brother boarded a No. 37 bus marked Cherry Hill without any [illegible]. The brother thought the bus driver [illegible] be human enough to allow [illegible] since it was about 2 a.m. But the driver thought more about [illegible] his boss's 25¢ than the welfare of another human.

Therefore, upon making his decision, this stooge signalled the cops. The racist cops (pigs) boarded the bus at [illegible] Blvd. and [illegible] Streets. [illegible] pigs removed the [illegible] from their [illegible]. They [illegible] [illegible]

These racist pigs pounced upon the brother by squirting Mace in his face and dragging him brutally off the bus. However, this was not enough to satisfy the lust of these pigs.

As soon as they got the brother off the bus and simultaneously receiving thirteen reinforcements, the pigs really went into their thing. They stomped the brother in the chest, choked him, shackled his legs and wrists, and like an animal carried him off to Daniel's Den (jail).

However, this incident is nothing peculiar for this same type of harassment occurs everyday in the black community:

On August 6, the pigs attacked brother Tschaka Zulu and Tabu, another brother, on Lafayette Street. Tschaka Zulu was sitting beside the door steps to his home waiting to go for target shooting. Tschaka Zulu came out of his house and sat down in a chair and set a closed gun case behind him up against the wall. The pigs [illegible] while Tschaka Zulu was [illegible]

Th[illegible] pig [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] Tsch[illegible] Zulu [illegible] them [illegible] and gave the gun case to [illegible]. [illegible] carried the gun case (with the gun inside it) into the house; the pigs followed. One pig grabbed Tschaka Zulu by the bandolier which was strapped across Tschaka Zulu's chest. Tschaka Zulu shoved him away and went to Tabu's assistance. Inside Tschaka Zulu's house, in which these pigs entered without legal provocation or warrant, Tschaka Zulu and Tabu were arrested.

Tschaka Zulu and Tabu had a hearing the next day. The racist judge set a bail of $15,000 for the brothers-$5,000 a piece for possession of deadly weapons and $25 hundred a piece for assault by shoving. It is very clear that these are trumped-up charges [illegible] persecution.

ARM YOURSELF

OR

HARM YOURSELF

Agnew Says,

"...KILL A LOOTER [illegible] A PAIR OF SHOES"

Agnew was elected governor by [illegible] voters, but he has brutally opposed the civil rights struggle [illegible] his own ambitions.

Agnew [illegible] appealed for the [illegible] vote by insulting and harrassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He framed Rap Brown to put himself in the national spotlight. On the eve of Martin King's assassination he was arresting 200 Bowie College students. This July he told a group of Black youth, ". . . . kill a looter over a pair of shoes."

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our h[illegible]s and elect our own political leaders.

Education - Community Schools

In a period of three or four months, there has been much discussion or controversary surrounding the concept of community schools. The discussion was stimulated by reactionaries and conservatives who had ulterior motives and interests which would come into danger with the success of a viable community school program. These reactionaries-city and school administrators--have implemented a pattern of obstructionism and subversion against the School-Community Relations program since the summer of 1967. They have refused to provide strong and continuous support to the community school program.

It would be beneficial for us to understand the reasons for the reaction to educational progress in a school system whose student population is 70% black. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the psychologist, says the American society is willing

[illegible] most affect the ways of [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] children." Dr. Clark is [illegible] speaking [illegible] the [illegible]--"What is good [illegible] the [illegible], is good for the [illegible]." That is, the needs of [black] students are very different from those of whites. And the school system must adjust to this need and reality.

We can isolate three of the main reasons for the public schools failure to meet the needs of black students,

(1) The school is an alien institution in the lives of black students and parents of the black community and there is no true participation from the community.

(2) Learning is based on the development of operational skills which do not relate to the experience and the interests of black students.

(3) Discipline is based on rules that are not applicable to the situation that exist within the black community.

The solution to assuring that black children get a decent education, is Black control of the school system. We must not allow white people to determine what kind of education our children will receive. We must assume responsibility for the education of our children because we best understand what the needs of our children are. The reason the community schools program was obstructed so much, was because the people who run the school system knew that they would loose some of [their] control. If the community schools program was set up properly, it could allow for more participation of black [illegible] students and teachers in [illegible] the public schools. This is what the white powers-to be fear.

The racism in this country is constantly on the rampage, striking at the minds and hearts of our children. The reactionaries and conservatives seek to remove the tools from the hands of blacks everytime they try to help themselves. Always trying to keep blacks dependent and begging.

The city administrators cut the budget drastically for the community school program from $4 million to about $300 thousand. A figure which is lower per school than the previous year. They do this to a program which would eliminate a school system which is a "Disgrace to the community and a tragedy to the thousands of young men and women whom we compel to sit in the "schools."

Another aspect of the school system which must be negated is the bureaucracy. Dr. Clark accuses the "white control boards of education, the entrenched educational bureaucrats, principals and superintendants" for hampering the progress and improvement of the education of black students. The psychologist calls for strengthing of schools in the black community through decentralization of boards of education. This idea is being and has been implemented and introduced within community schools all over the country.

The only hope for our children to be saved from an immoral and racist society--which seems willing to destroy us because it is unwilling to accept us--is massive organization. There is a group in Baltimore which is attempting to counteract the racism and immorality of the school system--Afrikan-American Citizens Concerned About Education.

This group is comprised of teachers, students, parents, and civil rights activists. For further information concerning this group call 447-75[illegible].

THE BLACK GIANTS SPEAK

Frederick Douglass: "The whole history of the progress of human liberty, shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of honest struggle. . . if there is no struggle, there is no progress, those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand, it never did and it never will . . . Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they certainly must pay for all they get. If we are to get free from the oppression and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice and if need be, by our lives and the lives of others".

Malcolm X: "I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions-- political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it as long as it is intelligently directed, and designed to get results."

Kwame Nkrumah: "Mr. Speaker, never in the history of the world, has an alien ruler granted self-rule to a people on a silver platter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I say that a peoples' readiness and willingness to assume the responsibilities of self rule is the single criterion of their preparedness to undertake those responsibilities."

Claude McKay: "We must meet the common foe though far out numbered, let us still be brave, and for their thousand blows, deal one death blow! What? Though before us lies the open grave. Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack, pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting."

Margaret Walker: "Neither the slaves' whip nor the lynchers' rope nor the bayonet could kill our black belief."



SOCIETY of AFRO-
AMERICAN STUDENTS

WHO ARE THE REAL OUTLAWS

Brothers and Sisters;

White people are saying that the uprisings of our people in almost 100 American cities, "must be conspiracy." Where is the real conspiracy? Black people across this country have known that the real conspiracy in this country is to run us out, keep us down, or kill us, if we don't act like the honky wants us to act.

We're fighting for our survival and for this, we are called criminals, outlaws and murderers. Who are the real criminals? Who stole us from Africa? Who has been stealing our labor these past 400 years to build this country? Who are the real murderers? Why don't they call the police who gun us down in the streets every day, all year round,...why don't they call them murderers?

Why don't they call Lyndon Johnson a murderer and an outlaw? He fights an illegal war with our brothers and our sons. He sends them to fight against other colored people who are gighting for their freedom.

Who are the real outlaws in this country? They say I am an outlaw. I am charged with inciting black people to "riot". It is against the "law" to roit. But did you or I have any say in passing this law? Do we have much of a say in any of the laws passed in this country? I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were made by a group of white "lawmakers" who do not let my people be represented in making those laws.

That government which makes laws that you and I are supposed to obey, without letting us be a part of that government... is an illegal government. The men who pass those laws are outlaws the police who enforce those laws are outlaws and murderers.

It should be understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to keep us down and keep us in our place. Nor can we be expected to have confidence in the whiteman's court which interprets and enforces these laws. The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts, he accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us.

White America should not fool itself into believing that if it comes down harder on us...that will keep us from doing what we believe is right. History has shown that when a man's conscience is aroused, when a man really believes what he is doing, threats of jail and death do not turn that man back. The threat of jail or death will not turn me nor others like me from the path we have taken.

We stand on the eve of a black revolution. These rebellions are but a dress rehersal for real revolution. For to men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambitions, and nothing can turn men aside who have conviction and a strong sense of freedom.

More powerful than my fear of what could happen to me in prison is my hatred for what happens to my people in those outside prisons called black ghettoes of this country. I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred, I am supported by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. There is nothing any court can do to me that will change that hatred in me; it can only be changed by the removal of the racism and inhumanity which exists in this country.

A society which can mount a huge military action against a black youth who breaks a window, and at the same time pleads that it is powerless to protect black youths who are being murdered each year because they seek to make democracy in America a reality...is a sick, criminal and insane society. They talk about violence in the country's streets! Where are the Troops?

Each time a black body is found in the swamps of Mississippi or Alabama, that is violence on our land! Where are those murderers?

Each time black human rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy.

Each time a police officer shoots and kills a black teen-ager, that is urban crime! Where is the national leader who will go on T.V. and condemn police crime.

Black people see America for what it is. It is clear now that white America cannot condemn itself...cannot see the reality of its crimes against mankind. We see America and we recognize our course

Racism and Revolution

H. Rap Brown

Interview between National Guardian staff writer, Robert Allen and H. Rap Brown; reprinted from The National Guardian, June 15, 1968

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
100 Fifth Avenue, Rm. #803
New York, New York 10011

Donation 50¢

[illegible] me. I [illegible] that intent is to silence me. America is operating on the principle that if you can't convert a man, you got to silence him. But she has failed in her attempt to both silence me and convert me. You know, in her attempt to silence me when she puts me in jail, she just creates another forum. I can talk to brothers in jail who are more political than people on the streets, brothers who know what has to be done. In her attempt to convert me, that's hopeless because I see America for what it is. It's another Germany. It's the Fourth Reich. America makes Hitler's and Germany's records look good.

It is because of America's racism that black people and colored people around the world are oppressed. Throughout history black people who spoke out against America and her racism have been subjected to exile, assassination, murder, or imprisonment. So what happened to me is nothing new or different. Justice is a joke in this country for black people, and it stinks of its hypocrisy. Justice in this country means "just us white folks." Black people must understand that there is no redress of grievances in the courts but only in the streets, through armed guerilla action.

The only reason that I'm willing to go before the racist courts is that it's an educational process for black people. Black people should learn from my experiences. In other words, every black man shouldn't have to go before a judge to know what I'm experiencing. I was glad in Louisiana because the courtroom was filled with black people, young black brothers and sisters every day. And they learned, man, because legally we beat the government on the first day. We made a motion to have racist Judge Mitchell dismissed from the case because of prejudicial statements he made against me during some of the bond hearings we had before. The motion was made to him, and he said, "Yeah, I'm prejudiced against him, but I'm not gonna dismiss myself."

I think what happens in terms of organization for confrontation is that this is forced upon the masses of people. Masses of people are never ready for armed confrontation. You have to get that out of your mind. Masses of people are never organized; they're not even organizable. What happens is that as repression increases people do things to survive. As the repression increases in this country, that's going to force black people together. What we have done (when I say "we" I mean people who've been out front talking to the masses of people) is this. We have raised what's known as the level of consciousness of black people as to the problem. That's as much as we can do. In other words, the man is going to have to come down on people before they really realize. They're going to have to have to wake up one morning and smell shoe polish on their breath to know the man's foot is up their ass. That's what will have to happen. Before any revolutionary struggle the last phase of organizing -- on a mass basis -- is done by the repression, is done by the oppressor. There's nothing more we can do until that point is reached. Now we can organize small groups, but in terms of the masses of people, they must react to the repression. We have raised the consciousness so that they will be able to decide what to do.

MAKE THE MAN JUMP

HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THE LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG BLACK PEOPLE TODAY?

Consciousness has to be distinguished from revolutionary attitude. The level of consciousness has been raised so that black people are in a state of rebellion. But rebellion is not to be confused with revolution. Black people around the country now recognize that they have a vehicle that can make this man jump. It's like a kid with a toy. In other words, we can make the motherfucker jump by putting the electrodes to his balls and we want to see how high we can make him jump. This is where black people are at. I don't think you can expect revolutionary action from the masses of people until repression becomes so great that it affects each individual.

BUT ISN'T THERE SOME POLITICAL CONTENT IN THE REBELLIONS?

I view revolution as an evolutionary type of thing. Revolution comes in stages or steps. Rebellions are a legitimate part of the steps toward revolutionary struggle, but they are not revolutions. We cannot be content in rebelling. We must move from revolt to revolution. Actually, at this point now, it's dangerous for masses of [illegible] black people to go in the streets. This plays into the man's hands. I I don't think it's desirable or advisable for rebellions, where masses of people go into the streets, to occur anymore.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE WOULD YOU PROPOSE?

Cadres of people who have political knowledge and technical skills must begin to execute revolutionary struggle in this country on behalf of the masses of people. People like myself -- I'm too visible -- I'm under surveillance every day.

One of the things you brought up in your article ([illegible], May 25), which I've also spoken about, concerns the visibility of people. It's [illegible], at this point, that everybody [illegible] naturals, unless the [illegible] naturals. I can do it because I'm already visible, but to the young brother just coming up it's not necessary. It's what's in your head, not what's on your head. And once a cat grows a natural, the man recognizes him as political whether he is or not. If the [illegible]

[illegible] ideological [illegible] and certain individuals, but that's not to say that these individuals are the leaders of the movement.

I'm the Chairman of [illegible] and my position is to articulate the sentiments of black people because that's the community I come from. I do it because the organization has a public forum, not because I do it better than other brothers. I don't think it can be done better than [illegible]. But in terms of leaders, the masses of people will choose their leaders.

WHERE IS THE [illegible] MOVEMENT HEADED ON A NATIONAL LEVEL?

I think the same repression that will force the masses into a body will also forge the different black groups into a body. At this point I'm not going to say that the so-called vanguard groups in the movement are politically correct. I'm not going to say that a lot of those groups are even moving in the right political direction. They are going to come together out of necessity as repression increases.

IN YOUR VIEW, WHAT IS THE RIGHT POLITICAL DIRECTION?

TO begin with, I don't think we can address ourselves to traditional politics because this is irrelevant to black people. The only politics relevant to black people is the politics of revolution. The politics of culture is not in itself revolution.

I don't think we should be concerned with redefining culture at this point. To be black is not to be revolutionary. Every Negro is not a potential black man. Every Negro is a potential traitor, and every black man is only a potential revolutionary - with emphasis on "potential." To be black is not an end in itself, and black people will have to move away from this kind of thinking.

You see, when you begin to stress culture you have to remember that when you examine any revolutionary country you'll find that the cultural revolution has never come before actual armed confrontation before a contest for power was raised. I'm not saying that in terms of consciousness, it's not important that black people know who they are, but to put emphasis on being black, emphasis on culture at this stage of the game is not to be revolutionary. People can become so hooked up in their culture and their egos so inflated about being black that they have no desire to fight.

Vanguard groups can't afford to go around talking about stressing culture because the real test right now is preparation for struggle and the initiation of that struggle. This is my position.

LAST YEAR YOU SAID IT WAS NO ACCIDENT THAT MANY OF THE NEWLY LIBERATED COUNTRIES ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO SOME FORM OF SOCIALISM. DO YOU THINK THE SAME WILL HAPPEN IN THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

I don't see any working example of socialism, communism or any ideology that's desirable for black people in this country because of [illegible] racism or anything else. [illegible] deals with capitalism, but not with racism.

An ideology to deal with racism still has to be created, and it has to be created by the masses of people.

[illegible] ... they will become political ... develop ideologies.

It is, however, very real to discuss things that are denied black people as a result of oppression. Vanguard groups can talk about ideology, but I don't know what they say is correct. Because a cat occupies a vanguard position doesn't mean that he has a monopoly on truth. Leaders can talk about ideology, and that may inspire them, but it doesn't insure struggle among the masses of people.

SLOGAN CO-OPTED

YOU MENTIONED THAT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS ENOUGH AND I QUESTION THIS. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME PEOPLE DEFINE BLACK POWER AS BLACK [illegible] CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, BUT THEY DON'T SPELL OUT WHO IS TO CONTROL OR IN WHOSE INTEREST.

It is unreal to talk about black people controlling their own communities unless they control the whole country. As long as the man controls the water or electricity coming into your community it does you no good to control that community. And to control the community in a capitalistic way, like the man, is not desirable. I think the real issue goes way beyond this idea of geographic control.

The slogan black power has been co-opted. You have white politicians talking about the virtues of black power and Kennedy was even running around giving people the black power handshake. We've begun that.

WHERE HAVE WE MOVED TO?

People have to address themselves to struggle. I interpreted Dr. King's death as a rise of facism in the country - I contend he was executed.

What happens now is that you have two conceptions of power exposed towards each other. You have white folks on this hand and black folks on the other hand, and the stronger force wins. There's nothing in between. You see, Dr. King had a large moral following in the white communities, domestic and foreign. So when you eliminate Dr. King you set up a confrontation between these two groups and the police can then come down on the black community in the name of preventing a race war. The police can legitimize this repression bysaying that they're dealing with the violent element, the element that's talking about anarchy.

I think this can be coupled with the riot commision report. This report gives two very distinct solutions to what is considered a problem in this country. They say you can either address the grievances of black people by legislation and pouring in money, or you can move toward a garrison state. Everybody looked at the first solution (but you don't see any legislation). I always examine the other position. There's an estimated 39 concentration camps in this country. I was in one in Petersburg, Va. - a federal prison camp. What are these camps being prepared for? They ain't bringing no Vietcong prisoners home. The Indians are on reservation. Me and Carmichael can't fill 39 camps.

This is a dangerous situation for black people. The man is scared true enough, but that's when he's most dangerous, because he knows black people can disrupt this country. So he must increase his repression.

I contend that the only reason they didn't shoot black people [illegible]

[illegible] the police [illegible] right to do whatever they want, legally.

"[illegible] OUT"

[illegible] YOU SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ARISING OUTSIDE [illegible] BLACK COMMUNITY?

My position on that is this: We are prepared to fight, and if [illegible] is anybody to fight with us, well and good. If not, if we [illegible] to fight them, then we'll fight them. I'm not aware of revolu- [illegible] elements in the white community, but if revolutionary people [illegible] then they can be used in revolutionary struggle.

[illegible] ABOUT WHITE STUDENTS AND WHITE YOUTH GENERALLY, SOME OF [illegible] APPEAR TO BE [illegible] GREATER POLITICAL AWARENESS?

I think some white people are oppressed and may drop out, but [illegible] also drop back in. That's the whole thing with the hippie [illegible]. Black people can't drop out. We've always been out, so [illegible] nothing to talk about dropping in. White people have to [illegible] whether they're for human rights or the political rights [illegible] a country.

I can give you an example of exploited becoming exploiter -- [illegible] and Cher. When Sonny and Cher were down and out, they were [illegible] people. But once they got into a position to exploit, they [illegible] so.

[illegible] THE SAME THING BE [illegible] ABOUT SOME BLACK [illegible]?

Yeah, and I'm going to be very specific -- James Brown. I think [illegible] pulling one of the biggest boot-licking jobs in the country [illegible] day. He's selling out black people. If James Brown keeps declaring [illegible] allegiance to the country and not to the black community then [illegible] people have to purge him and his music from the [illegible] com- [illegible]nity. His latest record (America is My Home) is an example of [illegible] I mean, and going down there fraternizing with (Vice President) [illegible] Humphrey; I mean he's going to have to choose sides. If he supports Humphrey then he does not support the black community whether he realizes it or not.

"[illegible] OF WALLACES"

[illegible]AT IS SNCC'S POSITION ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?

I think it's irrelevant. I don't see but one candidate running [illegible] that's George Wallace, and a whole lot of other Wallaces by [illegible]fferent name. It's a farce, And Black people should disassociate [illegible]mselves totally from it. There's no choice. We have to be pre[illegible]red to fight anybody who gets in.

[illegible]AT ABOUT INDEPENDANT CANDIDATES AND PARTIES?

The only way we can use the vote is to organize our people to [illegible] themselves from both parties. To create a third party in the [illegible] that you can participate in the [illegible] politics of this [illegible] is a [illegible]. The vote can be used only to organize black [illegible] to make [illegible] that the system doesn't work and [illegible] them [illegible] revolutionary struggle.

[illegible]

[illegible]

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other localities of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of his travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a published note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

August 23, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Baltimore report dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	12/2?/68	11/18-27/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
		SA [redacted]		csm

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCE:

Baltimore report of SA [redacted] dated 8/28/68.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore.

This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				☒ NONE	ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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1 - OSI, Baltimore (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Atlanta (100-6???) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Baltimore (100-23331)

-21 REC-1

DEC 3 1968

EX-105

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.			12/10/68	
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

[stamp] SECT.

GPO : 1963 O - 299-885

COVER PAGE

SA 100-[illegible]

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	100-23321-[illegible]
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	100-2332[illegible]
[redacted]	100-[illegible]-[illegible]

LEADS:

[illegible]

2
COVER PAGE

BA 100-23331

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of [illegible].

C*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: NOVEMBER 2?, 1968
Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Field Office File #: 100-23331
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants advise that there has been practically no public activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore, although ROBERT MOORE has participated in some activities with other groups. [redacted] Informants advise that Baltimore Office of SNCC is in poor financial condition. [redacted]. No new literature emanating from Baltimore SNCC received.

- P* -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The SNCC maintains an office at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

CONFIDENTIAL [redacted] on November 18, 1968; on November 26, 1968)

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be Director of the SNCC in Baltimore.

[redacted] on November 18, 1968;
on November 26, 1968)

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual leadership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members, a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

[redacted] on June 25, 1968)

RUDOLF L[illegible]IS, a student at Morgan State College, has been seen in the SNCC office from time to time.

[redacted] on November 26, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES

A. Local

Between [illegible]:00 p.m. and [illegible]:[illegible]0 p.m. on September 12, 1968, a group of about 700 persons attended a citizens rally at the Dunbar High School, Baltimore, Maryland. The principal reason for the rally was to bring to the attention of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners and to city officials the need for a new Dunbar High School, which was described as a black school in a basically black community. Among the persons recognized at this meeting was ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC. There was no information indicating that MOORE took an active part in this meeting.

[redacted] on September 13, 1968)

A source received information that a black militant faction in Baltimore, including participants from the Soul School, the Black Panther Party (BPP), the SNCC, and the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), intended to coordinate their efforts to protest the firing of JOHN O. HOPKINS, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, who is a Negro.

([redacted] on September 23, 1968)

Characterizations of the Soul School and the [illegible] are appended hereto.

On the evening of September [illegible], 1968, and continuing until 1:35 a.m. on September 26, 1968, the Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore, Maryland, conducted a public hearing in the auditorium of Douglass High School concerning the proposed dismissal of Assistant Superintendent of Schools JOHN O. HOPKINS. There were approximately 1100 spectators present. [illegible] the hearing was in progress, many black militants in the audience shouted [illegible] dis- [illegible] of the charges against HOPKINS, which were [illegible] by City Solicitor GEORGE RUSSELL. Among the black militants noted at this hearing was ROBERT MOORE, head of the [illegible] Office of SNCC.

([redacted] on September 30, 1968)

SNCC in Baltimore has engaged in no organized activity of a public nature during the past three months [illegible] ROBERT MOORE has been present at [illegible] activities relating to School Board meetings.

([redacted] on [illegible] 1968;
on [illegible] 1968;
on [illegible] 27, 1968)

. Meeting of SNCC Central Committee, Baltimore, Maryland, October 2[illegible]-30, [illegible]

on October 23, 1968)

On October 29, 1968, information was received from confidential informant that certain individuals believed to be connected with the Central Committee of SNCC were seen in the vicinity of 433 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland. During a spot surveillance by a Special Agent of the FBI it was noted that about 13 males and 1 female were seen to either enter or leave the basement entrance of this building at various times between approximately 12:00 noon and 5:00 p.m.

A meeting of some of the top leaders of SNCC was apparently held at 433 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland, on October 29, 1968. The meeting was of a very secret nature.

on October 30, 1968)

on November 5, 1968)

on November 6, 1968)

on November 13, 1968)

III. FINANCES

The financial situation of the SNCC office in Baltimore is very poor.

on November [illegible], 1968;
on November 26, 1968;
on November 27, 1968)

[redacted] on November 27, 196[illegible])

[redacted]

IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

Informants and sources have furnished no literature emanating from the SNCC Offices at Baltimore which has not previously been reported.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF - DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY [illegible] NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY [illegible] SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in [illegible], 1966, as a [illegible] black nationalist political organization to obtain "political [illegible]," to unite militant blacks, to [illegible] of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community [illegible] Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in the violent [illegible] program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their armed [illegible] carried rifles and [illegible] pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

[illegible] of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, were members of the BPPSD [illegible] the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in [illegible] of carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY P. NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California [illegible] newspaper, states that a [illegible] NEWTON [illegible] defense fund has been established and that the [illegible] Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the [illegible] (CORE) through the [illegible] officers have pledged their support [illegible] support to the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON.

SOUL SCHOOL
Also Known As the Society of United
Liberators, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

The source advised that the aim of the members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militancy to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, a second source advised that LESTER VALLEY, a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and over-throw the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, the first source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

November 2[illegible], 1963

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference	Baltimore memo of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. [illegible])

FEDERA. BUREAU OF INV. STIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT [illegible] COORDINATING COMMITTEE [illegible]

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: [illegible]

CHARACTER OF CASE

[illegible]

REFERENCE: Baltimore report of SA [redacted] dated 11/29/68.

[illegible]

[illegible] of this report are being furnished locally to [illegible] for information purposes.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						☒ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO

PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

-3-38 REC 37

COPIES MADE:

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency: AGENCY: ACSI, ~~MIG~~, OSI, SEC. SERV., ~~[illegible]~~: ISD, CRD, RAO, [handwritten]

Request Recd.: HOW FORW: [handwritten]

Date Fwd.: DATE FORW: 5/6/[illegible]

How Fwd.: BY: [handwritten]

By:

Notations

[illegible] SEC.

55 MAY 12 1969

COVER PAGE

GPO : 1968 O - 299-88[illegible]

[illegible] 100- [illegible]

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

This report is being classified "confidential" because data furnished by [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the effectiveness thereof.

In view of the fact that CUCC in Baltimore has engaged in no organized activity of a public nature since the summer of 1968, and informants state since January, 1969, CUCC has been dissolved in Baltimore, this case is being placed in a [illegible].

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	Instant Report [redacted]
[redacted]	Instant Report
[redacted]	[illegible] -[illegible]301-516, [illegible]
[redacted]	Instant Report

[illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
[illegible] - [illegible] Military Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - [illegible], Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - [illegible], Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Report of: [illegible]
Office: [illegible], MARYLAND
Date: [illegible]

Field Office File #: [illegible]
Bureau File #: [illegible]

Title: [illegible] NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - [illegible] NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) of [illegible], [illegible] located at [illegible] East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is now closed. Informants advise there has been no [illegible] activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore since [illegible], and as of January, [illegible], SNCC has been [illegible] in Baltimore.

\- [illegible] -

[illegible]:

I. [illegible]

A. [illegible]

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), [illegible] office at [illegible] East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This office is no longer open.

[illegible] on April [illegible], [illegible];
[illegible] on April [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] organization of SNCC [illegible].

B. [illegible]

[illegible] of SNCC in Baltimore.

[illegible] on April [illegible], [illegible];
[illegible] on April [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] is a member of the Central [illegible] of [illegible] in [illegible] of fifty [illegible], [illegible] group [illegible] membership of SNCC. [illegible], [illegible] Committee [illegible] of the [illegible].

[illegible] on June [illegible], 19[illegible])

[illegible] on [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible], 512 North [illegible], Baltimore, Maryland, on [illegible] 17, 19[illegible], [illegible] of business [illegible]. [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] on [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] [illegible] included [illegible].

[illegible] of January, 19[illegible], SNCC [illegible] longer functioning [illegible].

[illegible] on January [illegible], 19[illegible])

[illegible] addresses [illegible] of a public nature [illegible]. In [illegible], 19[illegible], the SNCC office in Baltimore closed [illegible]. [illegible] activity in [illegible] that time.

[illegible] on [illegible], [illegible];
on [illegible], [illegible])

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Also Known As the Society of United
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. [illegible]

Title [illegible]

Character [illegible]

Reference [illegible]

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 4 of 19 sections

1

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BOSTON	ATLANTA	12/8/67	12/1-8/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]
	CHARACTER OF CASE
	IS - SNCC

REFERENCE

Bureau letter dated 10/20/67.

- P* -

LEAD

BOSTON:

AT BOSTON, MASS.

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

100-439190-1

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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1 - OSI, Westover AFB, Mass. (RM)
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2 DEC 13 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV., OSI
Request Recd.	HOW FORW
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW
How Fwd.	BY:

Notations

BS 100-35267

INFORMANTS

Identity	Location
	100-37622-26, page 2
	100-35267-1A7
	100-35267-1A6
	100-35267-139
	100-35267-135
	Instant report, page 12

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

This report is classified "Confidential" because of information furnished by and which, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the compromise of informants of continuing value, jeopardize their future effectiveness, and adversely affect the national defense effort of the United States.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - OSI, Westover Air Force Base, Mass. (RM)
1 - 108th MI Group, Boston (RM)
1 - NISO, Boston (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Date: December 8, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-35267 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: SNCC is located at 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass. CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the leader of SNCC in the Boston area. NEBLETT was arrested during 6/67, for his participation in a sit-in demonstration at the Welfare Office at 515 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., which precipitated a riot. WILLIAM LEE, JR., has been identified as a Field Secretary for SNCC. [redacted] Activity of SNCC has consisted of activity against the war in Vietnam and advancing the status of Negro people.

\- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

BS 100-35267

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS: **BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION**

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of SNCC or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

[redacted] advised on August 9, 1967, that 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., is used as the headquarters for SNCC. This address is the residence for CARVER "CHICO" [illegible] and ROBERT and JOANNE EUBANKS.

ROBERT EUBANKS

[redacted] on June 1, 1966, identified ROBERT EUBANKS as having been the acting chairman of a meeting of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, which was held in the Christian Center, 288 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., on May 25, 1966.

Characterization of SNCC

[redacted] on December 13, 1963, furnished a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership", and states in part as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program.

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South .....Mississippi - Southwest Georgia - Central Alabama - Eastern Arkansas - South Virginia.

"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights.

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they

"have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear."

JOANNE EUBANKS

[redacted] on November 1, 1967, advised that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Convention was held on October 26-29, 1967, and that JOANNE EUBANKS was in attendance.

The SWP is an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

B. OFFICERS

CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT

On June 26, 1967 [redacted] advised that during a rally held at Franklin Field, Dorchester, Mass., on June 25, 1967, CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT publicly identified himself as the Secretary of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

On October 12, 1967, [redacted] Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill., advised that her records revealed that CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT was born June 14, 1943, at Franklin, Ky. and entered this school during September 1961, but withdrew without completing any courses.

The October 20, 1967, issue of "Student Times", a weekly newspaper published at Boston, Mass., carried an article concerning the appearance of NEBLETT, head of SNCC in Massachusetts, before the Human Relations Club at Boston State College. According to the article, NEBLETT in his talk called on the black community to control its own destiny and liberate itself from the ghetto. He asked black power students to return to the black community and offer their academic knowledge. He stated in part as follows:

"No one gets excited when the Ku Klux Klan burns or kills, but just let a Negro pick up a gun. Is it an admission of guilt? Do I have a reason to shoot? If not, why should I want to retaliate."

On June 28, 1967, ██████ advised that a demonstration against the war in Vietnam in the form of a rally and parade, which formed in the south end of Boston and paraded through the Roxbury section of Boston, was held and NEBLETT spoke at Franklin Park, Roxbury, Mass., and identified himself as the New England Director of SNCC.

██████ advised that NEBLETT was one of a group arrested for conducting a sit-in demonstration at the Welfare Building, 515 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., which was sponsored by Mothers for Adequate Welfare. This sit-in demonstration precipitated a riot that lasted for three days.

NEBLETT was arrested on June 2, 1967, the first day of the riot and charged with trespassing, assault and battery.

WILLIAM LEE, JR.

on December 5, 1967, advised that WILLIAM LEE, JR., is a Field Secretary for SNCC and resides in the Boston, Mass., area.

advised on August 8, 1967, that on this date WILLIAM LEE, JR., spoke at a rally at Boston University, Boston, Mass., which was sponsored by the Boston University Student Mobilization Committee. During his speech, LEE, JR., spoke about black power and about President Johnson in obscene terms.

C. FUNDS

[redacted] on March 2, 1967, furnished a leaflet, captioned "SNCC Defense Fund Appeal", which was distributed locally by the Boston Chapter of SNCC and Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. The leaflet appealed for a contribution of money to assist in freeing members of SNCC who had been arrested for various violations.

The leaflet stated that a contribution would help release these individuals for more activity against the draft and the war in Vietnam.

II. ACTIVITY

The "Bay State Banner", a weekly Boston, Mass., newspaper, on April 21, 1967, carried an article captioned, "Afros Show Films for SNCC", which stated that a premier film showing was to be sponsored by the Harvard Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-Americans for the benefit of SNCC.

The films to be shown were as follows:

1. "I Witness: North Vietnam"
2. "Good Times, Wonderful Times".

These films were scheduled to be shown at the Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, on April 28, 1967, at [illegible] p.m.

[redacted] on March 17, 1967, advised that SNCC and the Afro Americans Against the War in Vietnam on February 2[illegible], 1967, met in the Northampton MBTA Station, Boston, Mass., for a funeral march through Roxbury, ending up at Grove Hall, Roxbury, Mass., and which was held to protest the war in Vietnam.

The leaders of the march were dressed in black and carried a coffin dressed in black.

JOANNE EUBANKS and JACKIE GUILDERSON helped to carry the coffin.

ROBERT EUBANKS was also marching near the coffin.

JACKIE GUILDERSON

[redacted] during January 1965 made available the New England Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) regional mailing list, which indicated the name of JACKIE GUILDERSON, 99 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.

A characterization of SDS appears in the Appendix.

"The Worker", an East Coast communist newspaper, on March 12, 1967, carried an article captioned "March in Boston", which described the funeral march through Roxbury, Mass., described above. This article stated that the march was being held to oppose the war in Vietnam and for the black men who died in Vietnam while their people suffer oppression in this country. According to the article, the marchers chanted, "Fight in Roxbury, not in Vietnam."

[redacted] on March 28, 1967, furnished a leaflet captioned "Three Years on the Georgia Chain Gang". This leaflet stated that an all white jury for JOHNNY WILSON, a 19 year old SNCC worker, had sentenced WILSON to three years on the Georgia chain gang.

The leaflet stated that the case stemmed from demonstrations held on August 17, 1966, outside the induction center in Atlanta, in which twelve SNCC workers were peacefully picketing to protest induction of black men into the U. S. Armed Forces and their being sent to Vietnam. Following an incident between some demonstrators and Atlanta Police, the leaflet stated, that WILSON and eleven other demonstrators were arrested on city charges, convicted on various misdemeanors and were sentenced to terms in the Atlanta City Stockade ranging from 30 to 120 days.

According to the leaflet, WILSON, captain of the picket line, was additionally charged with insurrection, for which the penalty is death.

BS 100-35267

The prisoners, including WILSON, filed charges against the City of Atlanta and they were freed.

The leaflet stated that on February 1, 2, 1967, WILSON stood trial on two state charges of assault and battery and two state charges of "opprobious" language, and as a result of this trial, WILSON was convicted and sentenced to three years on the Georgia chain gang.

The leaflet solicited readers to contribute to the defense fund of WILSON and his friends and was distributed in the Boston area.

[redacted] on February 1, 1967, furnished a copy of the "SNCC News", which identified itself as a report on SNCC projects. On page 3 of this newsletter, an article captioned "Black History - New England Slave Trade" was carried and consisted of a history of New England people engaging in slave trade.

This newsletter carried an item concerning the arrest of two school children in Roxbury, Mass., for assault and battery on a teacher, and who were subsequently found guilty. The item asked, "When will black people control their own schools?"

On the reverse side of this newsletter were articles captioned "They Mess With Us Here" and "They Mess With Us in Vietnam".

The first article stated that schools are still controlled by the racist Mrs. LOUISE HICKS, a member of the Boston City School Council. It also stated that unemployment among black workers is twice that of whites, even though most of the young black men are forcibly employed in Vietnam.

In addition, it stated taxes are going up to pay for the war, and that prices on food soar upward while black children go hungry.

It was pointed out that [illegible] people moving from one dumpy fire trap to another while

police go wild bumping black heads and shooting young black men on "suspicion".

Finally, this article stated that racism and discrimination rule the country from city hall to the White House.

The second article stated that young black men, the cream of the crop of the Negro race, were dying by the thousands for so-called freedom in Vietnam when they have no freedom at home. It stated that more than thirty percent of the troops on the front lines in Vietnam are black troops.

According to this article, black troops on leave in Vietnam are discriminated against in bars, restaurants, etc., just like they are in the South in this country.

According to the article, black troops are forced to kill Vietnamese women and children while their own women and children are bombed, burned, and beaten in the United States.

█████ on December 6, 1967, furnished a leaflet captioned "Black Power Revolution in Art", which stated that an exhibition of black power in art would be held at the Emerson Gallery, Arlington Street Church, 355 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., on December 4-22, 1967. One of the sponsors of this exhibition was listed as being [illegible].

Some of the art pictures listed to be shown are as follows:

"Ain't Got No Job"

"Black Power Woman"

"Bleeding Christ"

"Vietnam Widow"

"Memories of JFK"

"Angry Black Artist"

"Say It, Stokely!"

"What Difference is There For Me, Whitey?"

"Roxbury Rebellion"

BS 100-35267

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. 100-3[illegible]

Boston, Massachusetts

December 6, 1967

TITLE : COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER: INTERNAL SECURITY - [illegible]

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Boston, Massachusetts.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	TYPED
Boston	Atlanta	3/14/68	1/27 - 3/6/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC		

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] 12/8/67, Boston.

REC

- P* -

LEADS

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Will follow and report the activities of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

6 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - OSI, Westover AFB, Mass. (RM)
1 - 108th MI Group, Boston (RM)
1 - ONI, Boston (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Boston (100-35267)

100-439190-5-21

14 MAR 18 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAD; ISD, CRD, IDIU, ACSI, OSI
Request Recd.	SLC. SICU.
Date Fwd.	3/25/68
How Fwd.	R/S
By	ABF

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

2 Y

?R 1 - 1968

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
	Instant Report, Page 1
	Instant Report, Page 2
	100-35267-161

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "Confidential" since the information furnished by through could logically result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future effectiveness.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
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1 - NISO, Boston (RM(

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Boston, Massachusett
Date: 3/14/68

Field Office File #: 100-35267
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

On February 5, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

headquarters had moved from 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury (Boston), Massachusetts, and are now located at 255 Dudley St., Roxbury. This is a store front location known as United Militant Headquarters. In addition to Boston SNCC this location houses the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, which is a militant Negro group opposing United States Policy in the Vietnam war, and in particular Negro participation in that war. It is also the office of "Rebellion News", a militant Negro newspaper published monthly in the Roxbury-Dorchester area of Boston.

B. Officers

On June 26, 1967 [redacted] advised that at a rally held at Franklin Park, Dorchester, Massachusetts, on June 25, 1967, CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT publicly identified himself as Secretary of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

On March 5, 1968 [redacted] advised that WILLIAM LEE had identified himself in the past as a Field Secretary for SNCC in the Boston area.

On August 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that on that date WILLIAM LEE spoke at a rally at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, sponsored by the Boston University Student Mobilization Committee. During his speech LEE spoke about Black Power and about President JOHNSON using obscene terms.

On January 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that CHARLES TURNER has been acting as the person in authority in behalf of Boston SNCC in the absence of CARVER NEBLETT. [redacted] bases this statement on the fact that TURNER has chaired two meetings organized by SNCC at the Roxbury YMCA on January 15 and 25, 1968, which meetings were held for the purpose of attempting to form a United Front made up of representatives of all Negro organizationa in the Greater Boston area.

The January 11, 1968 edition of the Bay State Banner, a weekly newspaper published in Roxbury, Massachusetts, carried an article written by CHARLES TURNER which identified him as Temporary Chairman of an organizing committee for a "United Front." The article stated that the idea of a United Front was suggested by STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the recent visit of CARMICHAEL to the Roxbury area.

II. ACTIVITY

On January 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that an organizational meeting for a proposed United Front was held at the YMCA on Warren St., Roxbury, on January 15, 1968. Various representatives of Negro organizations were present by invitation. The purpose of the meeting was to consider a proposal to form a new organization which would be known as "United Front." [redacted] stated that CHARLES TURNER, who appeared to be representing SNCC, acted as the leader of the meeting.

TURNER told the meeting that the idea of a United Front was introduced by STOKELY CARMICHAEL when he had been in Roxbury approximately a month before. CARMICHAEL's desire was to organize a United Front in each major city which would consist of a representative from every Negro organization. Once these United Fronts are formed a National United Front will be formed made up of representatives of the individual United Fronts. In this way a combine of black power will be built up which would be used to support programs for black people.

[redacted] stated that the United Front proposal was received rather coldly by the members of the audience.

On January 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that a second meeting was held at the YMCA in Roxbury on January 25, 1967 in an effort to organize the United Front. The meeting was late in starting and, in fact, did not start until CHARLES TURNER appeared to act as Chairman. Later in the evening STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and spoke to the group telling them that the purpose behind the proposed United Front organization was to organize all phases of Negro life - doctors should be organized, lawyers and even school children. He said the United Front would serve as an umbrella for the militant Negroes. He warned that the law would move on the militant Negroes unless they were backed by all organizations. [redacted] stated that once again the representatives from the Negro organizations were not impressed by the idea.

[REDACTED] advised on February 19, 1967 that a third meeting was held at the Roxbury YMCA on February 7, 1968 in an effort to organize a United Front. CHARLES TURNER acted as Chairman of the meeting and represented Boston SNCC. [REDACTED] stated that the meeting got nowhere since every argument used by CHARLES TURNER in favor of forming a United Front was vigorously answered by KENNETH GUSCOTT, President of the Boston Branch of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

III. MISCELLANEOUS

On March 5, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that CARVER NEBLETT had not been seen in the Roxbury area by him during the months of January and February, 1968. He stated that on March 3, 1968, he observed CARVER NEBLETT riding in an automobile in the Roxbury section of Boston.

The Aframerican News Service is published to serve the needs of the black community and to help build a nationwide communications network of all "involved in the struggle of the black community."

APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A pamphlet distributed by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) captioned, "SNCC: Structure and Leadership," states in part as follows:

> "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.
>
> "The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program."
>
> "SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.
>
> "This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South..."

The December 3, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal," a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained an article by Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak captioned, "Civil Rights: The Danger Ahead," which stated in part as follows:

> "THE FIRST authentic revolutionary student movement in U. S. history is now trying to take over leadership of the Negro fight for equality."

The above article continued stating, "This new leadership, headed by young activists like James Foreman and

John Lewis of the SNCC, is now identifying himself with the leadership of the emerging new nations of Africa and other underdeveloped parts of the world."

This article also stated, "In September half a dozen left-wing activists, including Lewis, Foreman and Robert Moses, the on-the-scene leader in Mississippi, went to Guinea as guests of President Sekou Toure. The State Department knew they were going, but was completely by-passed, and got no report despite two long sessions between the Negro leaders and President Sekou Toure himself. What worries responsible leaders of the civil rights movement is that SNCC will put into practice the revolutionary techniques of these emerging countries."

The above article stated further, "Whether and to what extent these new activists are Communist-infiltrated isn't wholly known. But it's significant that Moses was a speaker last week in New York at the annual dinner of the National Guardian, a publication widely regarded as the most flamboyant exponent of the Chinese Communist line in this country."

The April 4, 1965, issue of "The Washington Post," a daily newspaper issued in Washington, D. C., contained an article by Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak captioned, "Inside Report - A Long Look at SNCC," which stated as follows:

> "THE PRESENCE OF Communist elements within the operations of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is not really a case of diabolical Red infiltration. In the civil rights battle, SNCC simply has left the door open to all who want to enter.
>
> "It would be a miracle if Communists had not attached themselves to SNCC. Instead, SNCC leaders make no secret of their refusal to bar Communists.

SNCC (Continued)

3.

"And because SNCC is the inspiration for so many idealistic young collegians, this refusal to recognize the danger of Communist infiltration is tragic. By providing ammunition to the segregationists, it poses a long-range threat to the civil rights movement itself (as Communists almost wrecked U. S. labor a generation ago).

"EVER SINCE we first wrote of this danger, in August, 1963, we have been denounced by angry SNCC defenders challenging us to cite evidence. We do so now, but with these two caveats:

"First, extreme radicalism in SNCC is by no means solely or even principally due to Communist influences (for example, black racism is rising inside SNCC). Second, only an infinitesimal fraction of SNCC workers have Communist ties.

"But an infinitesimal fraction can be quite influential. Consider the fact that SNCC's legal arm, particularly in Mississippi voter registration, is virtually the same as the National Lawyers Guild, long-time follower of the Communist line. It was this legal advice that helped propel the Mississippi Freedom Party (a subsidiary of SNCC) to extremist positions at the 1964 Democratic Convention.

"Two Lawyers Guild members active in SNCC projects--Morton Stavis and Arthur Kinoy--are illustrative of many.

"Both have specialized in Communist clients (Kinoy participated in the defense of atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg). Both

SNCC (Continued)

4

have belonged to Communist fronts (Stavis took the Fifth Amendment before Congress in regard to Communist Party membership). Both have been attorneys for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (the notorious UE expelled from the CIO in 1950 because of Communist domination).

"MOREOVER, there is a clear connection between SNCC, the UE, and an ultraleftist publication called the National Guardian (which currently spews out the Chinese Communist line).

"Copies of the National Guardian are standard equipment at SNCC field offices. SNCC leaders have signed testimonials praising the Guardian. The Guardian's general manager is Russell Nixon, formerly of the UE. At the UE national convention last September, the 'potentiality' of allaying 'labor' and civil rights was discussed by Ella J. Baker, a prominent SNCC adviser.

"It was Miss Baker, a veteran leftist, who harangued neophyte Mississippi Negro leaders into refusing a good compromise at the 1964 Democratic Convention. She also helps link SNCC with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), where she has intimate ties. SCEF, impregnated with pro-Communists, has provided financial and personnel assistance to SNCC.

"MORE OMINOUS are the ties between SNCC and Communist youths groups abroad. A SNCC representative named Reginald Robinson attended the Moscow World Youth Forum last September. SNCC workers plan to attend a Red-sponsored youth rally in Algeria this summer. And SNCC is seeking alliances with young radicals abroad.

SNCC (Continued)

5

"John Lewis, SNCC's national chairman, seems to be no Communist. But he is repeating the error of so many liberals of the past who believed they could use the Communists rather than be used.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts
March 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Boston, Massachusetts.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
BOSTON	BOSTON	7/22/68	3/26/68 - 7/2/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		mac
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - SNCC		

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 3/14/68 at Boston.

\- P -

LEADS

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Will follow and report activities of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

Fulton

... BS, 5/5/68, THE FUTURE, SUBMIT 11 COPIES SNCC REPORTS. PTR/MAF

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED	None					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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2-Boston (100-35267)

100-439190-5-7

REC-8

15 JUL 25 1968

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

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Agency	IDIU,	CRD,	CRIM,	ISD
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How Fwd.	R/S			
By	PTB/BAP			

Notations

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2 Xerox copies ...

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Will interview ANDREW CURTIS FAIRE, JR., whose automobile was used by CARVER NEBLETT to pick up STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, on June 28, 1968.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
	100-35267-207
	100-37622-104

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since the information furnished by through could logically result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future effectiveness.

The arrival of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and CARVER NEBLETT at Washington National Airport on June 9, 1968, was observed by SAs of the WFO, whose identities are unknown to the Boston Office.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-OSI, WESTOVER AIR FORCE BASE, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)
1-108th MI GROUP, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)
1-NISO, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 7/22/68

Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Field Office File #: 100-35267

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

CARVER G. NEBLETT is reported to be the Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Boston. CHARLES TURNER acts for SNCC in the absence of NEBLETT. STOKELY CARMICHAEL visited Boston on 3/22/68 under the auspices of SNCC and other black organizations. On 4/8/68, at a meeting of the United Front in Boston, a list of demands on the "white power structure" was drafted and NEBLETT demanded guns. NEBLETT, in 5/68, was described as one of three Ministers of Information of the Black Panther Party. On 6/28/68, CARMICHAEL visited Boston and spoke at a United Front meeting. He was met at airport by NEBLETT, among others. One of the reported reasons for CARMICHAEL's visit was to attempt to set up a branch of the Black Panther Party in Boston. If it is formed, NEBLETT will head it.

\- P -

Details:

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

On June 13, 1968, [redacted] advised that the new store front office at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, next door to the office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), had been reported to him as a new SNCC office.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

B. Officers

On June 5, 1968, [redacted] advised that CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the Chairman of SNCC in the Boston area.

[redacted]

II. FINANCIAL

III. ACTIVITIES

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on March 22, 1968, a group in Cambridge, Massachusetts, had invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL, MUHAMMED ALI, and OGINGA ODINGA of Kenya, to a Black People's Forum at Boston Technical High School. The subject of the Forum was to be "Black Revolution". Only STOKELY CARMICHAEL showed up and it was explained that the other two scheduled speakers were prevented by unexplained reasons from being present.

JOHN YOUNG of CORE acted as the moderator of the Forum, which actually started about 45 minutes later than its scheduled 6:30 p.m. starting time. Only black people were permitted into the Forum and white members of the press were turned away at the door.

[redacted] stated the first speaker was JOHN WILSON of SNCC who talked about the war in Vietnam and why black people should not be giving their lives there and still be living under a white racist society. He told people if they needed help in resisting the draft to contact SNCC or CORE where they could get the proper advice. Another man in African dress was JAMES FORMAN, who talked about how black people should inform other black people concerning what was going on in the country. He spoke of the possibility of many people being killed this summer and that this might be necessary for the survival of the black race.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL then took the platform and spoke about the self-identity of black people. He spoke of Africa as the mother land and the United States as a country which has raped every other country and taken its worldly goods. He said the white man took everything from Africa, then he took the people. He spoke of the white racist society's educational system being geared to teach black children that the white man is superior.

CARMICHAEL spoke of his travels to other countries and told of how the United States was telling other countries of things in the United States which were not true. He said that people in Africa were under the impression that Mississippi had sent some black people to the Democratic National Convention in 1964. He discussed how white people were just fooling black people with voting rights, etc. He stated that things were still geared to the white man's advantage.

CARMICHAEL indicated no African country but one had won their independence through violence and this is why

one never hears any African nation speaking out against United States policies in the United Nations. He said they were still under the domination of their former slave masters. He indicated the only way for the black people in the United States to gain their independence is to fight for it.

CARMICHAEL then read a letter from H. RAP BROWN, written in prison, entitled "No Slave Should Die a Natural Death". People were then asked to contribute money to aid in RAP BROWN's defense.

After the Forum was finished, CARMICHAEL was seen at 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts (the residence address of CARVER NEBLETT). CARMICHAEL was to meet some youths of the community the next day, but [redacted] did not know where the meeting was held or what took place.

On April 9, 1968, [redacted] advised that on the evening of April 8, 1968, a meeting of the United Front was held in Roxbury. Representatives of some of the groups making up the United Front were present, including KENNETH GUSCOTT of the National Association of Colored People (NAACP), JOHN YOUNG of CORE, and CARVER NEBLETT of SNCC. A list of demands on the "white power structure" was drafted and a very militant discussion was had. CARVER NEBLETT, according to [redacted] demanded guns.

The United Front is made up of representatives of local Negro organizations for the purpose of unifying Black Power. It was suggested by STOKELY CARMICHAEL during a visit to Boston, according to the January 11, 1968 edition of the Bay State Banner, a weekly newspaper published in Roxbury, Massachusetts, which carried an article written by CHARLES TURNER, who identified himself as Temporary Chairman of an organizing committee for a "United Front".

On May 31, 1968, [redacted] advised that on May 30, 1968, a closed meeting of the Black Panther Party (BPP) was held at Richmond, California. Approximately 150 individuals, all Negro males and all purportedly members of the BPP, were present. [redacted] stated that prior to entering the premises where this meeting was held, all participants were required to support the fact they were BPP members.

The source stated that BOBBY SEALE, Minister of Information, BPP, was the main speaker and he outlined the organizational structure of the BPP. Included among the officers of the BPP were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Prime Minister;

H. RAP BROWN, Minister of Black Justice; and CHICO NEBLETT, one of three Ministers of Justice. The source also advised that the officers named by SEALE are considered as the Central Committee and only the Central Committee can give orders to move into any particular area before attack.

A characterization of the BPP is appended to this report.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL visited HUEY NEWTON in the jail shortly after 1:00 p.m. on May 31, 1968. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by CARVER NEBLETT and two other individuals. (NEWTON, Minister of Defense for the BPP, was in jail awaiting trial for the murder of an Oakland, California policeman.)

On June 4, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that in his judgment, Boston SNCC is relatively unimportant among civil rights groups in Boston. If it has any importance it is certainly not outwardly apparent and must be behind the scenes.

The same is true of SNCC's Chairman for Boston, "[illegible]" NEBLETT. [REDACTED] sees him occasionally in the Roxbury area but he never seems to be associating with known militant figures. He does not appear to work, but dresses very well and must have some source of income. NEBLETT does not impress this source as having leadership qualities and in his public appearances, has borrowed from the speeches of H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL in words and style of delivery.

[REDACTED] also advised that RENEE NEBLETT, nee CHEATHAM, CHICO's wife, is a young woman who finds fault with everything in the white man's world. If she waits for service in a store a little longer than she believes necessary, she is convinced it is a deliberate affront because of the color of her skin.

[REDACTED] also stated that the situation in Roxbury is apparently on an even keel. There appears to be no aggravated racial tension and no planned militant action by SNCC of which [REDACTED] is aware.

On June 9, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by CARVER NEBLETT and one other individual, was observed by Agents of the FBI to arrive at National Airport, Washington, D.C., on a flight from Detroit, Michigan.

On June 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that on the evening of June 14, 1968, a meeting of the United Front was held at the Roxbury branch of the YMCA. This meeting was reported to be by invitation only and those invited had been told that STOKELY CARMICHAEL might be present. CARMICHAEL did not show up and very few persons were in attendance. The meeting was chaired by JOHN YOUNG of Boston CORE and the only speakers, other than persons who spoke from the floor, were "CHICO" NEBLETT and CHARLES TURNER of Boston SNCC. The purpose of the meeting, according to NEBLETT, was to organize a branch of the BPP in Roxbury. NEBLETT said the purpose of the BPP was to protect the Negro citizen.

"CHUCK" TURNER spoke in favor of the BPP and pointed out the need existing in the community for such an organization. One of the areas where the BPP could operate is in the Massachusetts Avenue area and in the area from Washington Street to Huntington Avenue, Roxbury, according to NEBLETT and TURNER. They particularly hate the "white hunter", the white man who cruises the area in an automobile for the purpose of picking up a prostitute.

[redacted] stated the meeting started at 7:30 p.m. on June 14, 1968, and not a great deal was accomplished. Much of the evening was spent in bickering on meaningless points. One unidentified Negro present, who appeared to be a black student from Africa, thought the whole meeting was laughable. He remarked to one person, "This group will never accomplish anything. They don't know how to go about it."

[redacted] advised that during the meeting, CARVER NEBLETT was told that the Mafia controls prostitution. NEBLETT was asked if he contemplated taking on the Mafia. NEBLETT evaded answering this. It was also mentioned at the meeting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would be present in two weeks' time to help organize the Black Panther Party.

[redacted] also advised that BRYANT ROLLINGS of the Urban League, stated that CHICO NEBLETT and Boston SNCC exert very little influence in Roxbury and that no one actually listens to SNCC unless SNCC is in agreement with the other groups making up the community.

On June 25, 1968 [redacted] advised his office had obtained a copy of a handbill advertising

a United Front meeting which set forth the following data:

"United Front Meeting. Date: June 28, 1968; Time: 7:30 P.M. Place: Roxbury YMCA. Agenda: To be announced at the meeting; there will be opportunity for groups to add new items to the agenda. Barring an emergency, STOKELY CARMICHAEL has given his word to be at the meeting to discuss the progress of the United Front in Washington."

[redacted] stated also that an attachment to the handbill stated as follows:

"The United Front has been operating on an informed basis for a number of months; we believe that if the Front is to become effective in Boston we must begin to solidify the structure.

"As a first step toward this end we are requesting that all organizations committed to participation in the Front, complete the enclosed form and either send it to the United Front - 12 Morely Street, Roxbury, Mass., or bring it to the next United Front meeting.

"Co-Chairmen: John Young, Charles Turner".

[redacted] stated that CHARLES TURNER resided at 12 Morley Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

The following form was attached, according to [redacted]

"Black United Front
Statement of Commitment

"Gentlemen:

"The official policy making body (or authorized officer) of ____________________ is committed to the creation of a Black
Name of Organization
United Front in Boston.

"Our commitment is hereby demonstrated by the appointment from this organization of an authorized representative to the United Front__this person ____________________ is authorized to vote
Name of Person
for our organization on all matters that come before the United Front.

"With this statement of commitment, our organization understands that

"A. Regardless of racial composition of the organization, our official representative to the United Front will be a black person.

"B. All business of the United Front will be on the basis of majority rule.

"President or Official Officer of Organization:

____
Name of such person

Date: _______________________ "

On June 28, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, at about 4:30 p.m., by [redacted] advised on July 2, 1968, that he recognized CARMICHAEL, who he has seen on prior occasions at the airport [redacted] advised on July 2, 1968, that he had first observed CARMICHAEL in the vicinity of the American Airlines terminal at the airport. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by four Negro males, two of whom were carrying suitcases of some sort and two of whom had no baggage. He described the two without baggage as follows:

No. 1: Negro male, age approximately 35, short and stocky build, moustache, wearing a white sports shirt and dark trousers;

No. 2: Negro male, very tall - approximately 6' 3", "African" style haircut, wearing military fatigues, military boots and a military field jacket.

On July 2, 1968, [redacted] identified a photograph of CARVER NEBLETT as the tall Negro who accompanied CARMICHAEL from the airport on June 28, 1968. [redacted] stated that he believed that he had seen NEBLETT waiting around the airport at about 2:30 p.m. on June 28, 1968, and noted that most flights on that date were delayed due to inclement weather. CARMICHAEL, accompanied by other Negroes, was observed by [redacted] to enter a white Plymouth automobile at the airport. This vehicle bore Massachusetts registration L47-743.

On June 28, 1968, personnel of the Massachusetts Registry of Motor Vehicles, 100 Nashua Street, Boston, Massachusetts, advised that Massachusetts registration L47-743 was listed to ANDREW CURTIS FAIRE, JR., 55 Lawrence Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, for a 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

On June 28, 1968, Roxbury YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had entered the YMCA about 8:15 p.m. on that date and was attending a meeting in one of the conference rooms in the YMCA. This meeting was concluded at 10:50 p.m.

On July 1, 1968, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke to a meeting of the United Front at the Roxbury YMCA at 8:15 p.m. on June 28, 1968. CARMICHAEL said it is a necessity that black groups organize to work together instead of being separated and divided as the white man wants. He discussed the fact that the United Front in Boston has $150,000 to distribute to worthwhile causes.

CARMICHAEL spoke in revolutionary tones when he discussed the subject of curfews being imposed by the white man as a control over blacks. He suggested that the white hippies be utilized to break the curfew. He told the assembled group to tell the hippies that if they want to be black to go out during curfews and "shoot a cop". He said to tell them that black people shoot cops.

The source also stated that he understands that one of CARMICHAEL's purposes in coming to Boston was to try to help set up a group of the Black Panther Party in Boston. If it comes into existence, CARVER NEBLETT of SNCC will head it.

APPENDIX CONFIDENTIAL

1.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality" to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of gun and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967 issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts
July 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Boston.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BOSTON	ATLANTA	11/25/68	7/19/68 - [illegible]

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE: RM

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 7/22/[illegible] at [illegible]

C-7 to BS, cc to AT 12/16/68. Pg 7, delete 2nd TP. Pg 8, delete BST-6. Bus; cc's corrected. PTB/ci

LEAD

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

1. Will follow and report activities of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

2. Will review checking accounts listed to SNCC in banks in the Boston area.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONV.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO; PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- [illegible], Westover AFB, Mass. (RM)
- [illegible] Boston (RM)
- [illegible] Boston (RM)
- Atlanta (100-6[illegible]) (RM)
- Boston (100-35267)

REC

100 - [illegible] - 96

REC-15

CORRECTED FILE

EX-104

SEE RE[illegible] ADD. [illegible]

Dissemination Record of Attached Report — Notations

AGENCY: ACSI, [illegible], OSI; SEC. SER: [illegible]: [illegible], R10 - IDIU, Crim. Div -

DATE FORW: 12/26/68

HOW FORW: R15

BY: PTB/ci

1-A7 by 0-44N 1/3/69 www mb

Classified [illegible]

[illegible] 14060

BS 100-37267

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-35267-240
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
OMIT [redacted]	NY 100-147963
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-37622-131
[redacted]	100-35491-182 page 6
[redacted]	
[redacted]	

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified confidential since the information furnished by [redacted] through [redacted] could logically result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future effectiveness.

- F -
COVER PAGE

Indices of the Boston Office contain no pertinent data concerning individuals listed in records located at Hayneville, Alabama, other than as set forth in the appendix of persons.

Information regarding the use of marijuana has been furnished to the Narcotic Bureau locally.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - OSI, WESTOVER AIR FORCE BASE, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)
1 - 108th MI GROUP, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)
1 - NISO, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Date: 10/23/68

Field Office File #: 100-35267
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P -

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

38

BS 100-35267

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

On August 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committe (SNCC) office is located at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts. The source noted that this office now has a typewriter and file cabinet in it.

[redacted] A characterization of SNCC is contained in the appendix.

B. Officers

On August 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the head of SNCC in the Boston area. [redacted] further advised that CHARLES TURNER is believed by him to be second in authority of Boston SNCC.

NEBLETT continues to reside at 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, according to the source and is married to RENEE NEBLETT, nee CHEATHAM.

Mrs. CARVER Gene Neblett

II. ACTIVITIES

On July 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that GUIDO ST. LAURENT, a militant Boston Negro and the head of the New England Grass Roots Organization (NEGRO) is an associate of the members of the Boston SNCC. The source stated that members of the Boston area SNCC are for the most part persons who have come from out-of-state in the past several years. The source stated that NEGRO is an organization which is dedicated to assisting black people who live in the ghetto area.

On August 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) hang out at the office of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) at 373 Blue Hill Avenue, and at the office of SNCC at 375 Blue Hill Avenue. This source stated that CARVER NEBLETT is the head of the BPP in the Boston area and holds the rank of captain. This source understands that members of the BPP wear a distinguishing badge on the left side of their vest. They have attended several "Summerthing" productions which were run under the auspices of the City of Boston. The source explained that these productions were for the entertainment of residents of the ghetto areas and other residents of the City of Boston. They consisted of ballet, rock and roll groups, and stage productions. The purpose of the attendance by the BPP members at these affairs was to help keep order during and after these shows. A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix section of this report.

On July 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that there are currently approximately fifty staff members of SNCC throughout the country. These individuals have a voting right when meetings of the staff are called. From these fifty staff members, a fifteen member Central Committee is elected, which committee functions as the policy making organ for the entire SNCC operation. National officers of the SNCC are selected from the fifteen member Central Committe and under recent reorganization of SNCC, they will be composed of ten Deputy Chairmen and a Program Secretary. Included in a list of current staff members furnished by [redacted] was "CHICO" NEBLETT, Boston, Massachusetts.

On August 30, 1968, [redacted] advised that a meeting of the BPP was held on or about August 22, 1968, at the Opportunities Industrialization Center Hall which is located in the old Hibernian Hall on Dudley Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

The source said the BPP group in Boston has grown in size. Its membership is made up almost entirely of members of the Youth Alliance Inc., the Freedom Security Patrol and NEGRO. There appears to be no central office for the BPP according to this source, and the members utilize the CORE and SNCC offices adjacent to each other at 373 and 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

On June 17, 1968, [redacted] had advised that the Youth Alliance Inc., is a militant Negro teen-age group whose office is located at 382 Blue Hill Avenue in the Roxbury section of Boston, Massachusetts. Its stated purpose is to prevent Negro school dropouts, assist Negro youths in obtaining jobs and job training and to prevent delinquency and crime among Negro youths. The Freedom Security Patrol was organized to patrol Roxbury and is made up primarily of members of the Youth Alliance Inc. The Freedom Security Patrol patrols Roxbury streets to prevent crime and to assist police in locating potential trouble spots. The Freedom Security Patrol observes police arrests to determineif "police brutality" exists. The Freedom Security Patrol has a communication system which utilizes the Citizens Broadcast Band and which radio system is controlled by the Youth Alliance Inc.

On September 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that the BPP in Boston is composed of fifteen to eighteen members. "CHICO" NEBLETT is the leader of the BPP in Boston. The Boston branch of the BPP was started by four Negroes who came from California and one of the leaders was one of the four who came from California, known to the source as JERRY (Last Name Unknown). This source has not seen JERRY for over one month, and he does not know if he still is in the Boston area.

BS 100-100-35267

[redacted] further advised that the BPP uses the Boston SNCC office, at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, as a hang out. He noted that the BPP is very militant in their talk but as far as this source is aware, they have committed no acts of sabotage or violence in the Boston area. The source stated that Boston SNCC and the BPP have become one and the same but both identities are being maintained and the source has heard nothing indicating that they have merged. However, both SNCC and the BPP use the same quarters and "CHICO" NEBLETT is a leader in both and it is hard to distinguish one from the other.

Concerning "CHICO" NEBLETT [redacted] advised that NEBLETT is one of those Negroes who trusts no white man and if he consented to be interviewed, the source believes he would give a prepared talk which he keeps for such occasions and would not let any one know what he really thinks or feels. The source stated he personally likes NEBLETT although he is opposed to NEBLETT'S way of thinking. He stated that NEBLETT has rather high moral

principles and he noted that on several occasions he has seen girls who have been attracted by NEBLETT'S reputation "throw themselves" at him. It is obvious that NEBLETT could have "had them" but he politely avoided them, taking care not to hurt their feelings. The source noted that NEBLETT drinks but knows his limit and stays within it. Few people, if any, are close to NEBLETT and he keeps his personal business to himself. NEBLETT carries a 22 automatic according to this source who also stated he had seen five or six hand guns in the SNCC or BPP office at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

On September 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the BPP has been holding its meetings at the Opportunities Industrialization Center, 186 Dudley Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts. Its members "hang around" the Boston SNCC office at 375 Dudley Street, and are also in and out of the Boston CORE office at 373 Dudley Street. The source noted that "CHICO" NEBLETT is the head of the Black Panthers and the source believes that OSCAR EARL, a militant Negro in the Boston area, is also a member. The BPP participated in the Gibson School boycott in Dorchester, Massachusetts according to the source. The source advised that the Gibson School boycott involved a group of black parents who withdrew their children from the Gibson School in the Roxbury section of Boston in an attempt to force the school committee to name a black principal for the school. The children who were taken out of the school, were sent by the parent group to a "liberation school" for classes. The issue as to whether the school committee can prevent the removal of these children is to be heard in the Boston courts.

[redacted] further advised that some members of the BPP stationed themselves in the area of the "liberation school" in an attempt to stop mothers from bringing their children to that school. They told these mothers to send their children to the "liberation school" which was being run by BENJAMIN F. SCOTT, a Negro chemist, whom the parents would like to be named as principal of the Gibson School. [redacted] noted that in his opinion, SCOTT is a fanatic and a psychoneurotic who he considered dangerous. The source stated that many of the children going to the "liberation school" go there because their parents are afraid not to send them.

On August 2, 1968, ROBERT VANCE WALTON and JOHN MICHAEL WALTON were arrested at the residence of JOHNNIE LEE JACKSON,

Box 191
HARGE Jilli...

Box 191, Hayneville, Alabama as fugitives. They were wanted for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for murder. They were arrested by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local and state authorities. The residence in which the WALTONS were found was used by STOKELY CARMICHAEL when he visited Lowndes County in March, 1968. The building has, in the past, been referred to as the "Freedom House" and has been used to hold meetings of Black Nationalists and SNCC sympathizers. At the time of the arrest of the WALTONS on August 2, 1968, a search, incidental to arrests, was made of the premises of the "Freedom House".

Among the items seized in the above search were the following:

Item number one - 111 3X5 cards, most of which were dated in 1966, bearing names and addresses of persons, organizations and institutions, with notations as to amounts of money, clothing and books sent from various states in the United States and Canada. The back of one of the cards is stamped "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee contributions" and "for deposit only, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee contributions".

Item number two - Lists of friends of SNCC in various areas of the United States, including the Boston, Massachusetts area. These lists were typed and undated.

Item number three - One copy of SNCC staff directory, (first draft), undated.

Item number four - Undated, mimeograph, single sheet entitled "SNCC Staff" lists SNCC staff members and their addresses.

Item number five - 12 typed, undated pages containing two and three columns of names and addresses and persons throughout the United States and, in one case, England, which appears to be a mailing list.

The top of these pages contained the typed notation "No Friends of SNCC" (the significance of this caption is not known but it is unlikely, due to the large number of names and wide territorial addresses given, that they are not friends of SNCC).

Set forth on the following pages are the names of individuals in the New England area which were contained in the above groups of names.

ITEM I

FLORENCE H. LUSCOMB
10 Kirkland Road
Cambridge, Mass.

h

MASS

ASS

ZELLNER, DOROTHY
71 Chesnut St., Cam.

ZELLNER, JOHN ROBERT
71 Chesnut St, Cam.

ORRIS, PETER
A 33 Mass Hall
Harvard College
Cambridge, Mass.

CP MEMBER

15

EASTON, BARBA[illegible]
130 Walker St.
Cambridge, Mass.
(Radcliff College)

C.P. MEMBER-1966

16
17

MUTNICK, BARBARA
Boston Univ.
855 Commonwealth Ave.
Bost., MA

ITEM III

Boston

DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER+
(Married) Coord. Boston area fund raising 45/wk.

ITEM IV

SNCC Staff

ITEM V

A characterization of some of the individuals listed above is contained in the appendix section of this report.

On September 6, 1968, [redacted] advised that during a recent temporary stop-over in Atlanta, Georgia of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, CARMICHAEL was accompanied by "CHICO" NEBLETT and NEBLETT's wife and another unidentified individual. The source stated that NEBLETT is no longer associated with SNCC but is believed to be associated with the BPP. This source advised that to his knowledge, NEBLETT has not been in Atlanta, Georgia on behalf of SNCC in the past year or two. However, the surce had no proof to substantiate NEBLETT's disassociation with SNCC and current affiliation with the BPP.

The records of the Paschal Motor Motel, 830 Hunter Street, Northwest, Atlanta, Georgia reflect that on August 30, 1968, Mr. and Mrs. CARVER NEBLETT, 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, were registered in room 419. Upon registering

at the motel, NEBLETT indicated that he was representing "Black Panther".

It is noted that 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts is the current residence of Mr. and Mrs. CARVER NEBLETT.

On September 30, 1968, [redacted] advised that "CHICO" NEBLETT continues to operate from an office located at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts. [redacted] stated that NEBLETT apparently continues to hold the dual position as head of Boston SNCC and the BPP and there is no clear indication [redacted] that SNCC has ceased to operate in the Boston area.

APPENDIX OF INDIVIDUALS

BARBARA EASTON

On June 9, 1966, [redacted] advised that the first session of the Communist Party (CP) USA, New England District Convention was held at the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Massachusetts June 4, 1966 with thirty-seven delegates, plus four visitors, all members of the CP in attendance. Among those present was BARBARA EASTON, who was named to the Credentials Committee.

PETER ORRIS

On September 30, 1968, [redacted] advised that as of September 30, 1968, PETER ORRIS was a member of the CP USA, New England District Committee.

BARBARA MUTNICK

On September 30, 1968, [redacted] identified BARBARA MUTNICK as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts.

A characterization of the Socialist Workers Party is contained in the appendix of this report.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FLORENCE LUSCOMB

Dottie Dorothy ZELLNER

DOROTHY RACHELLE ZELLNER

On March 9, 1965, DOROTHY RACHELLE ZELLNER advised [redacted] on the occasion of picketing of the Federal Building, Post Office Square, Boston, Massachusetts, by SNCC on the same date, that she was co-chairman of SNCC. She said the picketing was being conducted to register opposition to the conduct of Agents of the State of Alabama in repelling the "Right to Vote March" conducted by Negro marchers in Selma, Alabama on Sunday, March 7, 1965.

CONN
Chestnut St.
Cambridge Mass

ROBERT ZELLNER — John Robert Zellner

The May 10, 1966, issue of "Aim," self described as the Bulletin of the American Independent Movement and published by the Independent Political Action Committee reveals on page one, in an article captioned, "Robert Zellner: Campaign Manager," that ZELLNER is the manager of the "Cook for Congress Campaign."

CONN

ROBERT M. COOK, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, was running for Congress from the 3rd Congressional District. His headquarters, known as the Independent Political Action Committee, were located in Room #3, 241 Orange Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

This article reveals that ZELLNER studied sociology in the Graduate School at Brandeis University until November, 1965, when he "returned to the South" to do research on Alabama politics for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It was pointed out that ZELLNER was the first white Field Secretary of SNCC and served as a member of the Executive Board and that he and his wife "DOTTIE," and daughter, "MARGARET RACHEL", presently reside at New Haven, Connecticut. ZELLNER

APPENDIX

1.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

A source advised on March 13, 1961, that the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, was formed in the latter part of the 1930s. This source stated that as of July, 1958, this group was the Boston local of the Socialist Workers Party.

A second source stated that as of May 7, 1962, the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, is the local affiliate of and follows the aims and purposes of the national Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist polictical organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

CONFIDENTIAL

F-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts
October 25, 1968

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Boston, Massachusetts.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Section 5 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BUFFALO	ATLANTA	1/26/68	12/11/67 - 1/24/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY [redacted]

TYPED BY :bmp

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REC- 66

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Buffalo, dated 11/22/67. Report of SA [redacted] dated 12/18/67, at Atlanta.

\- P* -

LEADS

BUFFALO

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of SNCC, Buffalo, New York

...has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - G-2, Syracuse, N.Y. (RM)
1 - NIC, New York, N.Y. (RM)
1 - OSI, Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, N.Y. (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - New York (100-147963) (RM)
1 - Buffalo (157-213)

REC 16

EX 102

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

RACIAL MATTERS

SC 157-213

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	157-213-108
	Instant report, page 12
[redacted]	157-213-110
[redacted]	Instant report, page 6 and 7
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Instant report, page 6
[redacted]	
[redacted]	

INFORMANTS (Continued)

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted] 157-215-[illegible]

[illegible]

In [illegible] is classified "Con[illegible]tial" [illegible] data [illegible] through [illegible] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of [illegible] their future [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is being placed in a [illegible] information concerning subject organization [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] Chairman, and [illegible]
[illegible]

FD-... (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - G-2, Syracuse, New York (RM)
1 - NIC, New York, New York (RM)
1 - OSI, Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York (RM)

Report of: [redacted]

Date: 1/26/68

Office: Buffalo, New York

Field Office File #: 157-213

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

BU 157-213

Synopsis: (Continued)

- P* -

Details: A. BUFFALO, NEW YORK

I. BASIS

Investigation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not intended to concern the legitimate activities of this organization but is aimed at determining any Communist infiltration of SNCC and whether this organization in Buffalo, New York, has an intention of planning or engaging in violence.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on January 8, 1968 that three regular meetings of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC have been held since its formation in September of 1967 and these meetings were all held at the Neighborhood Youth Center, [illegible] Street, Buffalo, New York.

Informant said the Chapter has no permanent headquarters since the membership is too small to afford the [illegible]. [illegible] future meetings of this Chapter will probably be held at the above address or at the home of one of the members.

III. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

[illegible] [redacted] advised that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC officially has eight members, including [illegible] officers, [illegible] are identified as follows:

OFFICERS

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[illegible] HARRIS
Chairman

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

SHARON WEST
Executive Secretary

MEMBERS

ROBERT GITNEY

GEORGE GRAHAM

ROBERT HILL

JAMES PITTS

[redacted] advised SHARON WEST is a Student at Millard Fillmore College, State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB), Buffalo, New York.

[redacted] advised FRED HUDSON is presently in Detroit, Michigan, recuperating from an illness and is expected to return to Buffalo at the end of January of 1968. [redacted]

[redacted] stated ROBERT GITNEY is a Student at the State University College at Buffalo (SUCAB). GITNEY is also Chairman of the Fruit Belt Youth Federation.

[redacted] said GEORGE GRAHAM recently dropped out of Harvard University and may possibly be a Student at SUNYAB.

ROBERT HILL, according to [redacted], is an employee of the Iroquois Gas Company at Buffalo.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

The "Buffalo Courier-Express," a daily newspaper published in Buffalo, announced in its September 25, [illegible] issue that a Buffalo Chapter of [illegible] had been established in [illegible] [illegible] announcement from [illegible], who identified himself as area coordinator of [illegible]. [illegible] also identified the [illegible] chairman of [illegible] GEORGE [illegible] the [illegible] Director of [illegible]. Both [illegible] as residing at [illegible] High Street [illegible]

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[illegible] on September 25, [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] who [illegible] as Assistant Director, [illegible] Opportunities Center, [illegible] Main Street, Buffalo, New York, an anti-poverty organization, has been interested in establishing a Buffalo Chapter of [illegible] for the past year but [illegible] unable to [illegible] due to the lack of interest [illegible] of the [illegible] community.

[illegible] stated [illegible] had announced the [illegible] all-[illegible] [illegible] to carry on [illegible] activities. In a [illegible] attempt on the part of [illegible] to infiltrate it.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] New York [illegible] [illegible] talking with [illegible] of [illegible] establishing a chapter in [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] period [illegible] program [illegible].

the statement in the "Buffalo Courier-Express" in September of 1967 officially listing HARRIS as Chairman and HUDSON as Program Director.

On December 19, 1967 advised that a social organization was formed in the fall of 1967 on the campus of SUCAB by JOHN READING, brother of FREDERICK DOCK READING, which is known as "SNCC Associates." This group has no official connection with SNCC either locally or in New York City. A dance was held on the SUCAB campus in early December of 1967 which raised $165.00

IV. FUNDS

On December 19, 1967 and January 8, 1968, advised the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC has no funds available. Several small contributions have been received from members but this money has been used to defray local expenses of leaflet distribution.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON SNCC

advised on January 11, 1968 that he is familiar with a majority of the racial organizations in the City of Buffalo

Informant said he believed HARRIS was not interested in any program in which any subversive organizations would involve themselves and HARRIS seemed to be alert to the possibility of Communist Party (CP) infiltration.

Informant also said he further believes that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC will probably not grow to any size because the local leadership will be unable to devote enough time to organizing it properly. Furthermore, the majority of Negroes in Buffalo are not attracted to the militant position SNCC has adopted nationally.

of SDS is contained
pages of this report.

made available two
the Peace Table of the Student
at SUNYAB. These documents
signed by GEORGE
organizers of SDS,
the formation of
continue the work
mimeographed leaflet
was a call to join

in the issue of June 5, 1967,

activity at UB has
and a change in
competing campus anti-

groups have merged to form the Buffalo Student Mobilization Committee. The chief focal of activity has moved from the campus to the community." The article disclosed the program of Buffalo SMC will encompass peace activities, including anti-Viet Nam war action, Draft resistance, and a community education program.

In August of 1967, ████ advised that Buffalo SMC, during the summer of 1967, has been meeting regularly on the SUNYAB campus. Its membership and leadership is comprised of the "New Left," which consistently opposes all phases of United States policy, both foreign and domestic. The local publication which usually carries the line of the Buffalo SMC is "The Buffalo Insighter."

VI. PROGRAMS OF SNCC INVOLVING PLANNING OF OR ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE

████ advised on January 8, 1968 that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC has no present program of any kind and is not planning or engaging in any activity leading to racial violence. The three regular meetings held thus far of this Chapter have been devoted to a discussion of whether or not to continue the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC or to change its name to some more appealing title, such as "Black Liberation Movement" or "Black Awareness Coordinating Committee." Most of the present members feel that the latter name has the greatest appeal.

Informant advised leaders of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC have had practically no communication from either

the National Headquarters of SNCC or the New York City Office. Chairman GEORGE HARRIS received a form letter from New York City appealing for help to overcome a Court ruling that prevents National Chairman H. RAP BROWN from leaving New York City. Headquarters is apparently trying to ease these restrictions so that BROWN can travel more frequently.

[redacted] Also, in meetings held thus far, the individual members seem to be more interested in their own pet projects rather than combining their efforts to work just for SNCC.

[redacted] advised on December 19, 1967 and January 8, 1968 that SNCC Chairman GEORGE HARRIS had made it clear that he does not condone racial violence and that this will not be the policy of SNCC in Buffalo as long as he is Chairman. Informant said HARRIS is occupied through his employment as Youth Director of the Neighborhood Youth Center with young Negroes and is trying to channel their energies into useful activities and recreation.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention on April 15 to 18, 1965 at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, of Tuesday, April 20, 1965, on Page 27, reported a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965 under the name PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON, New York, and MORT SCHEER, San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article "the Progressive Labor Movement was formed in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for factionally following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine; "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West-Coast newspaper.

The April, 1965 issue of "Challenge," on Page 14, stated "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life—where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (Continued)

A second source advised on September [illegible], 1966 that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box [illegible]6, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 61[illegible], One Union Square, W., New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY - BUFFALO
Formerly Progressive Labor Movement

A source advised in May of1966 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in Buffalo, New York, formerly the Progressive Labor Movement, is an affiliate of the National Progressive Labor Party, and follows the aims and principles of the National organization, New York, New York.

This same source, on May 10, 1967, furnished information that the PLP no longer has a formal organization in Buffalo but its adherents maintain contact with the National PLP through receipt of literature and maintain contact with each other through periodic meetings of what they refer to as Marxist-Leninist classes.

APPENDIX CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June of 1962. SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the Draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a Conscientious Objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the War in Viet Nam, and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students.

GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of the United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described SDS as part of the "responsible left," which the Party has "going for us."

At the June 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed fro the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of the "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome.

The National Headquarters of this organization, as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-... (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Buffalo, New York
January 26, 1968

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC (Buffalo file 157-21?)

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] [redacted], dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BUFFALO	ATLANTA	6/27/68	2/1-6/24/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		:faf
	CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC	

REFERENCES: Report of SA , 1/26/68, at Buffalo.

-P*-

Dragan

LEADS

BUFFALO

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of SNCC, Buffalo, New York.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

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- ..., Syracuse, N.Y. (RM)
- ... New York, N.Y. (RM)
- ..., Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, N.Y. (RM)
- ...nta (100-6488) (RM)
- ... (100-147963) (RM)
- Buffalo (157-213)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-...-17

REC- 4

22 JUL 3 1968

EX-103

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

57 JUL 3 1968

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
	[redacted]
	157-213-153
	Instant report pages 2 through 7
[redacted]	Instant report page 5

ADMINISTRATIVE

Instant report is classified "Conf[redacted]ial" since data from [redacted] and [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

ADMINISTRATIVE, cont'd.

FD (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Syracuse, New York (RM)
1 - NIC, New York, New York (RM)
1 - OSI, Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Buffalo, New York
Date: 6/27/68

Field Office File #: 157-213 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Synopsis: Buffalo Chapter of SNCC opened headquarters at 289 High Street, Buffalo, N.Y., on about 4/1/68, but was evicted in early May, 1968, for non-payment of rent and internal strife. Chairman GEORGE WILL HARRIS, planning to open a book and record shop at Peach and High Streets, Buffalo, on or about 7/1/68, which will serve as cover for future SNCC activity. Buffalo SNCC Chapter has no funds, not presently holding regular meetings and has no official membership. No indication of recent interest by Communist Party in Buffalo Chapter of SNCC.

-P*-

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Details: AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

I. BASIS

Investigation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not intended to concern the legitimate activities of this organization but is aimed at determining any Communist infiltration of SNCC and whether this organization in Buffalo, New York, has any intention of planning or engaging in violence.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that GEORGE WILL HARRIS, Chairman of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC, announced that arrangements had been made for future meetings of SNCC to be held at a newly acquired location at 289 High Street, Buffalo, New York.

On May 1, 1968, [redacted] advised that SNCC had held several meetings at 289 High Street, during April, 1968, and that several young Negro females had periodically come to this address to handle routine clerical functions in the headquarters.

On May 20, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC had been evicted from its headquarters at 289 High Street for non-payment of rent for the month of April, 1968, and because the landlord for this address was disturbed by an internal struggle which had taken place at SNCC headquarters on May 9, 1968, which attracted considerable neighborhood attention to activities going on there, resulting in unfavorable publicity. Informant pointed out that on May 9, 1968, Chairman GEORGE WILL HARRIS had been personally assaulted by several militant young Negro males who had invaded SNCC headquarters on the afternoon of that day and had attempted to take over control of

SNCC. Informant advised that HARRIS returned to SNCC headquarters on the following day with a group of supporters and regained possession of SNCC headquarters. Informant identified several of the group who attempted to seize control of SNCC as JAMES JENKINS, a laborer at the Bethlehem Steel Company, Lackawanna, New York; BRENT JESSE ROLLINS; AL EDWARD WALKER, JR.; DAVID WILSON, who, with his wife, GWENDOLYN WILSON, had made a number of appearances at SNCC headquarters during April, 1968, and RON HILL.

[redacted] advised on June 24, 1968, that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC plans to resume operations on or about July 1, 1968, in a small store building at the corner of Beach and High Streets, across the street from the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, which is located at 318 High Street. Informant said that GEORGE WILL HARRIS recently indicated that a book shop and record store will be operated in the store proper and SNCC will maintain a desk in the basement of the building from which future SNCC operations will be directed. Informant said that HARRIS hopes to attract a group of young militant Negroes to SNCC through the medium of the book and record shop.

III. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On March 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that GEORGE WILL HARRIS continues to serve as Chairman of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC. FRED HUDSON, formerly considered the Program Director, was then in Detroit, Michigan, with his family and was no longer interested in returning to Buffalo, New York. SHARON WEST continued to indicate an interest in SNCC activities but no longer held the post of Executive Secretary.

[redacted] further advised on March 27, 1968, that former members ROBERT SIDNEY, formerly identified as ROBERT GITNEY, ROBERT HILL and JAMES KRITTS could no longer be considered as SNCC members. GEORGE GRAHAM was still at that time considered a member of SNCC.

On April 14, 1968, one of the young people then showing up at the new SNCC headquarters at 289 High Street,

Buffalo, New York, who [illegible] taking part in the office [illegible] of SNCC was a young [illegible] female, WANDA [illegible] on Butler Street in Buffalo.

[redacted] advised on June 24, 1968, that [illegible] had spent the past month in "Resurrection City," [illegible] Washington, D.C. site of the Poor Peoples Campaign sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). WANDA [illegible] returned to Buffalo, New York, with a contingent of representatives of the Poor Peoples Campaign on June 20, 1968, and indicated that she might return to Washington, D.C., after a short stay in Buffalo of several days. Informant indicated that she would probably resume her activities in SNCC on her return to Buffalo.

[redacted] advised on May [illegible], 1968, that GEORGE W. HARRIS, SNCC Chairman, had prepared a membership application form for SNCC members and that several people had filled out the application form during April, 1968, [illegible] with SNCC [redacted]

On June 4, 1968, [redacted] advised that GEORGE WILLIAMS and [illegible] traveled together to Washington, D.C., where they visited "Resurrection City" and the [illegible] headquarters of SNCC [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

BU 157-[illegible]

V. INFLUENCE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
ON SNCC

[illegible] advised on June [illegible], 1968, that the Erie County Communist Party [illegible] has undertaken no new measures to influence the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC and has made no overtures toward its Chairman, GEORGE WILL HARRIS.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title — STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character — RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC (Buffalo file 157-213)

Reference — Report of SA [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BUFFALO	ATLANTA	9/27/68	6/25-9/26/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	:hld
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RM	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/27/68 at Buffalo.

- P -

LEADS

BUFFALO

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of SNCC, Buffalo, N.Y.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO; PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - New York (100-147963) (RM)
1 - Buffalo (157-213)

REC-26

EX-102

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,			
Request Recd.	[illegible]			
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

COVER PAGE

BU 157-213

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	157-213-241 -231 -238 and instant report pages 2, 4, 5.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Instant report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since data from [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise his future effectiveness.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

"[illegible]"

Copy to:
1 - [illegible], Syracuse, New York [illegible]
1 - [illegible], New York, New York [illegible]
1 - [illegible], [illegible] Air Force [illegible]
(Rome, New York) [illegible]

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 9/[illegible]/6[illegible]
Office: [illegible], New York

Field Office File #: 157-2[illegible]
Bureau File #: [illegible]

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: [illegible]

Synopsis: Buffalo Chapter of SNCC was closed in mid-September, 196[illegible], with departure of [illegible] from Buffalo, to Rochester, N.Y. No arrangement to continue chapter under alternate leadership [illegible]. Buffalo Chapter held several organizational meetings in late summer, 196[illegible], but concrete results from efforts to organize [illegible] negative. Defunct chapter [illegible].

\- RU -

Details: AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

I. [illegible]

Investigation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not intended to concern the legitimate activities of this organization but is aimed at determining any communist infiltration of SNCC and whether this organization in Buffalo, New York, has any intention of planning or engaging in violence.

"CONFIDENTIAL"

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

II. ADDRESS [illegible]
ORGANIZ[illegible]

On July 17, 1968, ▇▇▇▇ advised [illegible] Chairman of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC, G[illegible] HARRIS, announced his resignation [illegible] the [illegible] Community House, 97 [illegible] Street, Buffalo, [illegible] be effective August [illegible], 1968.

HARRIS indicated that SN[illegible] meetings [illegible] could no longer be conducted from the Neighb[illegible] Community House. He added that he had opened up [illegible] which would be known as the "Twelve O'Clock [illegible]," [illegible] 7 High Street, Buffalo, a neighborhood store which [illegible] drugs such as aspirin, beauty aids, household [illegible], soft drinks and candy.

HARRIS stated that there is a basement room in this store which is adequate for the holding of [illegible] meetings and which would also provide an office [illegible] for the conducting of SNCC business.

On August 21, 1968, ▇▇▇▇ advised that GEORGE WILL HARRIS had conducted several so-called meetings in the basement at 317 High Street for the purpose of trying to organize a chapter of SNCC in Buffalo. These meetings were attended by some 15-20 youths, both male and female, who had expressed an interest in affiliating with SNCC.

On September 27, 1968, ▇▇▇▇ advised that GE[illegible] WILL HARRIS had closed the "Twelve O'Clock Mart" and [illegible] sold the stock. This action was brought about by an attack on HARRIS by a former employee, BERNARD [illegible] and an associate named MICHAEL [illegible], a recent parolee from prison.

▇▇▇▇ pointed out that HARRIS had been away from Buffalo, New York, during the last week in August, 1968, visiting Chicago, Illinois, to observe the [illegible] National Convention. ▇▇▇▇

III. MEMBERSHIP
OF SNCC

On August 21, 1968, [illegible] advised that SNCC Chairman GEORGE [illegible] HARRIS had recently [illegible] a form called a Registration Record indicating that this was the document establishing an intention to join [illegible]. It called for the listing of an individual's name, [illegible] address, employment, education and other [illegible] data. Informant advised that the 15-20 youths who attended the gatherings at 317 High Street, Buffalo, during August, 1968, were given this form to [illegible]

HARRIS, according to [illegible], had made preliminary plans in anticipation of the establishment of [illegible] charter of SNCC, to assign official positions to [illegible] individuals who indicated they had the ability to [illegible] in such positions.

On September [illegible]. 1968, [redacted] advi[illegible] that GEORGE WIL[illegible] HARRIS planned to leave Buffalo, New [illegible], on Sept[illegible]ber 18, 1968, an[illegible] stay for a period [illegible] in Roch[illegible]er, New York

Informant advised that the average young Negro in this area looked upon the organizing efforts of HARRIS as an excuse to get together, form a gang, and make plans to attack some rival gang either in the "Fruit Belt" area or in some other section of the ghetto. These Negro youths resented HARRIS' efforts to steer them away from acts of violence, either toward the community or toward other rival organizations, to activity with a more reasonable purpose. Informant said that this was largely why HARRIS was unable to get a SNCC organization operational. Those Negro youths who had the education and intelligence to understand what Chairman HARRIS was trying to achieve were not interested in SNCC because they did not accept its national policy. They apparently prefer to work through other local youth organizations.

[redacted] advised on September 17, 1968, that with the departure of GEORGE WILL HARRIS, no arrangements were made for the transfer of leadership from HARRIS to anyone else in the Buffalo area to assume the leadership of SNCC. As a result, there are no longer any members of SNCC in the Buffalo, New York, area; and there are no plans for any organized SNCC meetings or activities.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON SNCC

[redacted] advised on September 11, 1968, that there had been no overt steps by any individuals possibly connected with the Communist Party to infiltrate or control the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC or to make any approach to its Chairman, GEORGE WILL HARRIS.

VI. PROGRAMS OF SNCC INVOLVING PLANNING OR ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE

On August 21, 1968 [redacted] advised that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC had held several meetings on Saturday afternoons at 317 High Street, Buffalo, New York, in August, 1968. One meeting was held which included a discussion on the topic, "Survival for the Black Woman."

Informant said that the Chairman GEORGE WILL HARRIS, had recently distributed a printed leaflet entitled, "Survival for the Black Woman," containing the following message:

> "Now! Sisters, do you know what to do during a rebellion?
>
> "1. Can you administer firstaid to the injured?
>
> "2. Are you able to protect yourself?
>
> "3. Are you able to move through the streets during a pressing condition in safety?
>
> "Buffalo SNCC is offering a course in survival.
>
> "every MONDAY and THURSDAY night!
>
> "From - 7:00-9:00 pm
>
> "317 High Street
>
> "Corner of Peach Street"

Informant said that he learned that GEORGE WILL HARRIS had picked up information concerning the above topic when he attended the National Black Anti-war - Anti-draft Union Conference held in New York City in April, 1968, sponsored by the SNCC.

[illegible]

As of August 21, 1968, only one meeting [illegible] held [illegible] topic and it [illegible] the discussion of this topic on a purely [illegible] basis. He did not [illegible] as one which [illegible] a person to positive action but [illegible] to a [illegible] reaction to the [illegible].

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Buffalo, New York
September 27, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS (Buffalo file 1[illegible]-213)

Reference Report of SA [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-204 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 9/27/68, at Buffalo. New York letter to Washington Field, dated 1/8/69, captioned "... ANTI-WAR ANTI DRAFT UNION ... RACIAL MATTERS."

- P* -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED [X] NONE

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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- Buffalo (157-213)

100-439190-21

REC 26

18 FEB 14 1969

EX-11

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAO ISA FAIL CRD CRIM 55
Request Recd.	ACSI OSI
Date Fwd.	3/7/69
How Fwd.	R/S
By	PTB/dkf

Notations

5 5 MAR 14 1969

COVER PAGE

LEADS

BUFFALO

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Will contact informants ... to determine whether ... reactivates ... in the Buffalo area.

AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

Will exhibit photographs of ... entering or leaving the Hotel Diplomat, New York City, during the period 4/12-14/68, to ... who was ... at the National Conference of the National ... Anti-Draft Union (NAWADU), which was in ... at that time.

INFORMANTS

Identity	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "..." ... data from [redacted] could reasonably result in ... of a confidential informant of continuing ... in the future ...

There are no pending cases ... potential ... in this Division.

- B* -

COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
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1 - 111, New York, New York (RM)
1 - OSI, Griffiss AFB, Rome, New York (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 2/10/69

Office: Buffalo, New York

Field Office File #: 157-213

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: Buffalo Chapter, SNCC, discontinued operation in September, 1968, and is no longer functioning in the Western New York area. Former SNCC Chairman GEORGE WILL HARRIS, now in Rochester, New York [redacted]

- P* -

Details: AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

I. BASIS

Investigation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the FBI is not intended to concern the legitimate activities of this organization but is aimed at determining any Communist infiltration of SNCC and whether this organization in Buffalo, New York, has any intention of planning or engaging in violence.

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

On December 10, 1968, [redacted] advised [redacted] that the Buffalo Chapter of [illegible] discontinued operation in September, 1968. [redacted] the SNCC Chapter in Buffalo has ceased operations completely and no longer exists.

A characterization of SNCC is attached as an appendix to this report.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. RAP BROWN, who served until June, 1968.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, CONT'D.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-6[illegible])

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[illegible]

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	STUDENT NON-[illegible] COORDINATING C[illegible] (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL M[illegible]
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 4 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 6

11-3

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 6 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CHICAGO	ATLANTA	DEC 6 1967	5/5 - 11/14/67

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

14681

REFERENCES: Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67, entitled, "STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, IS - SNCC"

\- P -

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report any communist infiltration of SNCC and revolutionary type activities of this organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified confidential because it contains

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - Chicago (100-40342)

100-439190-4-34X10

REC-

17 DEC 8 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

19 MAY 23 1973

Agency: ACSI, OSI, SEC. SERV.

Request Recd: ISD, CED, RAO

How Forw: Courier

55 JAN 4 1968 12/22/67

By:

DEC 23 1967

Orig & 1 + 4 ... pages of rept. 806 d

information from [redacted] which was so classified and whose identity, if disclosed, would not be in the best interests of this country.

[redacted], mentioned in the details, is a source of the Chicago Office. Due to the relative inactivity of SNCC he has been unable to make contact with the Chicago Office, SNCC.

157-2238
157-1653
157-1652
157-1760
157-2178
157-2094
157-1764
100-40334
157-1909
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157-1866
157-2184
157-1286
157-2280
157-1759
25-42681

	Chicago File
	157-1687
	157-2332
	157-2281
	157-2235
	157-2195
	157-2004
	157-2333

	Chicago File
	100-41977
	100-41635

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
	Instant report, 100-40342-1473
	100-40342-1538

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-40342-1296
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-1491
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Chicago
Date: DEC 6 1967

Field Office File #: 100-40342
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

The Chicago Branch of SNCC opened an office on the second floor of 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, telephone 373-9025.

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP

On May 5, 1967, SA [redacted] United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files which were then at Navy Pier undergoing a contraband inspection prior to shipment to [redacted]

Plans to Move the Chicago SNCC Office:

As most people in SNCC are aware, the Chicago office is located in an apartment where staff members and others reside. The reason for this being done in the first place was chiefly for reasons of economy. The condition has always been considered temporary, and at present plans are being made to move the office within the next month.

Several locations are being considered. One plan is that a location be found large enough for several offices, with ACT, SNCC, CORE, the Deacons and maybe others joining together in one building with meeting space used jointly by all, that would be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

JOYCE BROWN, of the Atlanta office, will be joining the Chicago SNCC staff and MICHAEL WRIGHT is presently here working on a campus program. It is felt that with a new location it will be much easier to schedule volunteer workers on a regular basis and that the entire image of SNCC in Chicago will be improved.

Plans for a Chicago Black Power Movement

Last summer, SNCC instigated a week Black Power Forum that now meets weekly at the ACT office (for lack of space at the SNCC office.) One of the prime purposes of the forum was to set up a dialogue out of which we hoped would come unity of the Black organizations in this town.

At present, it appears that this unity will be brought about in the near future. There are plans for ACT, CORE, SNCC, Deacons and the Afro-American Students Association to take offices in the same building with joint meeting space to be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

There are still a number of problems to be worked out. BOB LUCAS is presently working on the problem that Chicago SNCC is integrated and cannot join the Black Power Movement until this is changed.

The above mentioned groups feel that with more unity, joint actions could be taken on many levels that would give all of us much more strength than when we stand alone.

Fund Raising in Chicago

Chicago SNCC receives $125.00 per month in regular pledges plus some irregulars. In addition, over the past year, we sold an average of $125.00 per month, posters, black power buttons, books, etc. Since our total receipts for the past year added up to approximately $4,500.00 that means that the rest of the money, or another average of $125.00 per month was raised from the 'emergency appeal' technique, by letter or direct phone solicitation.

Our expenses, since we have been in operation here in Chicago have averaged close to $400.00 per month, so that we have been able to keep the books fairly well balanced and remain self-supporting. However, now that we plan to relocate the office, it is evident that our expenses will go up at least a projected $100.00 per month.

The one area of fund-raising that has not been utilized in Chicago is money raised at parties, rallies, raffles, dances and the like, chiefly because we had no one to work on such affairs, on an on-going basis. We do have knowledgable

people available to work on committees for such affairs but have no one to co-ordinate the work and do the publicity. It is our plan to seek out and find someone who can handle this job, if necessary we will pay them a salary.

If at least one fairly large fund raising affair is held each month, we feel that we can cover the additional expenses of the office. If these affairs are held in the black community, as planned, this will continue the current shift away from white financial support, and involve many more people in the black community than we presently are reaching with leaflets and personal contacts.

In addition to our regular fund-raising we have been fairly successful in establishing a bail bond fund for Chicago SNCC. This is discussed in another report.

Produce Boycott Project:

The Chicago SNCC on the South Side and West Side ACT on the West Side are planning and have begun work on a Produce boycott. We feel that we have to get started somewhere, as far as economics is concerned and choose the idea of a produce boycott because of the prevalance of black produce peddlers in the black community as an alternate market for the people that was already available.

We plan to begin with an educational campaign, showing the people how much more they pay for bad fruit and vegetables in the chain stores than people do in other communities. The black peddlers have already agreed to work with us and will stock up when the boycott is formally called.

After the initial educational campaign we intend to concentrate on particular stores and get them to agree to buy from a black trucker. We are working on getting a truck and setting up this business. The Freedom Drivers, who have access to trucks, have agreed to help on this part of the project. We intend to open Co-operative produce stores.

We intend to see that eventually in the black community, the produce market from wholesaler to retailer will belong to black people. After we achieve this goal, we can begin to work on other areas of economics in the community.

The Role of Chicago SNCC In Aiding And Organizing Other Groups:

Chicago SNCC spends much time aiding and helping other organizations in the Chicago area. We do mineographing, for the cost of materials used only, design leaflets, plan boycotts, and send people to speak to groups and otherwise act as a consultant about all kinds of problems.

There is a group in Waukegan, Illinois, that is very strong. After the riots there last summer, we were asked to help them in setting up an organization. They have patterned themselves after SNCC and use SNCC materials. They are a Black Power group. They held a very successful Christmas boycott against the downtown stores and are planning further economic and political action. This group of young militant black men depends on Chicago SNCC for advice. They feel that we are their only contact with 'the movement'.

In addition, we regularly help FRANK DITTO's OCCI, the Upepo Ibada School (an independent black school) ACT, South Suburban SNCC and others, such as the Protectorights.

One of the reasons behind this help is that we feel the more groups and people we help that are interested in black power, the more of a buffer zone will be created by the people between SNCC and the power structure.

When we have more personnel, we intend to spend even more time in this area of work because there have been requests for help in other areas, for example in Milwaukee that we have been unable to fullfill.

Plans For the Political Campaign in Chicago

Last summer, several of the community groups in the area and SNCC got together and decided to run a local grass-roots candidate for Alderman in the February 28, 1967, election. These included, PRESTON HARWELL of the Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO), FRANK DITTO, of the Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI), and people from the Protectorights. They were supported in this by DAVID REED (the Republican who ran against DAWSON) and his New Breed Committee, who are very strong in the west end of the ward, where we have few people.

Early this fall, CARL TUNSTALL of the Protectorights was chosen. CARL has lived in this community for 18 years and is well known. His was the first black family on the block, and he was one of the original organizers of the Protectorights. Just about this time [redacted] went to jail, where he stayed until the middle of December while his people prepared an appeal, so he was eliminated from any participation in planning. Next, KOCO fired [redacted] which finished him in the community. They exist only on paper and have no strength in the north (black) end of the ward. KOCO is a white, church backed group, from the south end of the ward, that tried to organize in this end basically for political reasons. It is evident to us that [redacted] was fired for backing CARL, when the white people had someone else in mind. This winter DAVID REED began vacillating, and tried to find a New Breed Candidate from outside the Ward. First he put forth a woman and then dropped her and found a man named LAMAR HOKE who is going to run. HOKE and our candidate have an agreement to work our separate areas, and if either man shows a much greater chance of winning the other will pull-out and support him.

In addition to HOKE, the Republican organization has decided to run a man named BUFORD, who stands as much chance as a proverbial snowball. The white controlled

Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) have come out for HOKE, but have not announced formally. The area that they cover (the south end) has only about 15% of the voters, and traditionally is liberal and votes against HOLMAN anyways. The way it has turned out, HOKE thinks that KOCO and IVI have strength in the north end but they only have paper organizations up here and our candidate is the only legitimate one. The Protectorights have 300 members, young men in the twenties who are pledged to work for CARL and in addition we will pull our Black Power workers and others from other groups.

Our biggest problem of the moment is to get the petitions accepted so that CARL will be on the ballot. They will be turned in on Monday, January 9th. As far as the type of campaign we are going to run, it will be very unorthodox, because we plan to work entirely on the grass roots level.

On Chicago's west side, DOUG ANDREWS of ACT and ED CRAWFORD of the Deacons will be running for Alderman in the 28th and 29th wards as Black Power candidates.

Report On The Raid on The Home of CARL TUNSTALL, Black Power Candidate for 4th Ward Alderman, January 1, 1967

SNCC and the Protectorights (local organization, working with SNCC) planned to announce that CARL was running for Alderman at a New Years eve party at his house. The party had the additional purpose of raising funds for the campaign and hoped to attract additional volunteer workers from the community. A mailing was done to all SNCC black power workers and supporters and leaflets were passed in the community. It had been planned that an announcement would be made right after midnight that CARL was running.

A few minutes after midnight, about eight detectives, with drawn guns kicked down the door. At that time there was a crowd of people in the hall putting on their coats,etc. The police were very rough in their treatment of persons at the party and there were several incidents of violence, people being struck, and thrown about. The house was ransacked, clothing and personal belongings thrown on the floor,etc. About twenty people got out through a basement exitway and one man jumped out of the window and escaped (from the 2nd floor).

At first, the police said that those who had their identification could leave, andlet several people go after taking names and addresses. Upon the arrival of a uniformed Sergeant, who did not approve of this, no one else was released. Nineteen women, twentysix men and six girls aged 17 (who were considered minors) were arrested. The SNCC photographer, [redacted] was able to take several photos of the officers at the raid, but was kicked and thrown down the stairs.

It was evident that [redacted] ordered the raid from the manner that the police openly talked about it. Because of the obvious political implications of the raid, a total of $1,500 for bail was raised within a period of 24 hours. Most of this money was loaned to SNCC and will be repaid when the bail is returned from the courts. All persons were bailed out on January 1st except [redacted] who had to have a judge set his bail on January 2nd. The minors were released to their parents, [redacted] was charged with: 1. Keeper of a disorderly house. 2. Contributing to the delinquency of minors. 3. Sale of liquor without a license. 4. Marijuana on the premises; and everyone else was charged with being the inmate of a disorderly house (the same penalty as disorderly conduct). The court date is January 16, 1967.

The local community is well aware of what happened. Later the night of the raid, the local gang kicked out half the windows in the stores along 43rd Street. The raid was announced

over the radio on news broadcasts but did not appear in the newspapers. Later in the week the Chicago Defender printed a good story with front page headline stating that we charged a frame-up. Jet magazine and Muhammad Speaks will take interviews later in the week.

Chicago SNCC Bail Bond Fund

At the time of the arrests in Atlanta, September, 1966, when several members of the Chicago SNCC staff were among those arrested, the discussion about the need for a Bail Bond fund began to get results. The funds raised at that time, were sent south and used there for our people. A total of $558.00 was sent south and many other people in the area were solicited who sent their contributions directly. At the time of the first raid in Chicago, December 3, 1966, additional money was raised for CAROL REDMOND's bail and $1,500 was raised as a result of the raid of January 1, 1967. In addition to straight contributions, we are asking people to loan money to the fund, on the condition that it will be returned after either a set period of time or upon their request if needed.

At present we have on hand:	902.50
plus due on bonds:	931.00
	1833.50
Loans to be repaid:	1125.00
	708.50 projected assets, subject

to possible fines that may be deducted from bonds on some 60 court cases now pending.

It is our intention to use this bond fund, not only for SNCC people, but also community people (as in the January 1st raid) we determine have a need that develops in connection with our work on the campaign. We protect our money by having it returned to SNCC instead of the person bonded out.

A campaign is planned to raise this fund to several thousand dollars. A separate bail account will be opened as soon as the bond money is returned from the majority of the court cases this month.

Police Review Board

Chicago SNCC is planning a community police review board. There are several other organizations such as ACT, CORE, Deacons, etc. who are interested. This review board would have no legal powers of course, but would review flagrant cases of police brutality and the like publicly, with a view to stirring up public protest. It is projected that in some cases, where the actual case did not receive justice in the courts either, a mock trial would be held with actual lawyers and the defendants if possible to demonstrate the injustice. These hearings would be held in the black community and be publicized and open to the public.

Chicago SNCC Press Relations

It was reported to this office, that a definite decision had been made that new SNCC policy was not to have anything to do with the white press. This decision coincides with Chicago SNCC policy of granting interviews to particular reporters with the black press who have proven to be sympathetic to our views. We have a very good relationship with Jet magazine staff, several reporters for the Chicago Defender newspaper and the staff of Muhammad Speaks (who will print any story we wish to release). We also granted an interview with the Militant, who seem to have a history of printing only news sympathetic with SNCC views.

We also heard that it was SNCC's Chairman's decision that there should be no releases about raids on SNCC offices, etc. Since the raids that have taken place here were obviously carried out because of the fact that we are supporting and working for CARL TUNSTALL, candidate for 4th Ward Alderman, and were not just against SNCC per se, we felt that some news about this going to the black press was necessary. All news interviews are given with SNCC and Protectorights members [redacted] and [redacted] jointly.

One of the problems here in Chicago about the black press is that it is very weak. That is, the black community reads three times as many white papers as the black paper. There is no possible way to leaflet the entire black community of the city because it is too large and spread out. In the light of these facts we would like to know what Atlanta recommends.

11/6/67)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC has eight members who have been active in SNCC affairs during the summer of 1967.

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF CHICAGO BRANCH, SNCC

JOYCE BROWN - Administrative Director, Chicago branch of SNCC is now residing in Atlanta, Georgia. Her stay in Atlanta is believed to be only temporary.

10/1 and 11/67)

A pretext inquiry at SNCC Office, 306 East 43rd Street, on September 26, 1967, reflected that JOYCE BROWN was out of town for a temporary stay of time.

JOYCE BROWN related the following personal background information on September 8, 1967:

JOYCE BROWN will leave Chicago shortly to move to a southern city believed to be New Orleans, Louisiana. She intends to retain control of the Chicago Branch of SNCC operations and return periodically to direct local SNCC activities.

ROBERT BROWN (no relation to JOYCE BROWN), a member of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would like to direct local SNCC activities. It is not believed that JOYCE BROWN would turn over control to BROWN as he is relatively young and inexperienced, 19 years of age, and unemployed.

9/21/67)

A "Chicago Daily News" article of August 11, 1967, page 3, column 1, entitled, "The Outsiders: Who Are The Leaders?", states that the ghetto Negro has little faith in leaders, black or white, who often claim to represent him. According to the article, he is sure the so-called "moderates" of the "accepted" Negro organizations do not speak for him. Included in this group were Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,; WHITNEY YOUNG of the National Urban League; and ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The article states that several organizations say they have something to offer him, and it is usually summed up in two words: Black Power. The article further states that in general-although there may be exceptions-they are not squeamish about whether or not that power is achieved through violence. Among the organizations mentioned were CORE (headed by ROBERT LUCAS) and SNCC.

According to the article, SNCC, located at 306 East 43rd Street, is headed by a former Xavier University (New Orleans)

sociology student, JOYCE BROWN, 22. The article states that SNCC's resources are even more depleted than CORE, and the two often use each other's office facilities or, take each other's messages.

"LUCAS is firm in his belief that black men must direct their own destinies in a black society, as Miss BROWN believes. But, whereas LUCAS is willing to give the American democratic process one more chance for Negroes to achieve "black" political power, Miss BROWN has lost all faith in it.

Violence, she believes, appears to be "the only method." Pressed on whether she believes it can really achieve Negro equality in all areas of American life, she said: 'well if you don't get all of the bread, at least you get the baker to begin thinking about it; at least you get a slice of it.' The 'Baker' in the analogy is 'white society'."

ALBERT MONROE SHARP and CAROL LEE REDMOND no longer direct SNCC operations in Chicago.

3/3/67)

On April 21, 1967, advised that accompanied by left approximately 90 boxes and packages at the Chicago Export and Packing Company, 9500 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, on April 18, 1967, to be crated for shipment to Africa.

The shipment was to be crated and shipped to [redacted]

One of the packages was improperly prepared for shipment and was found to contain a loaded .38 caliber snubnose pistol of Japanese manufacture and 30 rounds of .30 caliber carbine ammunition. The United States Customs was advised of these facts.

On May 1, 1967, [redacted] United States Customs, advised that [redacted] and [redacted] rented a truck from the Lake Park Rentals, 6120 South Cottage Grove. They proceeded to the Chicago Export and Packing Company where the 90 packages now placed in 6 large cases, were loaded on the truck. They proceeded to Frame 1, Navy Pier, where the cases were unloaded.

On May 3, 1967, a shipper's export declaration (SED), prepared by [redacted] Chicago, was received at Customs Office, 610 South Canal. The SED No. [redacted] dated May 3, 1967, declared 6 boxes of household goods weighing 8,650 pounds, to be shipped to [redacted] The shipper was shown as [redacted] No mention was made on the SED of any firearms nor was a license issued by the State Department for exportation of firearms.

On May 5, 1967, the shipment was examined by Customs and found to contain a .7mm Japanese rifle, bayonet and approximately 1000 rounds of .22, .30, .38, and 7mm caliber ammunition in addition to the loaded pistol. They were confiscated for violation of Title 22, Section 401, United States Code.

Section 123.52 of the regulation pertaining to International Traffic in Arms would allow the exportation of no more than 3 non-automatic firearms and 1000 rounds of ammunition providing they were declared and presented for examination.

On May 8, 1967, these facts were discussed with Assistant United States Attorney LAWRENCE MORRISSEY by Custom Agent [redacted] who declined prosecution in favor of administrative action.

On May 9, 1967, the cargo, less guns and ammunition, was loaded on "Mormac Pride" which sailed that evening for East Africa.

During the search of [redacted] cargo on May 5, 1967, it was noted that the shipment contained a four-drawer filing cabinet containing the files of Chicago Branch of SNCC, which contained the 1966 receipts and disbursements, office address book, black power workers list, key contacts list, friends of SNCC list and correspondence.

[redacted] 8/7/67)

On July 31, 1967, Special Agent [redacted] United States Customs, advised he received a letter from [redacted] also known as [redacted] dated July 6, 1967, postmarked [redacted] petitioning for the return of her confiscated weapons and ammunition. She indicated her attorney, [redacted]

, would handle the necessary arrangements. She explained the circumstances surrounding her failure to file the necessary papers prior to shipping these items out of the country. They are to be shipped to in care of . stated this request will be granted.

8/23/67)

ROBERT BROWN, member of CORE, is presently directing the operations of the Chicago Branch of SNCC in the absence of

JOYCE BROWN and is being assisted by an individual known only as MICHAEL. He expects JOYCE BROWN to return to Chicago from the south for a brief visit.

[redacted] 10/30/67)

[redacted] 10/25/67)

8/21/67)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

4/24/67)

11/6/67)

National Conference For New Politics (NCNP)

On August 30, 1967, JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, was observed in attendance at NCNP, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois.

9/1/67)

The NCNP national convention was held in the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, from Tuesday, August 29 through Monday, September 4, 1967. The convention was attended by more than 3,500 registered delegates, observers, etc. A broad spectrum of left wing groups was represented (the delegates claimed to represent almost 30,000 activists) including peace, civil rights, "new politics," student groups, a small group of trade unionists, nationality groups, women's organizations. This convention included almost all the forces involved in what is referred to by leftists as "the Movement".

Three main political groups were represented at this convention. There was a "black caucus" which included most of the Negroes attending and from which all whites were excluded. This caucus took ultra-militant, pro-nationalist positions and strongly supported the "black power" line advanced by SNCC and CORE. An ultra-nationalist section of this caucus opposed any unity with whites and attempted to pull all Negroes out of the convention into an "all-black" convention which was hastily organized and held in the Chicago ghetto at the same time the New Politics meeting took place. This effort was defeated. The fight to keep the caucus in the convention was led, according to participants in the caucus, by the Communist Negroes.

Another main political tendency among the whites was that which supported the concept that the main emphasis of the convention should be on organizing a third ticket (a peace and freedom ticket) in 1968. Many in this grouping supported the idea of MARTIN LUTHER KING-BENJAMIN SPOCK ticket. This grouping was dominated by Communists functioning through DCA and many other organizations in which they are active. Also included in this tendency were many pro ROBERT KENNEDY liberals, including a number of the original organizers of the New Politics organization, who were seeking a third ticket as a means of weakening LYNDON JOHNSON's campaign for re-election in 1968, insuring his defeat, and laying the basis for a ROBERT KENNEDY campaign in 1972.

The third main tendency at the convention, again among the whites, was in support of local community organizing (along the lines of the Vietnam Summer campaign) and in adamant opposition to a national third ticket in 1968.

The "third ticket" grouping and the "local organizing" grouping split the white delegates almost evenly. The black caucus refused at first to participate in the convention unless its demands were accepted <u>en toto</u> by the whites. These demands (13 of them) calling for full support for black power, support for the demands of the Newark Black Power conference, a campaign to "civilize the white beasts," etc. were accepted by a split vote of the white delegates after a floor fight led by the Communists. The main debate was over one demand which condemned Zionist Israel imperialism. A number of delegates, particularly those who were Jewish, had a difficult time swallowing this demand.

Then the black caucus refused to participate unless it was given 50 per cent of the voting power at the convention. (The Black Caucus represented about 20 per cent of the actual convention.) Since the Black Caucus voted as a unit, this demand meant that they would have veto control of the convention. This demand was also accepted after a sharp debate. The support for this demand was mobilized and led by the Communists, including several speakers from DCA. Speakers against the position were booed and hooted down. The CP took control of the microphones and made certain that its speakers got the floor. The 50 per cent control demand of the black caucus was accepted by a split vote. After this several whites withdrew and there was much grumbling and dissatisfaction among white delegates about lack of democracy, etc., but the convention was held together.

The Black Caucus proposed (and had accepted by the convention) a proposal which endorsed both local organizing and a third ticket effort if that proved possible. A national board was elected of 24 persons, six from the community organizing white caucus, six from the third ticket white caucus, and

twelve from the black caucus. This board is to meet September 30 to work out future strategy.

Although it is a shaky alliance, the convention ended with a unity between radical whites and the ultra-militant black forces in this country. The Communist Party achieved a major part of what it hoped to achieve at this convention.

1. It sought a unity of the various forces in the "movement," including black power, peace, youth, community organization, left labor, etc. A beginning toward this unity was established.

2. It sought a commitment by the convention toward a national third ticket in 1968. The convention did not come out completely for this proposal, but it did endorse the idea of a third ticket where possible.

3. It sought an increased influence in left politics in the country. There is no question that the CP emerged from this convention as a dominant influence in the New Politics movement.

DCA emerged from the convention as perhaps the best organized youth group participating. DCA caucuses had up to 100 participants, including sizable numbers of non-DCA young people. DCA speakers were often heard on the convention floor. DCA leaders regarded the New Politics convention as a hugh plus for DCA.

([redacted] 9/22/67)

H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke on the evening of September 3, 1967, to a black power caucus group of NCNP at the Palmer House in Chicago.

(The following is a transcript of remarks made by H. Rap Brown, on September 3, 1967, at Chicago.)

In 1964 the first real manifestation of black power since Reconstruction (illegible) Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went to Atlantic City to challenge the Democratic Party. The people from Mississippi are honkies who have been representing black people for years. Now the Democratic Party told the MFDP that we don't need you. Now what you see here and what's significant about what you done done now is that you illustrated the use of black power. In other words you told this convention we've got to all come around or we gonna close you down. The most significant thing about power is that it comes from the word that means power. The black people have always had power but they refused to be powerful with their power. Now this is an illustration of this power, if you put it to use here. What we're working on is to broaden our political scope because this meeting here is behind Detroit. We're not even speaking as to where Detroit is at this moment. (illegible) because it has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed. Detroit is sending her politics to the streets. They were not speaking of the '68 election in terms of legality. They didn't even concern themselves with that. In other words, Detroit went to war and they put their politics where their mouth was. Now what

we are doing is that we are talking about politics in a legal sense. I don't know how well that's going to work because you see the Democratic Party is the Republican Party vice versa. Now you're going to talk about how black people can afford....talk about radical, political, reform in the (illegible) American Society as it's (illegible). That's the white folks job. We have to begin to talk about revolution. I just want to see (illegible) the Democratic Party who say they have Dixiecrats and that's a lie. There is no such thing as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace is that one of their wives got cancer. There is no difference whatsoever. Only reason Goldwater got defeated was because he was honest. He told people what he was going to do. Johnson got in there and told Goldwater, Goldwater, if you start something (illegible Now when you start talking about revolution, then you can begin to identify with the struggles abroad. So easy to not operate in a vacuum. It's not isolated from the black people here. The fighting over in Puerto Rico, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, is not isolated from the fighting over here. The fighting has been (illegible) is not isolated from the fighting that goes on here because the liberation of black folks in America de pends upon the liberation for the other worlds bearing upon

the liberation of black people across the world. In other words we here feel that a monster (illegible) can't be destroyed from here, we have to destroy it. We got to keep everybody's freedom in other words. To shed some light upon the word coalition. If you look at what happened to (illegible) move toward Watson. They were (illegible) power, so what we want to talk about and what you told the honkies was that we'll talk alliance with you, but we ain't gonna talk no coalition. We ain't gonna (illegible) no coalition. In other words, you have to come down to the position way we (illegible) fits our needs. On those grounds, we can have an alliance. But to talk about coalition is to say that we have common power and my problem ain't common with nobody that calls themselves a hero upon my freedom. 'Cause I'm fanatic about it. In terms of leadership of the movement, they say also that leadership should never be shared, it should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. That was the mistake we made in the civil rights movement. We won't make that mistake no more. We gonna have to broaden our concept because there are other dispossessed people in America besides blacks who (illegible), we need as allies, the Indian, the Mexican American...we have to be political in

every sense. You cannot move to alienate these people because when we taking care of business with the honkies, that we ain't do it right. We are not doing it for all dispossessed people - there are other disposssed people who are going to get together and take care of business theirselves (illegible) we through.

One thing about freedom. It will make you fight any enemy. If you are not free, you will fight any enemy. That has been one of the black man's make-up. That's the difference in the black man's impeccable will to be free that has made him fight for this country. It will be that same will that will make him fight this country. So what we got to do if we are to be political, is that we have to develop an ideology to go along with the rebellion because they are way out front of our political know-how and our political knowledge. You're going to have to start talking about black nationalism whether you like it or not. 'Cause if you expound anything else in America, it is not black nationalism, it is white nationalism. So if I have the choice of teaching black nationalism and white nationalism, you know the one I'm going to take. Because look at what happened. Now anything your community chest don't control is a weapon against you. It is used as a weapon against you. You don't control the politics in your community and that's a weapon against you. They can keep you in slum houses because you

don't control it. If you don't control public education, that's a weapon against you because what started this movement is white nationalism. You must control black (illegible) and black entertainers in your community or they can be used as weapons against you. So what you got to do is get yourselves in control but in a country like America, that's one thing that machines control. Being able to control your community that's being able to defend your community. If you can't defend it, you can't control it. In Plainfield, New Jersey, one of the most successful rebellions held in the country, along with the Mexican rebellion(illegible). The land organizations that held the honkies out of the hills over freedom (illegible). Now Plainfield (illegible) don't love the black people in Plainfield any more than they love black people in Detroit. But they refused to go to Plainfield because the brothers there kept (illegible) because they had weapons. They told me that each one of those guns can shoot 200 times at (illegible) for a half hour. They refused to go in there because (illegible) they say that we can't go in there because the niggers got guns. So I say I don't care if they only control this (illegible) but two days that was controlled. The result of being able to defend (illegible) to show that they (illegible) to that control.

The white man gang on the brothers and say, okay, we're going to start an alliance, and say, let me come in and look for guns (illegible) because they're here. (Illegible), the National Guard, and in their frustration because they didn't find guns, they began to destroy private property. The word went out immediately you kick down one more door, and we're going to shoot your leg off. They left the community.

Plainfield's still got their guns. They still got their guns. You have to recognize that America is at war with black people any time they put tanks in Detroit (illegible). You can't be nothing else but at war. America is very seriously contemplating, not only contemplating, but she's putting into effect the genocide of black people. But you have to discuss their political being. The white folks can't understand if you're being exterminated - tough! Because it is no accident that 30% of the casualties in Viet Nam is blacks. It is no accident that 22% of their fighting force in Viet Nam is black. (illegible) different reasons. Ours (illegible) fight the honkies. Look at what happens in Alabama every year. In America, the country that can send millions of dollars to Viet Nam to insure freedom. The country that can shoot people to the moon. Over 500 kids died each year for lack of proper

food and nourishment in Alabama alone. Alabama is (illegible). They instituted a program called the stamp program, which replaced the old (illegible)thing they had down there. They gave horse meat to eat, and they gave them a stamp program and told them for $10 you can get $40 worth of food, but they didn't say where to get the $10. The party's behind that program. What the courts of America doesn't (illegible). This is still America, the land of the free. People who fought World War II to make democracy safe for the world - makes this world safe for democracy. These people who go before justice under our juries, you can expect the maximum fine and the maximum sentence if you're black. Justice is a joke in America. It stinks with its own hypocrisy. Lyndon Johnson is Hitler's illegitimate child, and J. Edgar Hoover is an ass.

Every time we play their games, be it politics, be it law, we fall into their trap because we gave them a license to kill us. The cops got license to kill niggers, and we jump, we go for it. They tell you about a birth control program that its most biggest effect is on the black community. (illegible). What they are doing is that they are putting an end to your race. They telling you that they don't want you to reproduce your seed. In other words, they say we ain't got

but 29 concentration camps and if you all keep reproducing at the rate you're going, they will then have to build some new ones. But those concentration camps are real. They got 13 of them that are already in operation right now. Right now. I hate to repeat it, I know you don't believe what black folks say, but that's what we call concentration camps in the United States built by honkies for niggers. But understand this, a lot of folks say that this don't apply to me. Me and Carmichael can't fill all 13 concentration camps. (Illegible) if you don't believe this, look beside you, you might be in it.

The man is moving to exterminate black people because he posed a problem. He had a surplus of niggers on his hand. (Illegible) you know what he does with surplus food - he dumps it in the ocean. In other words, we were brought here to do work-we have outlived our usefulness. We are not to join the leisure class that Attorney General Ramsey Clark talks about when he says within 20 years, but that can be five, ten, or 15 years, the entire population will lead a leisure nature, and only 20% of that population will man the work force, because of cybernation and automation, and then you look to see who has training for the cybernation part of the jobs. It's white boys. That's who. White boys are going to push the button to run the machines of (illegible). It appears to me we have outlived

our usefulness. We were brought here as slaves to work - there is no more work. We are a problem to America. That's what the concentration camps are about. If you don't think those concentration camps exist, if you're going to take the honkies word, you ride around on one of these Army bases that they been closing down. (Illegible) you heard them talk about closing Army bases, and see what they did to it. Right here. I think black folks had better put America on notice. Detroit put her on notice. She said that if you choose to play Nazis, we ain't gonna play too. So we must begin to address ourselves for a new type of politics. A politics that is relevant to the Indian, to the Mexican, to the Latin American who jumped over here. You can't talk politics that's relevant to Bobby Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy is one of them chief exploiters. I can hardly say (illegible) I saw smoke (illegible). I wonder what happened to Lee Harvey Oswald now that we need him. You always (illegible) go for the results. It ain't only Johnson, it's Rockefeller, it's Kennedy, it's all them honkies who sitting up there holding their anti-black rallies in Congress.

In 1964, at Atlantic City, it was Minnesota backs Humphrey. (Illegible-applause) Minnesota to go packing to go home. They say they'll let one or two of you in but black

folks can't govern themselves - you ain't ready - that's the same old line. And you went for it chumps. You still talk about voting in the '68 elections. Don't talk about voting next year. That ain't politics (illegible) and I guarantee you next year there will be a national curfew on niggers. Probably ten o'clock every night. All that they will let you stay out too. See that anti-riot bill tells you where to travel, how to travel and if you can travel. It wasn't only for myself and Carmichael. There's a new bill that's called the food bill that's coming up. That bill says that in time of conflict, you can't defect against the United States and its policy and in time when she does not engage in conflict, there can only be certain types of dissent. There goes free speech. Now remember this and keep this in mind. You are only three-fifths in the constitution here. In other words, they write you out. That gun bill. If the gun bill was a legitimate working bill, it would talk about taking the gun from the gestapo honkie cops. Because technologically, they don't need guns to apprehend the criminals. They have all types of ways. See what they're rewriting is they are writing it so that they are deliberately writing you out of it. (Illegible). So you better start

saying like Johnson says in Viet Nam. Johnson says if Viet Nam don't come around, we gonna burn Viet Nam down. And I tell you if the United States don't come around, the black folks should have burned it down, but (illegible). Votes hold no relevancy. If you can't vote though, you choose. Comrade Mao says what better way to enslave a man than to give him the vote and call him free. We get a (illegible) once that says what would it prove a man who ever had to vote and not be able to vote for a candidate of his choosing. How can you choose between Lyndon Johnson and Goldwater. There is no lesser of evil there. Evil is evil. That's why they have to do this. It is just like freedom. You can't be almost free. You can't be a part free, and you can't be a second class citizen. You're either free or you're not. That's like folks tell me they can be a little bit pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're lying and not telling the truth. So you can't be a little bit of America. You can't be a little bit a citizen. You're saved man. They apprehended me under the fugitive slave law in Virginia in 1967. So that says to me Abraham Lincoln wasn't hitting on too much when he signed the civil rights bill. Black folks are still slaves in America. We got to get away from talking about being misled

in his own game with his money too. Green power. There ain't no such thing as green power as long as that honky has got the power to change the color of money. (Illegible-applause) you gonna do...what you gonna do, if tomorrow we're gonna use red dirt. You gonna go out and work to try to make a million dollars. That's what you're going to do. (Illegible) understand this. The confederates, they all white brothers, they is cousins. They came up to the Negroes with money after the war, and what did we tell them. We use this stuff with Washington's picture on it. Yeah, that stuff. You know what they're doing with confederate money these days, they tack it on the walls. They use it for wallpaper down there. The man's got the power to determine the color of his money. He'll give you all the money in the world. I'll give you an example. The man can tell you, he tell all niggers to bring me some rocks and for every rock I'll give you a million dollars. And all the niggers in the world would have a million dollars in gray rocks until this man would have all the rocks in the world. And then he'd look at you and say well, tomorrow we'll start using rocks for money. So you have to use their power. Power is the word. Mao says power comes from the barrel of a gun. In Russia's revolution, guns

are not relevant. See, black people do not create situations of violence. Violence is brought into the black community by honkies. Folks accuse me of violence but it never talked about Lyndon Johnson who bombs villages with napalm bombs, bombs hospitals. You see, black folks don't know how to be violent. We should take a lesson in violence from the honkies. Lee Harvey Oswald is white. This honky who killed the eight nurses is white. The honkies down in the bowery who set these bums on fire is white. The honkies who flew the plane over Hiroshima and dropped the atomic bomb is white. We don't know nothing about bombs. But we heard it. (Illegible-applause) 'cause you'd act to where you don't want to hate nobody, even though you love everybody, and go to heaven. (Illegible). As you see (illegible) to the extent (illegible). If you can forget what happened to the Jews and talk about what the Germans did to them you can tell their histories. But instead of the black brothers talking about what the honkies did to him and what the honky does to him every day, no that's hate - (illegible) my foot. Junk! Junk! He was admiring you all's terms. He's gonna tell me you got power. You control. You don't even control your own lives. It's the man's choosing to

to put tanks into your community and what can you do about it. Absolutely nothing. Then you get mad at your brothers who have Molotov and are trying to take care of the tanks. (Applause). You see this tells you one thing about the poor. You don't think he knows where battle is, he knows where the war is already. Anothing thing that Mao says about war. He says the poor cannot be trusted. They lie to close to the ground. Now about that. The people are scared of black power. What they going to do when it's time to use black power. (Applause). The man's not playing a game. It's not a game. When he pulls in paratroopers and sends them to Detroit and tells you that that's another Viet Nam. See, we are a colony inside America. Black people constitute a colony. An internal colony. Believe me, brother, after we have been digested, you know what happens to food after it's been digested. (Illegible - applause) We are waste material. If you know what happens then - you know what you call it. (Applause). That's what the man is all about. He's out to take (pause) out of you. 'Cause you ain't nothing but a problem to him. You dig it so much until you teach your children to dig it. You teach them to love it. Now one of the greatest problems is I want to show you to be careful of white nationalism.

Santa Claus is an example of white nationalism. What's so repulsive and what's so criminal about Santa Claus is not only (illegible) Yankee-looking (illegible) and white. When he flies down the black chimney and comes out white again. (Illegible-applause) chumps save your money to buy kids gifts and tell them Santa Claus brought the gifts. So what happens in the kid's minds when mother starts to yell-when trouble starts in Detroit. He runs and tells the old man we ought to be cool, we might have to kill Santa Claus. Do not be deceived. A brother went out thinking he could buy just another bandaid, put it on his arm, and noticed a little (illegible) something was wrong with his skin. He doesn't know they didn't make black bandaids. In other words, black skin ain't mush. They got black people hating themselves. They keep themselves down. Because what they got to thinking about anything all black is bad. Black power is only a good joke and (illegible) black hens don't lay eggs. When you talk about devils whose faces are black faces, you talk about angels (illegible). When you talk about funerals you talk about dressing in black. When he talk about weddings you talk about white. The Biblical character that characterizes

blackness is Judas. In other words, Judas was black. That's evil. The word black has about 16 different definitions. All of them bad. Because the man behind has the power to devise and legitimatize with their power. Those terms that we're using in other words, we are instilling white nationalism into the minds of ourselves and the minds of our children since birth. When we're first born. So what we have to get is to develop a political ideology that goes along with their movement.. An ideology, brother, that does not separate us from other oppressed groups across the world. We must know what's going on in Rhodesia today. We've got to understand what happens in Rhodesia. Black people are fighting to get the same thing that we fighting over here. Only they are a majority. They are being oppressed by a few. That speaks to me about why the black people over here are not in control. They are never a majority at hand. It's always an organized minority. You don't need a majority. Quit using that as an excuse - we can't do nothing because we ain't together. Pretty soon we gonna be together in concentration camps or somewhere (Applause). If we don't believe Detroit ain't together, then go through there. That's no (illegible) Carmichael as middle class any more. There is no such a thing in a black middle class as far as America is

concerned. They don't kill you 'cause you got money or 'cause you don't have money. They kill you 'cause you're black, son. Lemuel Penn was a colonel in the United States Army who got shot in the head, just like Medgar Evans who was supposed to be a black middle class in Mississippi. Just like Ben Brown who was a worker for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Just like the poor young girls who were killed in Alabama. They were black. We have one thing in common - they were black. The man kills you and he moves against you because you're black. Understand one other thing. Then I'll quit (illegible) they talk about they are going to move the National Guard. They are going to put more black people in the National Guard. That's a lot of jive man. They just got an order from Washington, D. C. that says all large metropolitan cities with an integrated police force, the white policemen should be notified that in times of rebellions they should try to disarm black police. If you all don't believe this check with the FBI, or with somebody you know who works with the FBI. That's because they understand things are going to be worse and that black people are only going to take so much and then his mama's coming. (Applause). Things are gonna get worse before they get better. Don't run about talking about how many houses

are formed and casualties. All wars have had casualties. We were being killed non-violently before we started to rebel. More people have died in the civil rights movement non-violently than had died in all the rebellions. Death is no stranger in the black community. We live through death every day. Kind of job you perform is hatredness nine times out of ten. And then they don't teach you but so many jobs. That's also significant to note that in terms of ratio, there are more handicapped people hired than black folk. You see it's better to be born handicapped in America than to be born black. That's what America thinks about you. I says the white folks when they have rebelled against (illegible) civilized and long before we have to come over and civilize them. (Applause). George Bernard Shaw, another white man, says of America, he says this is the only country that he knows that came from barbarism to decadence without going through civilization. (Applause). It's not our job to civilize honkies. The white folks, the activists who considers themselves activists, who run around saying we want to do so much who want to be missionaries for the black folks - go home suckers. Let them go civilize the Kennedys. Civilize George Wallace. Civilize Lyndon

Lightning Bird Johnson (Applause). Now understand that we at this point are only beginning to address ourselves to politics. Every move America makes is a political move. Understand when the Rams 17 got busted, that was a political move. That was a conspiracy on the part of the CIA. Just like the Statue of Liberty case where people were taking pictures (illegible). In other words, they had a gun bill in force and they needed a (illegible). They busted the Rams 17 therefore crushing in from the right wing and joined the Birchers and said we're going to give you a gun bill. When they did, they came back and they busted the smallest branch of the Minutemen that they could find. They did a whole lot of substituting. Yeah, but I tell Kennedy (illegible-applause). They came back and they busted the Minutemen and they generated pressure from the left. Then the people on the left began to take (illegible) at the whole problem. That wasn't good enough. They killed Rockwell. They also killed Rockwell, yeah, all over this place. (Illegible-applause). President Johnson, he knows who killed Rockwell, and then their next move is to the left. In other words, with some poetic justice that he that lives by the sword, shall die by the sword. What they began to do is they going to hold myself and Carmichael as hostages for violence. Same thing as (illegible-applause). They believe anything Huntley and Brinkley says. (Applause). Black folks got more confidence

in Huntley and Brinkley than Catholics got in the Pope. (Applause-laughter). We believe that we can control Viet Nam and according to Huntley and Brinkley, we've killed every enemy soldier in Viet Nam's streets. (Illegible-applause). There ain't that many people in the country. You take how many people we've killed. (Illegible) but understand one thing why America is over there (illegible). It's not the proper thing but it's just as plain, Eisenhower and his people won't remember because of their ignorance. He exposed (illegible).

[redacted] 9/28/67)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC held an anti-draft conference on June 16 and 17, 1967, at Herman Hall, Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 32nd and Federal Streets, Chicago. JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch, SNCC, made arrangements for the meeting and presided at the conference sessions.

Approximately 30 to 35 Negroes and three to four white people were in attendance at the evening session held on June 17, 1967. The major portion of the conference time was spent in discussing means of implementing anti-draft centers in the Chicago, Illinois, area. They would be strategicly located to obtain the most extensive coverage of the area. The purpsoe would be to encourage draft age Negroes to refuse to enter military service. Volunteer workers from these centers would between centers contact Negro youths on an individual basis to encourage them to refrain from going into the Armed Forces.

Discussion occurred concerning methods to be used by Negro males to evade military service. They would be encouraged to lie about their physical and mental conditions in pre-military examinations. They would be encouraged to state they had homosexual tendencies, dress in an effeminate manner and complain of imaginary illnesses. In the event they pass the tests and are scheduled for induction they would be encouraged to go into a fugitive status. Negro women were encouraged to take these

fugitives into their homes and effectively hide them. They were encouraged to lie to any and all authorities attempting to locate the Negro males.

[redacted] 6/19/67)

On June 20, 1967, [redacted] Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 31st and Federal, Chicago, Illinois, advised [redacted] The student, PETER PRAN, is a graduate student of architectural engineering. PRAN has completed one year of a two year course and is an "A" student. He is an alien from Norway, who wishes to obtain his United States citizenship in the future. He is employed by the Skidmore Ownings and Merrill Architects, 30 West Monroe, Chicago.

PRAN is the leader of the SDS, IIT Chapter, which has a total of five students involved in SDS activities.

On June 15, 1967, PRAN requested permission for use of Herman Hall for an SDS function with outside friends also to be in attendance. PRAN violated a school rule in not applying four days in advance, however, permission was granted for use of the rooms since the SDS is a recognized campus political organization.

On June 16, 1967, [redacted] was informed by the Chicago Police Department that they would have men stationed on and near the campus for security reasons during the SNCC conference at Herman Hall, on June 16 and 17, 1967. This is the first indication [redacted] had that an outside organization would be in attendance at the so-called SDS affair. At approximately 7:00 PM, on June 16, 1967, he observed approximately 30 police in the immediate vicinity of Herman Hall. [redacted] then attended the evening session to determine if in fact this was an SDS conference.

PETER PRAM opened the conference by introducing several people including JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC who then generally presided over the session, and at the meeting 30 to 35 people were in attendance of which four were white and the remainder Negroes. Several were females and one woman brought her baby who cried throughout the session and generally made it difficult to hear the speakers. The discussion concerned the usual anti-draft and anti-Viet Nam diatribe. All of those present appeared to be above draft age.

Three white males spoke and introduced themselves as students of the University of California, Berkeley, as well as members of the Draft Resistence Organization. They claimed their club had 1,500 members in the California area. They asserted that in October, 1967, all of the members are going to meet in Berkeley and have a mass burning of their draft cards.

VI. SNCC MILITANT LITERATURE AND POSITION PAPERS

The attached leaflet entitled "The Young Black Militant" was obtained by from Chicago Branch SNCC Office on August 24, 1967. The remaining leaflets and papers were obtained by from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office between the dates July 26 and October 25, 1967.

WE THE "YOUNG BLACK M[illegible]TS" FIND THAT IN AMER[illegible] THE SO-CALLED

LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, CAN PUT TANKS AND TROOPS AND AS MUCH AMMU-
NITIONS AS NECESSARY IN THE STREETS OF ANY AMERICAN CITY AGAINST
BLACK PEOPLE, AND YET ALLOW TERROIST GROUPS SUCH AS THE KLU KLUX
KLAN TO MURDER PEOPLE, AND GO FREE, AND OUT OF THE SAME BREATH, TELL
OR ASK BLACK PEPLE TO BE NON-VIOLENT IS NOT ONLY IGNORANT BUT AN
INSULT TO THE THINKING OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE ALSO FEEL THAT WHEN WHITE
PEOPLE SUCH LESTER MADDOX, THE PRESENT GOVERNOR OF ~~SUCH~~ GEORGIA CAN
PULL A GUN AND CLUB ON BLACK PEOPL TO KEEP THEM OUT OF HIS RESTAURANT
AND SELL HIS RESTAURANT, RATHER THAN PATRONIZE BLACK PEOPLE, AND STILL
BECOME ELECTED NOT THREE YEARS LATER, TO THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR OF THE
STATE OF GEORGIA, AND AT THE SAME TIME F.B.I. CAN WITNESS THE MURDER
OF VIOLA LIUZZO, AND CALLIE LEROY WILKINS CAN GO SCOOT FREE, AND THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO NOHING ABOUT IT, YET AT THE SAME TIME CAN
TALK ABOUT ARRESTING STOKLEY CARMICHAEL FOR TREASON OR ARRESTING GEORGE
WARE OF SNCC, FOR SEDITION, STRIPPING HIM AND BLACK PEOPLE IN GENERAL OF
THER RIGHT OF VERBAL DISSENT. AND THAT OUR FIRST AND MOST IMPORTTANT ALLE-
GIANCE IS TO OUR PEOPLE, THE BLACK PEOPLE OF AMERICA, AND ALL OVER THE
WORLD FROM WHOM WE SPRUNG FORTH.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
306 E. 43RD STREET

[illegible]S POSITION ON THE INT[illegible]STATE

RIOT BAN

STOP STOKELY - RAP BILL

L. B. J. and his henchmen in the Racist, United States Government have committed still another Act of Aggression against the Black People by passing new legislation which would make it a Federal Crime to travel or communicate across state boundaries to incite, organize or encourage a riot. Conviction would carry a maximum penalty of $10,000 fine and/or a 5 year Prison sentence.

IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW THIS BILL CAN BE DEFINED OR WILL BE ENFORCED.

It is quite clear that the Reactionary mouth piece of Fools and Racist, Savage Dogs (two-legged), J. Edgar (00 Fool) Hoover, is trying to stir up Racial Hatred and create an internal enemy of Black People in order to Intensify and Justify the Atrocities and Concentration Camp Tactics that Black People are Subjected to daily in the subhuman ghettos of America. We are also aware that this aggression has reached the point where only mass Genocide and complete Extermination of Black People can be the ultimate goal.

WE NOW MAKE IT KNOWN THAT WE WILL DEFEND OUR COMMUNITIES, OUR WOMEN, OUR CHILDREN, OUR DIGNITY....... FROM ANY AND ALL RACIST ATTACKS.

.... BY DEFENDING BLACK PEOPLE BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY...

Communications Director SNCC
James Edwards

THE BLACKS 

calling all BLACK BROTHERS & SISTERS

Once again the white power structure has shown us what they as a whole thought of Afro-Americans by putting more of ourblack brothers behind steel bars for foolish if not childish reasons. If we just stand by talking Black Power and do nothing but let the white devils take our Black Brothers who are willing to relate to the white world the only possible way(complete destruction of the white beasts)than we are just wasting our time. I don't know about you, but if I am willing to die for LAZY, SHIFTLESS NIGGERS Than I am also willing to kill my wrost enemy(the black hunky).

In closing I would like to call my Black Brothers and Sisters to prepare to do battle with your beast oppressors. A call to my people to take your freedom by any means possible.. DEATH TO THE WHITE BEASTS... BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK

KILL UP ALL WHITE DOG.

[illegible] in, the white power structure has escalated the [illegible] against the black people of America.

In their all out [illegible] to kill SNCC, theses powers that be have made political prisoners out of black people who are fighting for their life and freedom.

Rap Brown: [illegible]. Placed under excessive bonds as an example, to frighten other black Afro-American people who would "TELL THE TRUTH" to black people about the evil white government, and encourage those black people to seek means for survival.

Stokely Carmichael
------------------: Threats of arrest upon his return to this country, for "treasonous acts" upon telling the Truth to Latin American and Vietnamese about the enslavements of black people in U.S.A.

George Washington Ware:

Arrested, held on [illegible] in Nashville U.S.A. for delivering a speech at the Nat Turner Liberation School, at which he informed Black people that they should "[illegible] power by any means necessary"..... What happen to freedom of Speech/.....

We charge the white power structure the BRUTAL, ILLEGAL and CALCULATED MASSIVE [illegible] of NON-WHITE people's throughout the world. And we demand that they be held accountable for their crimes against the government and black people

HOW MUCH MORE

74 Afro-Americans Arrested On SEPT. 14th following a PROTEST RALLY at 43RD and LANGLEY

AT

HOW MUCH MORE

74 AFRO-AMERICANS WERE ARRESTED SEPTEMBER 14, 1967, Following a protest rally at 43 & Langley about 4 oclock PM.

They were protesting the long standing grievences of oppression of Black People; You black brothers and sisters must understand that we cannot sit by and let these brothers and sisters be railroaded by 1-Excessive bail 2-illegal charges. While the white power structure is demanding that we (COMMUNITY) pay more than $1,000,000. for being black.

We can not sit by and let the white power simply place blames on SNCC(Student Nonviolent coordinating Committe) and CORE (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY) for rightful assembly to protest racial injustices of poor people within this country-U.S.A.

We are asking people to understand the urgency of the situation and to do the following: A-Send telegrams: Alderman Ralph Metcalf 3rd. ward at 45 east 47th Street.

2-State Senate of Richard New House, 116 W. Washington

3-Senator Charles Percy- U.S. Senate Office Building

4-Presidental Candidate--Dick Gregory-1451 East 55 Street

B Send money to Community Bail Bond fund at -306 East 43 St.

C--Further information contact SNCC 306 East 43 St. 373-9025

Remember THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN ATLANTIC City New Jersey In 1964 MFDP

REMEMBER The Republican Party at COW PLACE in 1964

T. C. B.

REV AT THE WALL

"THE WALL"

....Located at 43rd Street & Langley Avenue..

DEPICTS, artistically, the BLACK GIANTS who have contributed so valiantly , in the past and in the present, to the historical Travail and Triumphs of the Black Man's search for Identity, Recognition and the Acquisition of Power......"The Wall " symbolizes the heart-aches of yesterday -- the stark realities of today ---- the anticipations of tomorrow.....

" The Wall " evolved out of the artistic consciousness of concerned Black Artists who have expressed and brought into being a thing of Beauty for the people - in the midst of squalor, deprivation and human indignation... It is an *AWAKENING!* It is a *THING!*



FACT SHEET

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th --- An 18 yr. old girl who resided within the community of Grand Boulevard was beaten by a policeman. This brutal assault resulted in hospitalization for this young lady.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th --- A HEARING took place, whereby a $1,000.00 was posted and set for the young lady, with charges of: Interference With Law Enforcement Procedures & Resisting Arrest.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th ---- A group of students of Forrestville High School, along with other concerned persons, assembled at " THE WALL " to protest the beating of the 18 year old youth and to protest the presence of police on the school grounds - as well as many other grievances and inequities that exist at the Forrestville School complex......... Police Officers arrived and ordered the group to disperse....... The group dispersed and re-grouped near Forrestville School.... Again, the police ordered the group to disperse...... Failing to do so, the officers began firing into the air, at first,--- and then, into the crowd. COMPLETE CHAOS was the result of this action! Students, teachers and persons who resided in the area were soon caught up in the melee as RIOT SQUADS arrived and began to exert "extraordinary" force to quell the UPRISING or REVOLT! The entire area was cordoned off and massive arrests began.

FACT SHEET, CONT'D

All throughout the long night of Thursday, Sept. 14th and into the morning hours of Friday, September 15th, persons who were arrested were brought before the MORNING MAGISTRATE at the 11th STREET POLICE STATION (1st District). Here, BAIL BONDS were affixed -- without benefit of Counsel or any form of legal advice, except the brief precaution of the Magistrate that they (the Accused) had the right to remain silent or to request the right to Counsel.........

BAIL BONDS WERE SET IN AMOUNTS RANGING FROM $10,000 to $50,000.00.

All Juveniles were taken to AUDY HOME (ages 11 - 16 yrs.). All adults (17 yrs. and older) were taken to 26th & CALIFORNIA.

An AD - HOC COMMITTEE, composed of leaders and members of many civic, social and religious groups, was hastily formed. A method of approaching the grim task was discussed and plans for immediate action were put into effect. A committee was assigned the task of securing as many lawyers as possible to represent the arrested persons (TOTAL NUMBER OF THOSE ARRESTED NOW ESTIMATED TO BE 74). This battery of attorneys would begin legal proceedings, do vast amount of research on similar cases and attempt to lift the case(s) to the highest level of social consciousness and constitutionality.

A DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE was assigned the task of bringing about complete community awareness around the issue.

A FUND-RAISING COMMITTEE was assigned the task of setting up rapid but effective programs to obtain funds that will be used for the released of persons arrested as rapidly as the bonds can be reduced to a certain level by the attorneys.

This AD - HOC COMMITTEE calls upon every member of the community to come to the aid of these persons who have been arrested. It will take the concerted effort of ALL facets of the community to bring about some justice for the ludicrous incident that began at " THE WALL ". What happens to one of a community, happens to ALL of a community. Please contact ______________________ for information as to how YOU can become involved with this issue.



SELF DETERMINITION

The uprising in the black ghettoes in Detroit is an indication that

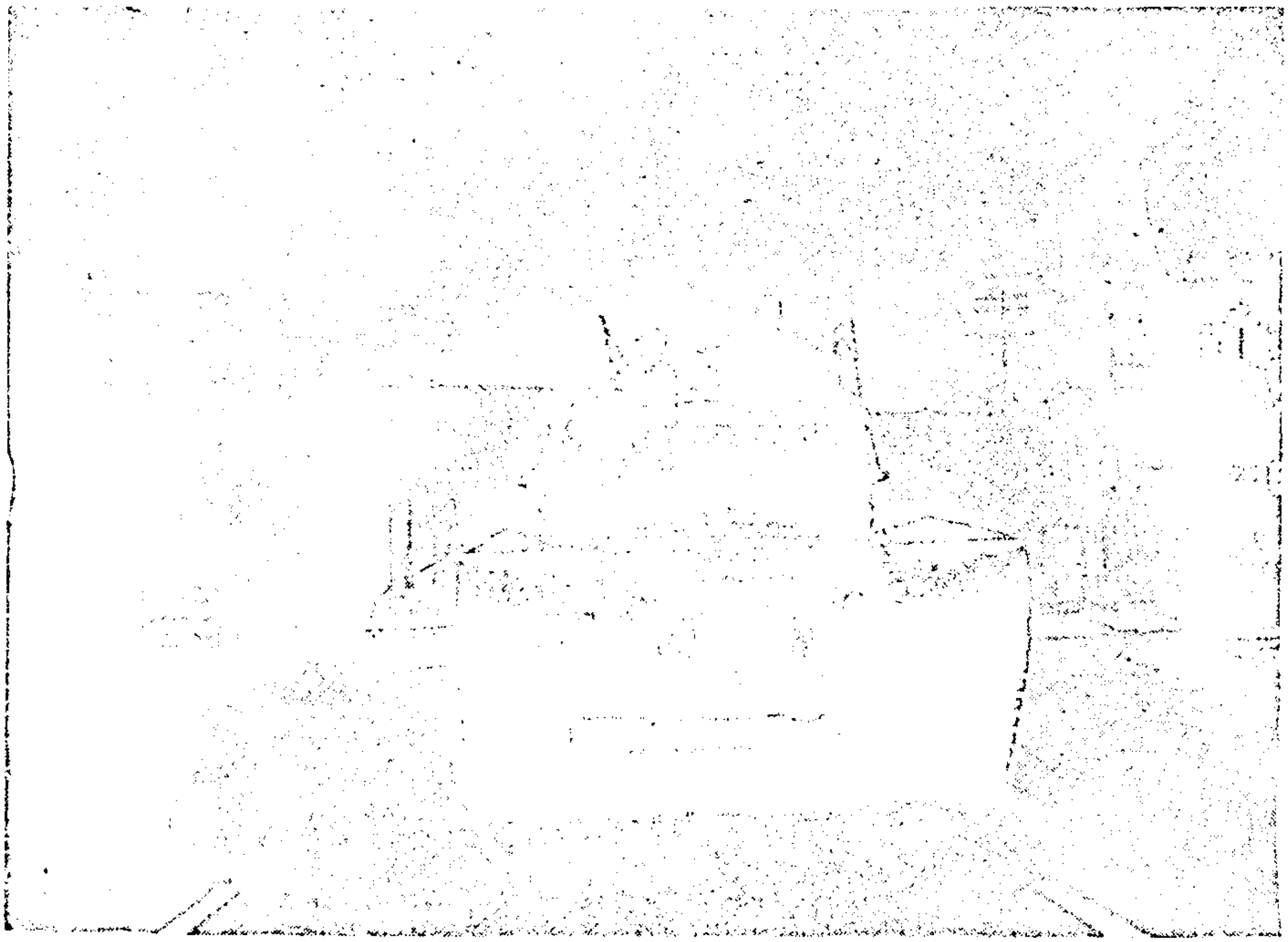
the blacks are ready to do more than complain and protest. They are ready to act in expression of their discontent with the system under which they are living (this is the phase of armed uprising).

The oppressed Afro-Americans are taking to the streets because they are tired of living with rats and roaches (the Big Lie in the American Dream). They are tired of tanks and guns. So-called Negroes in office are no big thing—the Black Leaders are usually more white than the whites. The true threat to the power structure is that the people are becoming more conscious of their role.

We are for the National Liberation...

AND WE WILL WIN

JOIN THE ARMY

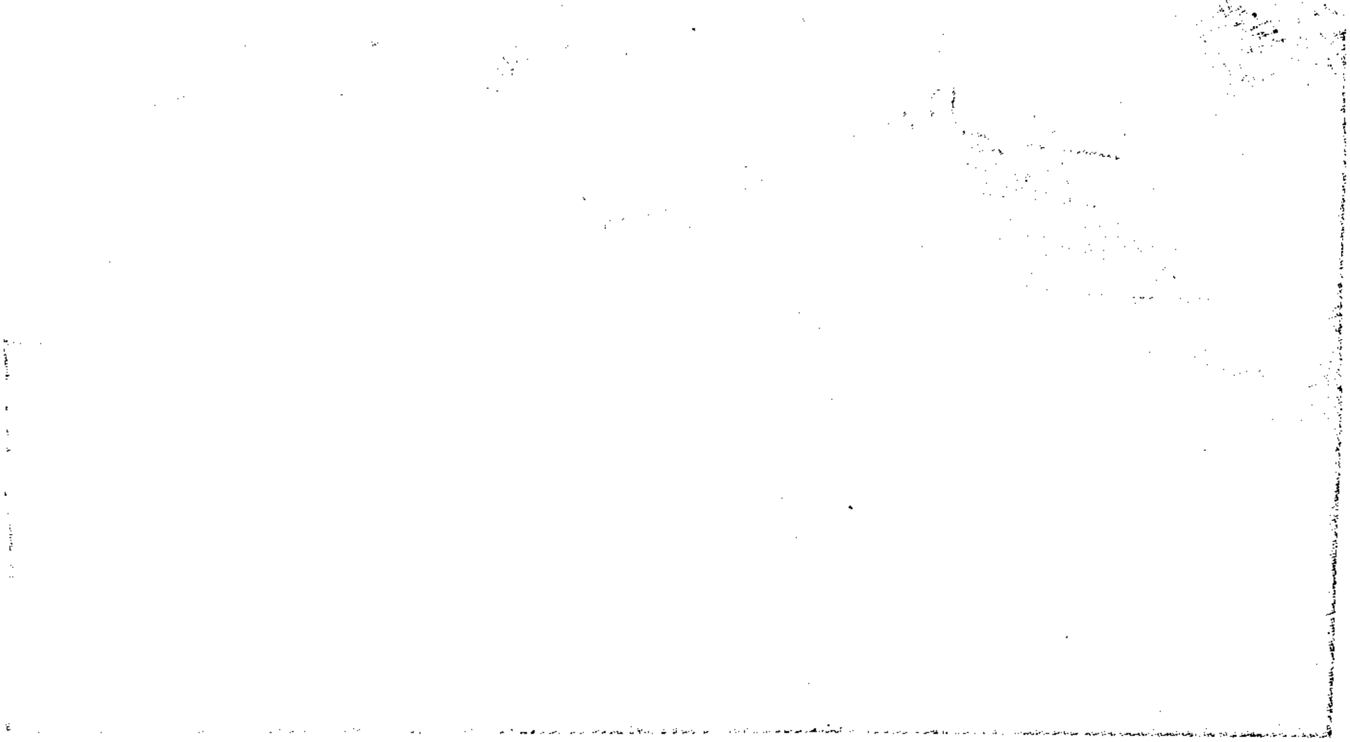


KILL BLACK MEN IN DETROIT..........

KILL VIETCONG IN VIETNAM.................

KILL THE POOR AND OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD. KILL FOR THE RICH MEN.

KILL



The dead pile up

This shows the continued senselessness of the Vietnam War. All of these sacrifices being made for nothing because the greedy politicians in Washington hate to lose out on the heavy profits that a war brings in. Don't let these madmen that think they know all the answers destroy your life by telling the " big lie" about preserving democracy.

HELL [illegible] ONT GO!



Uncl Sam want YOU nigger

Become a member of the world's highest paid black mercenary army!

Support White Power — travel to Viet Nam, you might get a medal!

Fight for Freedom . . . (in Viet Nam)

Receive valuable training in the skills of killing off other oppressed people!

(Die Nigger Die — you can't die fast enough in the ghettos.)

So run to your nearest recruiting chamber!

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

MORE BLACKS DEAD THAN WHITES!

THIS IS TRAGIC AND NEVER SHOULD BE!

WHEN THE STORM TROOPERS ARRIVE WHAT WILL YOU DO?

ARM YOURSELVES NOW!

REMEMBER

AMERICA IS THE BLACKMAN'S BATTLEGROUN[D]

ARM AND —

UNITE OR PERISH!

YOUNG AFRO-AMERICANS FOR DEFENSE OF BLACKS

SNCC

HELP GET

RAP BROWN

Out of Jail

Rally Sunday, Aug 27 Time 2:00 PM
4/3 Langley

43rd ST & Langley

Rally

Sunday - Aug 27th

2:00 P.M.

— Speakers —

Lincoln Lynch — CORE

Fannie Lou Hammer —
miss. Freedom Party

Yaree Ameer - SNCC

&

Others

Black Mobilization - Come & Hear

Black Power SNCC - 373-9035

S.N.C.C 306 E 43RD ST

GEORGE WARE NATIONAL CAMPUS DIRECTOR OF S.N.C.C. HAS BEEN ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH TREASON IN NASHVILLE TENN. ON THE STATEMENT TELLING BLACK PEOPLE TO GET FREEDOM BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY. WE MUST NOT SIT BY AND LET OUR LEADERS BE JAILED FOR NOTHING!! SO WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO?

S.N.C.C. 373-9025 PEOPLE!!

"We are making this appeal in the city of Detroit, the state of Michigan, where General Motors has its main plants. While we are aware there are other United States companies operating in South Africa, we believe by calling for a selective boycott of 1968 General Motors cars we may in some small manner assist the struggle for the armed liberation of South Africa. We hope by this action to pressure the United States capitalists to withdraw their investments before we see the sorry sight of the United States government sending troops, some of whom will be Negroes, to support the white racist regime in South Africa and to protect the white American citizens and their dollars."

6. Remember that the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid is an indivisible struggle. Armed revolutionary action is occurring throughout Southern Africa--Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. This issue will soon be brought before the Securcity Council of the United Nations and even the General Assembly. Do not stand aloof from the debates. Dress in your national African dress, go to the United Nations, hear and participate in the discussions Too long we as Africans in the United States have failed to show solidairty with our African brothers on the continent. We the Overseas Africans must realize that we can do something and our presence at the United Nations is an expression of solidarity which is important for the morale of the brothers fighting the guerrilla war in Southern Africa.

6. If you are in school, stay there and learn industrial skills that are needed in African countries and will be needed once the liberation of Southern Africa has been accomplished. If you are out of school, get back in and learn the sciences, learn engineering, learn medicine. Africa needs technical help and we must use this white man's schools to help our brothers in Africa, when they ask for us. We must be prepared. There is some meaning to our lives when we realize that we can today go back to Africa.

7. Support Snick. Send contributions to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., Room 803. SNCC has voted to help the liberation struggle and it is going to help directly the liberation struggles occurring in all parts of Southern Africa. But SNCC has been under intense pressure and the whites in this country are trying to destroy it. They are going to even try harder now that we are actively supporting the liberations movements in Southern Africa.

SNICK MUST NOT FALL. Send some money today! Also, we must support CORE.

8. Prepare yourself psychologically for the day when we may all have to go fight in South Africa, for the apartheid system is so vicious--and is backed by all the Western Powers, especially the United States--that those of us who have been trained to fight in Vietnam, for example, and do not want to fight and live in this country may very soon have to form a BLACK INTERNATION AND RETURN TO AFRICA TO FIGHT OR DIE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY. AFRICA IS OUR HOME.

ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100 Fifth Avenue, #803
New York, New York 10011 YU 9-1313

August 28, 1967.

A MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN H. RAP BROWN.

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Black communities throughout tthe United States:

Our brothers and sisters in South Africa have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against the facist, illegal white governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. In Rhodesia some 250,000 whites are supressing the rights of 4 million blacks. In Soth Africa for over fifty years some 2 million whites have brutally supressed the right of self-determination of the african majority. But the revolutionary armed struggle has begun and we shall win.

The hour has come when we must support our blood brothers. We cannot sit back and wait until the United States has sent troops to Rhodesia and South Africa. Already in South Africa it is the heavy investment of the United States' capitalists that makes this regime stay in power.

YOU MUST HELP!

YOU MUST HELP NOW!

WE CANNOT WAIT!

WHAT YOU MUST DO -

1. Educate yourself about the involvement of the United States and other Western Powers in helping to maintain racism colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Organise yourfelves as a Committee of One to educate yourneighbours about the nature of the struggle and what they must do now to help the armed struggle in South Africa. Brothers, we cannot wait, for the struggle will be long and bitter and we must begin to help now.

2. Collect and send money immediately to: Oliver Tambo, President, African National Congress, P.O.Box 2239, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. You must send money quickly.

3. Collect and send medical supplies to President Tambo at the same address. Do it now!

4. On August 27th, 1967, we sent a letter to Oliver Tambo pledging our moral support and other help as the liberation movements ask fo it.

In our letter we stated that: "In the United States we are this day, Sunday, 27th August, 1967, calling on black people not to buy new General Motors cars for the year 1968. We are fully aware that General Motors is a heavy investor in South Africa and the profits from exploited labour of our brothers in South Africa makes this company even richer.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100 Fifth Avenue, Room 8
New York, N.Y. 10011 .9-1313

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 27, 1967

The following open telegram has been sent to His Excellency Houphouet Boigny, President of the Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occassion of his current visit to the United States:

His Excellency Houphouet Boigny
President
Republic of Ivory Coast

46 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. President:

We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people to release Mr. Lansana Beavogui and Mr. Achkar Marof, two officials of the Guinean government detained by you while they were enroute from the United Nations.

Our brothers in South Africa have just recently launched an armed struggle for their liberation. South African white authorities are brutally repressing black people and are determined to quash the legitimate right of Africans to liberate themselves from the vicious system of apartheid -- by whatever means necessary.

Mr. Achkar Marof, as Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, has played a valuable role in documenting and exposing the atrocities of apartheid. His detention by your government severely handicapped the Seminar on Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism in Southern Africa which was recently held in Kitwe, Zambia. His further detention in light of the armed revolutionary struggle now occurring in South Africa and Rhodesia is indeed a setback to the African Liberation movement and a bonus for the forces of colonialism and apartheid to which your government has declared itself in opposition.

Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we Afro-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and brought against their will to the United States. We have been resisting this forced slavery ever since we were captured on the shores of Africa. The recent rebellions in Newark and Detroit are just the latest in a long line of slave revolts and resistance to the rupture from our culture and our degrading condition in the United States. We want you to know, Sir, that many of us -- we the Overseas Africans -- are becoming more and more conscious of our responsibilities to our African brothers as they are becoming more aware of their responsibilities to us. Therefore, Sir, we cannot sit idly by while people who represent the United Nations are held in detention while travelling enroute to their home country.

Also, Mr. President, we must tell you that the Guinean delegation and especially Mr. Marof have always championed the cause of the African Americans. Therefore his imprisonment is a detriment to our struggle as well as to the African liberation movement.

Since we believe, Mr. President, that you too realize that the struggle against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid is an indivisible struggle and what affects you in Africa affects us Africans in the United States, we are confident that you will release the Guinean delegation and hear our appeal to allow these men to return to the just fight against Racism and Colonialism and Apartheid.

ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE

Signed: James Baldwin
Harry Belafonte
Julian Bond
H. Rapp Brown
Stokely Carmichael

Ralph Featherstone
James Forman
Floyd McKissick
Howard Moore, Jr.

For further information, contact: International Affairs Commission, SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N.Y. (212) YU.9-1313.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKS, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 JULY - AUGUST 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation
of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INDIVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM, APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Position Paper of (SNICK)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the sjambok. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that : "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with

its own views. Theref e, although our name indicates e original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettoes of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of any American nationals, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Vietnam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

> . The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:
>
> We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, jus as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for th

freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

> We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.
>
> We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African

phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans — and their allies — are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "baas" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these prectices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked — without their consent — to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well

... government have tried to undermine, contain, or simply destroy the organization. Num... incidents might be cited, b... very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 487 students (some of whom they also beat) -- with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A.. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer

its moral support to all Africans engaged in liberation struggles. We also [illegible] to assert that we consider ourselves and other black people [illegible] the United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the American front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We [illegible] their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements [illegible] regard to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has never accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired [illegible] the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC

staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the

future. There are those who will hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those — among them, we of SNCC — who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casulties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?" Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting

the aims, aspirations, and techniques — including armed struggle — of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect and the constant omission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:

1.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Question of the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."

5.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 on the question of South West Africa.

7.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8.

We especially encourage and recommend that all member ~~states and non-governmental~~ organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence "the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

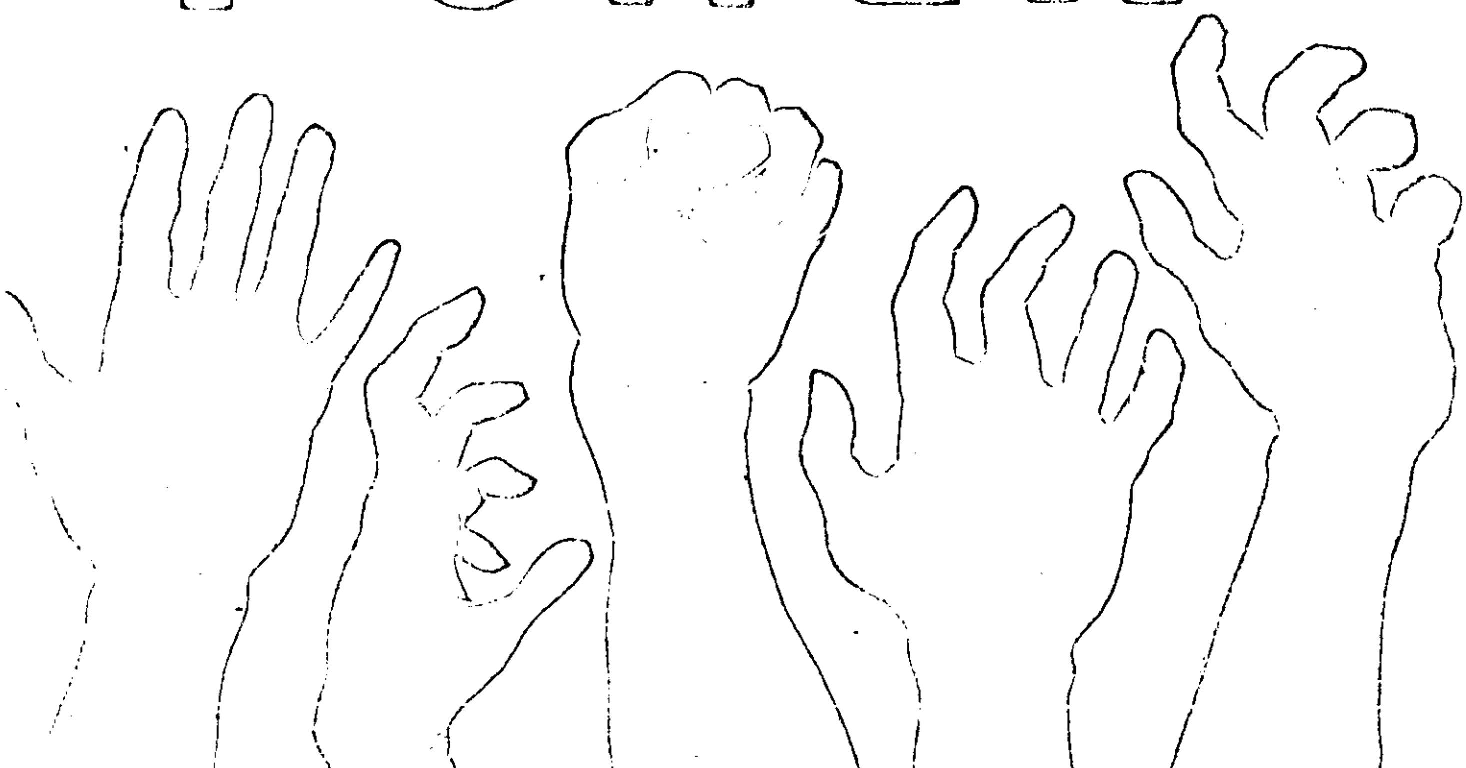
9.

We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGO and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10.

We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

WE WANT BLACK POWER



BLACK MEN IN AMERICA ARE A CAPTIVE PEOPLE

The black man in America is in a perpetual state of slavery no matter what the white mans propaganda tells us. The black man in America is exploited and oppressed the same as his black brothers are all over the face of the earth by the same white man. We will never be free until we are all free and that means all black oppressed people all over the earth. We are not alone in this fight, we are a part of the struggle for self-determination of all black men everywhere. We here in America must unite ourselves to be ready to help our brothers elsewhere. We must first gain BLACK POWER here in America. Living inside the camp of the leaders of the enemy forces, it is our duty to our Brothers to revolt against the system and create our own system so that we can live as MEN. We must take over the political and economic systems where we are in the majority in the heart of every major city in this country as well as many of the rural areas. We must create our own black culture to erase the lies the white man has fed our minds from the day we were born.

THE BLACK MAN IN THE GHETTO WILL LEAD THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The black Brother in the ghetto will lead the Black Power Movement and make the changes that are necessary for its success. The black man in the ghetto has one big advantage that the bourgeois Negro does not have despite his 'superior' education. He is already living outside of the value system white society imposes on all black Americans. He has to look at things from another direction in order to survive. He is ready. He received his training in the streets, in the jails, from the ADC check his mother did not receive on time and the head-beatings he got from the cop on the corner. Once he makes that first important discovery about the great pride you feel inside as a BLACK MAN and the great heritage of the mother country, Africa, there is no stopping him from dedicating himself to fight the white mans system. This is why the Black Power Movement is a true revolutionary movement with the power to change mens minds and unmask the tricks the white man has used to keep black men enslaved in modern society.

THE BOURGEOIS NEGRO CANNOT BE A PART OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The bourgeois Negro has been force-fed the white mans propaganda and has lived too long in the half-world between white and phony black bourgeois society. He cannot think for himself because he is a shell of a man full of contradictions he cannot resolve. He is not to be trusted under any circumstances until he has proved himself to be 'cured.' There are a minute handfull of these 'cured' bourgeois Negroes in the Black Power Movement and they are most valuable but they must not be allowed to take control. They are aware intellectually but under stress will react emotionally to the pressures of white society in the same way a white 'liberal' will expose an unconscious prejudice that he did not even realize he possessed.

Malcolm X was the first black man from the ghetto in America to make a real attempt to get the white mans fist off the black mans balls. He recognized the true dignity of man - without the white society prejudices about status, education and background that we all must purge from our minds. Even today, in the Black Power Movement itself we find Brothers who look down on another Brother because of the conditions that life has imposed upon him. The most beautiful thing that Malcolm X taught us is that once a black man discovers for himself a pride in his blackness, he can throw off the shackles of mental slavery and become a MAN in the truest sense of the word. We must move on from the point our Great Black Prince had reached.

WE MUST BECOME LEADERS FOR OURSELVES

We must not get hung-up in the bag of having one great leader who we depend upon to make decisions. This makes the Movement too vunerable to those forces the white man uses to keep us enslaved, such as the draft, murder, prison or character assassination. We have to all learn to become leaders for ourselves and remove <u>all</u> white values from our minds. When we see a Brother using a white value through error it is our duty to the Movement to point it out to him. We must thank our Brothers who show us our own errors. We must discipline ourselves so that if necessary, we can leave family and friends on a moments notice, maybe forever, and know our Brothers have pledged themselves to protect the family we have left behind. As a part of our education, we must travel to other cities and make contacts with the Brothers in all the ghettos of America so that when the time is right we can unite as one under the banner of BLACK POWER.

LEARNING TO THINK BLACK AND REMOVE WHITE THINGS FROM OUR MINDS.

We have got to begin to say and understand with complete assuredness what black is. Black is an inner pride that the white mans language hampers us from expressing. Black is being a complete fanatic, who white society considers insane. We have to learn that black is so much better than belonging to the white race with the blood of millions dripping from their hands that it goes far beyond any prejudice or resentment. We must fill ourselves with hate for all white things. This is not vengence or trying to take the white oppressors place to become new black oppressors but is a oneness with a world-wide black brotherhood. We must regain respect for the lost religion of our fathers, the spirits of the black earth of Africa. The white man has so poisoned our minds that if a Brother told you he practiced Voodo you would roll around on the floor laughing at how stupid and superstitious he was. We have to learn to roll around on the floor laughing at the black man who says he worships the white Jesus. He is truly sick. We must create our own language for these things

that the white m... ...i... not understand becau... .. Black Culture exists and it is not wood-carvings or native dancing it is the black strength inside of true men.

IDEAS ON PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER

We must infiltrate all government agencies. This will not be hard because black clerks work in all agencies in poor paying jobs and have a natural resentment of the white men who run these jobs. People must be assigned to seek out these dissatisfied black men and women and put pressure on them to give us the information we need. Any man in over-alls, carrying a tool box, can enter a building if he looks like he knows what he is doing. Modern America depends on many complex systems such as electricity, water, gas, sewerage and transportation and all are vunerable. Much of the government is run by computers that must operate in airconditioning. Cut off the airconditioning and they cannot function. We must begin to investigate and learn all of these things so that we can use them if it becomes necessary. We cannot train an army in the local park but we can be ready for the final confrontation withthe white mans system. Remember your Brothers in South Africa and do not delude yourselves that it could not happen here. We must copy the white mans biggest trick, diversion, (Hitler taught them that) and inflitrate all civil rights groups, keep them in confusion so they will be nutralized and cannot be used as a tool of the white power structure. The civil rights, integrationist movement says to the white man, "If you please, Sir, let us, the 10% minority of America have our rights. See how nice and nonviolent we are?" This is why SNCC calls itself a Human Rights Organization. We believe that we belong to the 90% majority of the people on earth that the white man oppresses and that we should not beg the white man for anything. We want what belongs to us as human beings and we intend to get it through BLACK POWER.

HOW TO DEAL WITH BLACK TRAITORS

Uncle Tom is too kind of a word. What we have are black traitors, quisslings, collaborators, sell-outs, white Negroes. We have to expose these people for once and for all for what they are and place them on the side of the oppressor where they belong. Their black skin is a lie and their guilt the shame of all black men. We must ostracize them and if necessary exterminate them. We must stop fighting a 'fair-game.' We must do whatever is necessary to win BLACK POWER. We have to hate and disrupt and destroy and blackmail and lie and steal and become blood-brothers like the Mau-Mau. We must eliminate or render inefective all traitors. We must make them fear to stand up like puppets for the white men, and we must make the world understand that these so-called men do not represent us or even belong to the same black race because they sold out their birthright for a mess of white society pottage. Let them choke on it.

PITFALLS TO AVOID ON THE PATH TO BLACK POWER

We must learn how close America and Russia are politically. The biggest lie in the world is the cold war. Money runs this world and it is controlled completely by the white man. Russia and America run the two biggest money systems in the world and they intend to keep it under their control under any circumstances. Thus, we cannot expect any help from Communism or any other 'ism.' We must seek out poor peoples movements in South America, Africa and Asia and make our alliances with them. We must not be fooled into thinking that there is a ready-made doctrine that will solve all our problems. There are only white mans doctrines and they will never work for us. We have to work out our own systems and doctrines and culture.

WHY PROPAGANDA IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL

The one thing that the white mans system cannot stand is the TRUTH because his system is all based upon lies. There is no such thing as 'justice' for a black man in America. The white man controls *everything* that is said in every book, newspaper, magazine, TV and radio broadcast. Even the textbooks used in the schools and the bible that is read in the churchs are designed to maintain the system for the white man. Each and every one of us is forced to listen to the white mans propaganda every day of our lives. The political system, economic system, military system, educational system, religious system and anything else you name is used to preserve the status quo of white America getting fatter and fatter while the black man gets more and more hungry. We must spend our time telling our Brothers the truth. We must tell them that any black woman who wears a diamond in her finger is wearing the blood of her Brothers and Sisters in slavery in South Africa where one out of every three black babies die before the age of one, from starvation, to make the white man rich. We must stop wearing the symbols of slavery on our fingers. We must stop going to other countries to exterminate our Brothers and Sisters for the white mans greed. We must ask our Brothers which side are they on? Once you know the truth for yourself it is your duty to dedicate your life to recruiting your Brothers and to counteract the white mans propaganda. We must disrupt the white mans system to create our own. We must publish newspapers and get radio stations. Black Unity is strength - lets use it now to get BLACK POWER.

SNCC 4165 S. Ellis Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60653 924-6781

VII. CHARACTERIZATIONS

Characterizations of the following individuals, publications, and organizations were obtained from [redacted] except where otherwise noted.

ACT

ACT is a militantly orientated civil rights group, principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located at 413 East Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, on the near south side. Individuals who are affiliated with ACT have associated with "Black Power" groups in Chicago.

ACT leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, a male, Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS ANDREWS, West Side Chairman of ACT, is a male, Negro, Black Power advocate.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The Chicago Chapter of CORE is a loosely organized group suffering from internal dissension and dwindling membership. Many members support the "Black Power" philosophy.

The leader of CORE is ROBERT LUCAS.

Coordinating Council For Black Power (CCBP)

The CCBP is a loose amalgamation of militantly orientated civil rights groups organized around the concept of "Black Power". The CCBP has no office or formal organization. Those individuals who participate in its meetings are affiliated with other local civil rights type groups.

Afro-American Students Association (AASA)

The AASA is a militantly orientated association of high school and college age individuals organized around the concept of "Black Power".

The leader of AASA is JAMES HARVEY, a male, Negro, age 21, a student at Wilson Junior College, Chicago. He reportedly teaches violence and civil disobedience as a means of advancing the Negro cause.

Latin-American Defense Organization (LADO)

LADO has its headquarters at 1306 North Western Avenue, Chicago, and was formed in the summer of 1966 to help Chicago residents of Latin American descent. It is considered the most active and militant community group within the Puerto Rican community.

The chairman is OBED LOPEZ, a male, Mexican, who entered the United States in February, 1957, and is still in the United States in an alien status. He was arrested by the Chicago Police Department in August of 1966, in response to a call "making fire bombs". LOPEZ was found on the scene with a gallon glass container of gasoline. He was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest which were subsequently dismissed. LOPEZ is former chairman of the now defunct Chicago Branch of Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC).

Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO)

The KOCO is a local community civil rights organization whose primary purpose is to integrate the area in a peaceful manner. It does not advocate a militant, violent approach to the solution of Negroes' problems.

"Militant"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

"Muhammad Speaks"

The "Muhammad Speaks" is a weekly newspaper published by Muhammad's Mosque Number 2, 634 East 79th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI)

The OCCI office is located at 3939 South Drexel, Chicago. It is a militant civil rights organization whose purpose is to protest local issues such as alleged police brutality, lack of educational facilities and recreational facilities on Chicago's south side.

The leader is FRANK DITTO, a male, Negro, former taxi driver, who has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

Protectorights, Protect Our Rights or Protector Rights (POR)

The "POR" is a militant, loosely organized civil rights organization with office located at 4500 South Greenwood, Chicago, that advocates "Black Power" as a solution to Negroes' problems.

A leader of "POR" was CARL TUNSTALL, a male, Negro, who was an unsuccessful candidate for alderman in Chicago's 4th Ward in January, 1967.

EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD

CRAWFORD is the self-proclaimed leader of the DDJ in Chicago. He is a male, Negro, age 45, self-employed carpenter, who is known to be in possession of firearms and is considered possibly dangerous.

EUGENE TOURNOUR

As of November, 1966, EUGENE TOURNOUR was a curre[illegible] member of the CP of Illinois.

[redacted] 11/16/66)

MICHAEL WRIGHT

MICHAEL WRIGHT, a male, Negro, who recently came to Chicago from the south, was co-chairman of a SNCC meeting held December 16, 1966, at 4165 South Ellis, Chicago.

[redacted] 12/19/66)

On May 5, 1967, SA [redacted] United Stat[illegible] Customs, Chicago, Illinois, supra, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files concerning MICHAEL WRIGHT:

January 3, 1967

Appendix Report No. 1: Activities of M. Wright in the Chicago area.

--In this appendix to Chicago SNCC's report I shall state, in general, my reasons for coming to and working in the Chicago area.--

As of Nov. 15, 1966 I made my intentions of coming to the Chicago area to research for the Campus Traveling Dept. of SNCC to Mr. George Ware and Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson; Mr. Ware by word of mouth, and Mrs. Robinson by letter. My ETA in Chicago was set for the first of December, 1966, after several arrangements for my stay here were planned and confirmed.

Following are the reasons for my work in the Chicago area: (1) to do research that would better prepare Campus Travelers for work on Black campuses on a nation-wide scale, (2) to do feasibility observations on an extention of the CTP into the greater Midwestern area, (3) to establish Midwestern contacts for the CTP, (4) to aid in the general office work of Chicago SNCC (which was a part of the agreement made in terms of my residing in the same), and (5) categorized as 'personal'.

I had planned to do research in five general areas for the Campus Traveling Dept., and, along with my research, some writing which should be of value to the CTP in general and SNCC staff also. The ultimate aim of my research was to formulate a series of lectures (or, as you may-- work-shop briefs) aimed at Black college students. Four of these lectures would hinge around the major social phenomena confronting Black students today (Black history, the social realities of racism, the social realities of Moral Debasement, and the social realities of Class-Caste struggle) and the fifth being a treatise on SNCC and its dialectic.

Thus far the material for the paper on Black history has been gathered and and fairly well compiled, the material for the paper on Class-Caste struggle (as such) has been gathered and has yet to be compiled. The materials concerning the social realities of racism are mostly in essay form (as opposed to documentary) and in faily well compiled. The work on the social realities of Moral Debasement has barely been touched, for this being intrinsically the most complex of the five, would have required the most work and thus, an unequal distribution of time, of which I had little to begin with. Finally, the paper on SNCC for all practical intents is complete.

As far as the observations for an extention of the CTP to the Midwest this is all that is to be said: "In the Chicago area alone there are more Black people than in the entire state of Mississippi and in the Midwest area there are more Black collegians than in all of the southern Black campuses combined." These facts that can be found in any reliable almanac or a Census Dept. Report dictate the need!

I have thus far established dozens of very good Midwestern contacts, both on and off campus. This being done through meeting people at various functions and through speaking engagements at different colleges. A complete list will be submitted to the CTD at some later date.

A general description of the work that has gone on in the past month in the Chicago area, in which I have aided to one degree or another (mostly another), is outlined in another section of this report.

I do not chose to elaborate on my personal work in the Chicago area at this time, for to do so would tend to incrimi...

Michael Wright, SNCC
Campus Traveling Dept.

VIII. DEMONSTRATION

On September 15, 1967, [redacted] advised that since the beginning of the school year on September 7, 1967, some of the students attending Forrestville High School, 4401 South St. Lawrence, Chicago, have been "bussed in" from outside neighborhoods to attend the high school. There has been friction between these students and students from the local neighborhood. Forrestville has an all Negro student body and "bussed in" students are all Negro. The Second District has been requested by school authorities to furnish police to "keep the peace" in Forrestville High School.

On September 14, 1967, SNCC, planned a meeting at 43rd and Langley, about a block east of Forrestville High School, to begin at noon. This meeting was to protest the treatment received by a Negro girl, CORINNE ROBY, age 18, from police officers on September 11, 1967. Reportedly, on September 11, 1967, police officers questioned a number of Negro youths near 44th Street and Cottage Grove, about two blocks from Forrestville High School. A scuffle ensued during the questioning and one of the youths attempted to strike one of the officers. CORINNE ROBY was standing in the area supposedly waiting for a ride from a boy friend. She is supposed to have attempted to cross the street against police orders and was pushed down by one of the officers.

The SNCC meeting occurred as planned with the speakers berating the Chicago Police Department for police brutality in the CORINNE ROBY incident. Leaflets were passed out which read:

"Police Tom squad beat and kicked black brothers and sisters at Forrestville. Meet at the wall, 4600 South Langley at 12:00 Noon. Don't go to school."

As a result of speeches made at the meeting, students from Forrestville proceeded south on Langley and St. Lawrence, throwing bricks and rocks at cars and police along the way.

Three policemen and one teacher from Forrestville sustained injuries from missiles and were treated at local hospitals. Several police cars were damaged by bricks and rocks.

At the height of the disturbance approximately 300 people were in the vicinity of 43rd and Langley. An unknown sniper fired two shots from a building at 4302 South Langley. The sniper was not located.

As a result of the disturbance 54 people were arrested of which approximately 16 were juveniles.

1

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nation-wide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

1 APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1967, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1967, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1 **APPENDIX**

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

1 APPENDIX

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

1 APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam(NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Chicago, Illinois
December 6, 1967

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CHICAGO	ATLANTA	[illegible]	12/6/67 - 4/10/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
		SA [redacted]		bab

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [redacted], dated 12/6/67.

\- P -

LEADS

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago Branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

\- A -
COVER PAGE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED | ACQUITTALS | CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR YES NO; PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS YES NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

FOR COPIES SEE COVER PAGE B.

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-9-5-1

15 APR 22 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report | Notations

54 MAY 7 1968

(10) - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - Chicago (100-40342)

ADMINISTRATIVE

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
	Characterization of ISHMAEL FLORY.
	Instant report.
	Characterization of FRED HAMPTON.

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-1622
[redacted]	100-40342-1673
[redacted]	100-40342-1692
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of CASSIUS CLAY.
[redacted]	100-40342-1810
[redacted]	100-40342-1849

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-40342-1675
[redacted]	157-1297-429

This report is classified confidential to protect sources [redacted] and [redacted] since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

[redacted] CAROL LEE REDMOND and MONROE SHARP are now out of the country. [redacted]

- E* -

COVER PAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CHICAGO
Date:

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Chicago Branch of SNCC office at 306 E. 43rd Street closed in 1/68, and SNCC legally evicted 3/13/68. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC operated from residence at 11400 S. Vincennes, Chicago. SNCC activities since 12/6/67 have consisted of BROWN's speeches in Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis and demonstration at Valparaiso, Indiana. He has also travelled to Atlanta, Georgia, Bloomington, Indiana, New York and Washington, D.C. STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speeches in Chicago area, 3/24-26/68 set forth. SNCC leaflets and papers attached.

\- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification

DETAILS:

A characterization of the following organizations mentioned in this report are in the appendix section:

Socialist Workers Party (SWP),
Chicago Branch

SWP, Cleveland Branch

Friday Night Socialist Forum,
Also Known As
Militant Labor Forum

Friday Night Forum,
Also Known As
Friday Night Socialist Forum and
Formerly Known As
Twin Cities Labor Forum

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Nation of Islam (NOI)
Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc. (DDJ)

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world-wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, with residence at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, advised that he has been evicted from the office at 306 East 43rd Street, and he would have to work "off the street corner" in the future.

2/5/68)

Available public records show that ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN was born June 5, 1948, in Chicago, Illinois. He graduated from Morgan Park High School, 1744 West Pryor Avenue, Chicago, on June 23, 1966.

JORJA ENGLISH is a Negro female approximately 30-35 years of age, a former school teacher whose husband teaches at Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. She resides at 7932 South Yale, Chicago. She is an active member of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

2/68)

CORE is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns, concern with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

1/5/68)

On March 18, 1968 advised that on March 13, 1968, an eviction notice was served on the SNCC Office at 306 East 43rd Street, which was unoccupied. As of this date SNCC owed eight months rent totaling $880.00.

stated the Chicago Branch of SNCC originally occupied this second floor office space on February 1, 1967. ISHMAEL FLORY, Leader of the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA) had previously occupied these premises. FLORY moved out and gave the office key to MONROE SHARP, the Chicago Branch of SNCC Director at that time. On May 24, 1967, MONROE SHARP turned the office key over to JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, who on that date signed a one year lease for the office space. In November, 1967, ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, paid two months' back rent of six months rent owed on the office space

ISHMAEL FLORY is a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

3/2/68)

ALBERT MONROE SHARP, former Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, male Negro, born July 3, 1940, at Chicago, Illinois and CAROL LEE REDMOND, former Secretary, white female, born January 5, 1933 in Illinois, are presently residing in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

1/29/68)

JOYCE BROWN, former Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, has left Chicago and has returned to the South.

9/28/67)

On January 29, 1968 related the following information regarding the Chicago Branch of SNCC:

The Chicago Branch of SNCC's primary function was as a fund raising organization for the National Headquarters at Atlanta. However, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Director of SNCC, appeared at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, in January, 1967, he changed the policy to an activist militant role. At this time, MONROE SHARP and CAROL LEE REDMOND, were leading the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Director and Secretary, respectively. they were replaced by JOYCE BROWN.

JOYCE BROWN was ineffective as a SNCC leader in the Chicago area. The leaders of the militant Negro groups could not tolerate a woman being in charge of a similar group and demanded that she be replaced by a man. She was eventually replaced by ROBERT BROWN.

On February 19, 1968 stated that ROBERT BROWN is presently running SNCC from his residence. estimated it has been over a month since anyone has been observed going into or leaving the SNCC office. who has considerable past experience in the legitimate civil rights organizations affairs, was of the opinion that the majority of the Negroes who previously had frequented the SNCC office were the drop-outs and dregs of the Negro society that gravitate from one hate group to another. did not believe that ROBERT BROWN had over three people that he could count on and consider as members of the local SNCC group.

To his knowledge, the SNCC office has not been occupied since the time of his investigation and he understands ROBERT BROWN is conducting his business from his residence.

stated the walls inside the SNCC office are covered with signs, clipped articles, pictures, leaflets and paintings extolling the virtues of such communist leaders as CASTRO, HO CHI MINH and MAO TZE TUNG. felt it was quite disgraceful for a Negro organization to foster such a violent anti-American attitude.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, received $900.00 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area from March 24 through 26, 1968

3/26/68)

4/2/68)

The "Chicago Defender" newspaper in its weekly edition dated January 4, 1968, carried an article on page 3 concerning an interview of ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, age 19, who resided at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago. BROWN's 1968 program for SNCC was stated as follows:

"We view the year 1968 as a crucial one as far as black liberation is concerned. The northern black ghetto must be organized and black consciousness must be solidified. SNCC's program here will center around politics, the draft, and education. SNCC will attempt to obtain 20,000 to 30,000 signatures on a petition to free H. RAP BROWN, the National SNCC Leader so he can travel."

The article continued by stating that ROBERT BROWN replaced Chicago SNCC's Director JOYCE BROWN (no relation) six weeks ago.

11/10/67)

ACT was a militantly oriented civil rights group principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located on the near south side. Individuals affiliated with ACT have associated with various "black power" groups in Chicago. ACT is now defunct. Its leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, male Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local demonstrations.

[redacted], 1/5/68)

One purpose of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's recent visit to Chicago from March 24 through 26, 1968, was to get the Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop fighting one another and join his black power movement organization.

[redacted] 3/28/68)

ROBERT SMITH, also known as YAREE AMEER, VERNON RANDOLPH, BOBBY VANCE WALTON, ROBERT VANCE WALTON and JAMES WILLIAMS is Direct Action Coordinator of the Chicago Branch of SNCC. He is a male Negro, born July 11, 1946 at Norfolk, Virginia. He served one year in the Illinois State Prison System for aggravated battery from September, 1964 to September, 1965.

III. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST AND RADICAL GROUPS

A. SWP

On November 24, 1967, ROBERT BROWN arrived at approximately 9:00 p.m., Friday night at the Militant Labor Forum, Debs Hall, 302 South Canal, Chicago, to address the approximately 45 people in attendance. BROWN apologized for being late stating he had attended a black student conference on the south side. He said people must learn that there is no room for precise planning in these times of chaos.

BROWN began his presentation by reading a poem about black brothers getting their heads beat in by white cops. He then read a 10 minute prepared speech covering the topic of "Black Power, Its Role In The International Scene." He said that in the impending Black Revolution there would be no room for personal feelings, wants or desires. The individual does not count, but only the cause and the ultimate goal.

After finishing the prepared text, BROWN spoke extemporaneously. He stated the Chicago high school riots were no accident, but were planned. He said the Waller High School students had been waiting for three weeks for the Englewood High School incident, which was the signal for them to act. Cooley Vocational High School and Crane Tech High School, were prepared to riot at the same time, but there had been a breakdown in communications. This will not occur in the next violent occurrence, which will occur shortly. BROWN said the high school tactic is designed to divert the Chicago Police Force to various parts of the City to spread their ranks thin so that SNCC can take other activity elsewhere. He commented that the stories about the high school riots because a black teacher got fired, or a black boy got injured on the north side are "bull (obscene)" and that this is the excuse put out by the "System."

BROWN indicated he could care less if a black teacher gets fired. He considers the one over which the incident occurred nothing but an "(obscene)Tom" anyway. BROWN's intention is to close every "mother (obscene)" white racist school in Chicago through rioting. He considered that the black students would be better off without a white oriented education about Western culture until SNCC can set up their own schools with their own teachers and programs. The immediate objectives for the Negro students are that they learn the techniques of demolition, sabotage and how to kill the white man, who is their only enemy.

BROWN indicated the Negro race is a violent race. They are always killing one another in the ghettos. SNCC must now teach the Negro how to turn this violence against the white man. He believes they can, and that the Negro will win because the white man is afraid of SNCC and the Negro. The Negroes know this as well as the white people.

BROWN assured the people there will be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1968. The convention people may appear to operate the affair, but he guaranteed that no white people would dare to attend the convention. The Black Revolution is here and the signal to begin the revolution is "just around the corner."

BROWN continued that he is no longer worried about shutting down the Englewood High School because "we" intend to burn it down. He doesn't worry about black people being refused admittance at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, because soon there will be no Conrad Hilton Hotel. He doesn't worry about a gasoline shortage, because every gas station in Chicago is going to be a Molotov cocktail. He indicated that the Negro doesn't need an education to win a revolution. As an example he cited Mayor Richard J. Daley as an individual who has no education and indicated BROWN's two year old child talks better than DALEY and "look where he got."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, is returning to the United States. He is being protected by five Cuban bodyguards. BROWN said FIDEL CASTRO, Premier of Cuba, has indicated that if any harm comes to CARMICHAEL, CASTRO will cause reprisals elsewhere. On his return CARMICHAEL is going to make Chicago his first speaking engagement. Chicago is scheduled to be the first SNCC target for violence.

BROWN stated SNCC's plans to thwart law enforcement include killing every "Black Tom cop" they can locate. SNCC has a complete list of these individuals and they will not escape. They intend to kill every "Tom Nigger" that does not join them on the battle line. There are to be no neutrals. Those that are not with them will be killed. This also includes white people. Those that fight along with them and take their orders will survive otherwise they will be killed. BROWN said this is no longer a local program, but an international

movement and that there are nine hundred million black people in the world waiting to turn on the white man and destroy him.

BROWN said SNCC is no longer a protest group, but is now a revolutionary movement. He indicated SNCC recently gained non-government status in the United Nations. SNCC is preparing to present the Black American case to the United Nations. If the United Nations does not take immediate action against the United States, SNCC is prepared to take over the country. They will do this eventually. At the present time, JAMES FOREMAN, former National Director of SNCC, is residing in New York and has been sending black volunteers abroad. These volunteers are being placed in a fighting or education category and are being sent particularly to African Nations to learn these tasks. The fighters are sent into jungles to become skilled killers and warfare experts. Many of them are learning this under true conditions, The others are sent to technical schools and factories. Their skills will insure that after the successful revolution a smooth transition will take place.

BROWN said that a clash with Federal troops was averted in Gary, Indiana, several weeks ago. This was only because RICHARD HATCHER won the mayoralty by ballot. If this had not occurred, "they" would have declared HATCHER Mayor and placed him in office by force if needed.

BROWN commented that old Negro leaders such as WHITNEY YOUNG and Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. must retire and let the young men assume power. If they oppose their policies they will be killed.

BROWN indicated he was aware he was giving away SNCC plans, but that the authorities couldn't do anything about them anyway. He knew who the "stool pigeons" and "Toms" are and at the appropriate time they would be killed. He presently was in the possession of rifles worth two to three thousand dollars that would be used at the appropriate time.

BROWN said the United States Government was preparing the Black Americans for genocide. He said after the Watts Riot, Negro children were sent to farms that were called recreation camps. He contended that in reality these were concentration camps, set up by the Government to determine how rapidly Black Negro youths could be confined.

[redacted] 11/30/67)
11/28/67)

On December 8, 1967, ROBERT BROWN spoke as a guest speaker at the Miltant Forum, Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, before approximately 35 people. The theme of his talk was "Segreation, Negroes may have to use violent methods to achieve objectives and a Socialist United States system is the only salvation for Negroes."

[redacted] 12/12/67)

On January 6, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke before approximately 40 people at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum meeting held at 704 Hennepin Avenue. Room 240, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[redacted] 1/8/68)

B. SDS

ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC was guest speaker at an anti-draft rally held at the Epiphany Episcopal Church, Ashland and Adams Street, Chicago, on January 8, 1968, sponsored by SDS and the Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE). BROWN advocated using dynamite to bomb the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago later this year; bombing of oil refineries specifically mentioning Standard Oil but not service stations because Soul Brothers might be killed. BROWN did not know how the white people feel about the war but stated all Negroes are very serious about protesting the illegal war in Vietnam. BROWN shouted that there would be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

[redacted] 1/12/68)

IV. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN's Speeches

On December 5, 1967, BROWN was a guest speaker at Bogan City College, 3939 West 79th Street, Chicago. He was among six "Great Debate" speakers who spoke to the students at the college. BROWN stated, "Niggers are not going to be kept in place much longer. He added that there must be a redistribution of private property in the United States, even if there is a revolution needed to accomplish this. BROWN further stated that if Negroes don't achieve their rightful share of products from industries, cities must burn."

[redacted] 12/7/67)

On January 24, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke to an audience of approximately 45 Negroes, both adults and teenagers, of the local neighborhood at the Field House in Washington Park, Chicago, Illinois. BROWN stated that the Negro must obtain his freedom and black power at any cost. If any people get in his way, either black or white, he would get rid of them in one way or another. The black revolution is coming and nothing the white man can do will stop it. He is out for a full scale revolution. To him there is no such thing as integration.

Concerning the 1968 Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago, BROWN assured those present that it would not take place. He said that his group SNCC does not have any particular strategy planned and probably will not have any until a week or so before the convention is held. He described the convention as a hoax, not for the black man, only to perpetuate the white power structure. He commented to the effect that this Government is oppressing all black people and is fighting the colored people all over the world. He discredited the Government, stating he has no country or government and has nothing to lose.

[redacted] 1/25/68)

On March 22, 1968 [redacted] advised that approximately 200 people attended a fund raising affair for H. RAP BROWN, National Director of SNCC at the Christ Methodist Church, 6401 South Sangamon, Chicago, on March 21, 1968. The meeting lasted from 8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The affair was described as a closed black power meeting. ROBERT BROWN spoke at this meeting and urged Negroes to arm themselves instead of marching and suggested a takeover of the Cook County Jail in an attempt to free all Negro prisoners.

[redacted] Corporation Counsel's Office, City of Chicago, advised on January 30, 1968, that the Corporation Counsel's Office is aware of ROBERT BROWN's activities in connection with SNCC and also statements made by him at various meetings. [redacted] advised that unless there is a clear and present danger that BROWN's activities or statements will incite a mob or create a riot, no prosecution of BROWN will be considered by that office [redacted] feels that there has been no information developed to date indicating a clear and present danger of mob violence or rioting resulting from BROWN's statements or actions as of this date. If such information is developed in the future, prosecution will be considered under the charge Soliciting for Mob Violence.

B. STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Sunday afternoon, March 24, 1968, FRED HAMPTON, President, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council, Maywood, Illinois, personally contacted Negroes in the Maywood community to attend an impromptu meeting at the Masonic Temple, 13th and Madison Streets, Maywood, Illinois, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Director of SNCC would speak. Approximately 200 Negroes responded to this invitation and paid $1.00 apiece admission fee to hear CARMICHAEL speak. At approximately 4:00 p.m. on this date CARMICHAEL arrived at the Masonic Temple in a late model Cadillac accompanied by five unknown Negro males.

CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour on the themes of Negro segregation from the white race and the history of the Negroes. He also commented on how to achieve "black power" in Maywood, Illinois. He recommended that the immediate objective should be total boycott of white merchants in Maywood, who after they are forced out of business should be taken over and operated by Negroes. A tentative target then set for starting the boycott was May 20 or 21, 1968, which would coincide with the death of a martyred Negro leader. The source was unable to recall the name of the martyred individual.

The source recalled that CARMICHAEL stated in a question and answer session following his speech, "While MARTIN LUTHER KING goes about his non-violent way, I am getting the guns ready."

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests by the Maywood Police.

Concerning FRED HAMPTON, a source has advised that HAMPTON has been instrumental in causing past racial disturbances in the Maywood, Illinois area. [redacted]

[redacted] 4/68)

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Garfield Organization, a Chicago west side community organization under the direction of primarily religious leaders, which attempts to maintain and improve the conditions of this Negro neighborhood, held an annual fund raising program on the evening of Sunday, March 24, 1968, at a Union Hall of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 5247 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Tickets were sold and women from the neighborhood prepared food, which was served. EARTHA KITT, nationally known Negro female actress and entertainer performed at this affair.

Also appearing on the program were local musical groups, DICK GREGORY, Negro comedian civil rights activist and MUHAMMAD ALI, formerly known as CASSIUS CLAY.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an impromptu appearance and said a few words which were generally in a humorous manner.

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests made by the Chicago Police Department.

The source advised the above listed individuals commented as follows:

EARTHA KITT urged national Negro unity and preached against race hatred. CASSIUS CLAY commented that black women should be protected from exploitation. DICK GREGORY commented that if conditions of the Negro do not improve, this summer may see a resumption of racial violence.

> RICHARD GREGORY is a Negro male and nationally known entertainer. He ran for Mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in the local elections in March, 1967. He has led and participated in numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago in the past. He has been arrested in Chicago on a number of occasions in connection with these activities. He is considered a "Maverick" who does not lend his support exclusively to any particular civil rights group but will participate in civil rights activities which appear to appeal to him personally.

([redacted] 3/68)

CASSIUS CLAY was the former Heavyweight Champion of the world. He is known as MUHAMMAD ALI in the Nation of Islam Organization of which he is a member.

[redacted] 3/68)

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL occupied Room 105 of the Roberts Motel located at 3756 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, during Saturday night, March 23, 1968, and checked out of the motel on Sunday morning, March 24, 1968. Three unknown Negro males who accompanied CARMICHAEL occupied Room 107. These rooms were rented by ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, Illinois.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] Roberts Motel, 3756 South Michigan, Chicago, advised that Rooms 105 and 107 were rented by ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, at 3:18 p.m. on March 23, 1968. Three unknown Negro males wearing African hair styles occupied room 107. ROBERT BROWN checked out of the rooms at 11:30 a.m. on Monday, March 25, 1968, and paid a total of $72 for room service and rent.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday, March 25, 1968, between the hours of 4:00 and 6:20 p.m. STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the West Side Organization Headquarters at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 60 people were in attendance. CARMICHAEL stated that the reason he is in Chicago is to stop the black people from killing each other. He commented, "The black man must stop killing themselves and start killing the white man." The source advised that no incidents occurred, the area remained calm and no arrests were made by the Chicago Police Department.

The West Side Organization is a militant grassroot type welfare union organization which concentrates on locating jobs for the West side slum residents. It has an office at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago. It is supported by the Chicago City Missionary Society.

[redacted] 1/68)

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, beginning at 9:15 p.m. and ending at 11:05 p.m., Monday evening, March 25, 1968. This rally was held for the benefit of H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, who is currently in jail in New Orleans, Louisiana. There were approximately 700 people in attendance and the Theatre was filled to capacity. Among the speakers recognized by the source at the rally were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ROBERT BROWN, ROBERT LUCAS and EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD.

Several white males were observed waiting outside the Theatre prior to the affair, but these individuals were told to leave the area. Various news men attempted to attend the rally but were refused admission.

ROBERT BROWN, ROBERT LUCAS and EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD spoke briefly and only by way of introduction to the featured speaker, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately an hour and a half, frequently repeating himself and giving the impression of disinterest. Among the often repeated remarks by CARMICHAEL were, "Blacks must love blacks," "The black man must know that the honkey is his enemy," "Blacks must unite."

CARMICHAEL stated, "The white man has done nothing for the blacks except cheat them, as is evident from the days of slavery." "When the white man first came to this country he learned from the Indian and then he killed him." "It is not going to be a long hot summer but it is going to be a long hot year."

CARMICHAEL stated he did not want the various Negro teenagers fighting and killing each other, but rather that they should unite and fight their common enemy. He stated that H. RAP BROWN was in jail because he "rapped too

much" pointing out the truth. CARMICHAEL read the audience a letter he had received from BROWN which commented in the same manner as he had been talking.

Source said students were able to attend the meeting for a cost of $1.00, while adults had to pay $2.00 admission fee. During the affair a collection was taken up for H. RAP BROWN. There was no announcement made as to how much money had been collected.

The source stated there were no disturbances during the rally, order was kept reasonably well, there were no incidents and no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, between 7:00 and 12:00 p.m. a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. The featured speaker of the evening was STOKELY CARMICHAEL who addressed approximately 700 people of which 50 were representatives of black power organizations in the Chicago area.

CARMICHAEL stated that the black people need black supremacy. The black man must have guns not votes and that votes are useless, guns should be used in place of votes. CARMICHAEL protested America's Education System for the Negroes. CARMICHAEL said every black man should get a gun to defend himself and that the Blackstone Rangers should not destroy each other but rather go after the white man. CARMICHAEL took a collection for H. RAP BROWN to help obtain his release from jail and referred to BROWN as a hero.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour at a fund raising rally held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. CARMICHAEL's speech was lack luster and obviously off the cuff. CARMICHAEL seemed bored with the meeting and the crowd and quite disinterested. The crowd was extremely enthusiastic at first but sensed his disinterest and responded accordingly.

CARMICHAEL commented that this summer will undoubtedly see "whitey" out to get the Negro. He counselled the audience to become armed and be prepared to defend themselves and their community. He said they should learn black brotherly love and stop fighting each other, stop gang fighting and tearing up their own property. He said there is strength and power in black unity. Black youths need to study their own history and get a good black education. They cannot do this under the inadequate educational facilities available to the Negroes under today's conditions.

CARMICHAEL made mention of H. RAP BROWN on only one occasion and then later to take a collection in his behalf.

CARMICHAEL repeated himself constantly and spent a lot of time preaching the necessity of all factions within the black power movement to unify. CARMICHAEL's comments concerning Negroes arming themselves was limited to defensive purposes and not of the usual inflammatory nature.

The source advised that the speeches were poorly organized and CARMICHAEL was introduced by ROBERT BROWN who made only brief remarks not nearly as violent as is his usual manner. ROBERT BROWN urged Negro unity of themselves and their neighborhoods.

The source observed that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had body guards among whom was EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD. Several of the body guards were observed to be armed with .45 caliber automatics.

> EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD is a male Negro, self-proclaimed leader of the now inactive Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated, Chicago Chapter, and has recently proclaimed himself President of the National Negro Rifle Association (NNRA). The NNRA was organized by CRAWFORD to teach Negroes over 18 years of age the laws pertaining to the use of firearms.

[redacted] 1/19/68)

At 6:48 a.m. on March 26, 1968, over a Chicago radio station, WBBM, the announcer commented that STOKELY CARMICHAEL made the following remarks at a meeting last night.

"He promised a summer of violence, that the honkeys are preparing genocide and race destruction, and that the blacks must have a gun to fight them."

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that as of this date STOKELY CARMICHAEL has received $900 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area [redacted]

The source advised that on Monday morning, March 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland, Chicago, Illinois, to a group of approximately 40 to 60 students in training. The Urban Training Center is sponsored by several religious groups primarily for the training of ministers for the urban and ghetto areas, however, a sizeable percentage of students are members of the Black Power Community Organizations. The source stated CARMICHAEL made a brief speech to this group and commented mainly on the theme of black unity and black brotherly love. He advised the students that if they can get organized, educated and plan a constructive program, he will return to Chicago in the near future and assist them in the programs implementation.

The source stated CARMICHAEL's speech was extremely conciliatory and mild in comparison to previous speeches by him.

The source advised that CARMICHAEL is not expected to leave Chicago until his fiancee, MIRIAM MAKEBA, finishes her entertainment contract with a local Chicago nightclub, Mr, Kelly's. Her contract is up either March 30 or 31, 1968, as a Hollywood actress and entertainer, PAT SUZUKI, is scheduled to be the feature attraction at Mr. Kelly's on March 31, 1968.

The source advised that MIRIAM MAKEBA has become ill, cancelled her contract, and PAT SUZUKI will finish out the remainder of her contract as of this date.

On March 29, 1968, [redacted] advised that source was among an audience of approximately 130 people at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church Hall, 2555 East 73rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968. The St. Margaret's Episcopal Church membership consists of approximately 300 members composed of about 10% Negro membership. The Episcopal youth organization is composed of about 40 high school teen-agers with the same racial balance which is led by Episcopal Curate Father WILLIAM WETZEL, a Negro. Source learned on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC had been invited to speak before the Episcopal youth group by Father WETZEL. The audience, which numbered approximately 130, was composed of 20 to 30 Episcopal youths, seven adult parishioners, and 100 Negroes, none of which were parishioners. Many of the Negroes wore beatnik and African style hair and attire.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and about 100 Negroes arrived approximately 45 minutes late. He apologized for the delay stating he had spent the past five hours arbitrating a Negro youth gang dispute between the Blackstone Rangers and another south side Chicago gang. He then retired to a room to the rear of the speaker's platform with a few of his accomplices.

Father WETZEL then had a collection taken to be presented to STOKELY CARMICHAEL as a honorarium.

Father WETZEL then introduced a colleague of STOKELY CARMICHAEL by the name of CLEVELAND BROWN. BROWN is described as a Negro male, 30 years old, 5'8" tall, 140 pounds, medium complexion, brown hair cut normal, clean shaven, neat appearing, slender build, and a soft speaker. CLEVELAND BROWN spoke for about 15 minutes on the theme of police brutality against Negroes. He told of a recent experience he had with police when he tired to lead a peaceful demonstration at Orangeburg, South Carolina, at a Negro college. He was badly beaten by the Orangeburg Police, then hauled off to a hospital andplaced in an isolation ward for 21 days. BROWN said he is now considered a fugitive by police because he has been charged with seven local violations in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia.

BROWN then introduced STOKELY CARMICHAEL who spoke for approximately 30 minutes, principally on the theme that Negroes must arm themselves and unify. CARMICHAEL appeared surprised to see white people in the audience and explained that he thought he would be talking to an all Negro audience so he would have to change the nature of his speech. He said his main reason for coming to Chicago was to create peace between Negro groups. CARMICHAEL through his speech would state a point and then repeat himself at least three times which source thought was disconcerting, dull, and repetitious. CARMICHAEL made the following comments: "If any white men touch our black brothers we'll kill them"; "Black people must learn to stop fighting with each other"; "Organize and carry the fight to the streets"; "Black people must get guns and ammunition to defend themselves"; "To hell with the United States. To hell with Vietnam. The black people of the United States have always had to do the lowest and dirtiest jobs. Why should they go over and fight the white man's war?"

The source stated the meeting broke up without any incidents. The neighborhood remained calm and there were no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

Source said that one of the reasons why CARMICHAEL came to Chicago was to talk to leaders of the Blackstone Rangers and other Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop their intergang fighting and attempt to have them unite with the Black Power Movement sponsored by CARMICHAEL. The source did not know if CARMICHAEL was able to contact the Blackstone Rangers or other youth gang leaders.

At 12:15 p.m., March 30, 1968, SAs of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrive in Chicago on United Airlines Flight 147 at O'Hare Airport. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by an unknown Negro male. They were met by two unknown Negro males. The four men then entered a 1965 Plymouth sedan bearing 1968 Illinois License PR 3051.

advised on March 30, 1968, that CARMICHAEL and the others drove from O'Hare Field, Chicago, through Chicago, proceeding east on Interstate Highway 94. They were last observed traveling east of Gary, Indiana, on the Indiana Toll Road.

1968 Illinois License PR 3051 is registered to ELMYRA PRATTS, 2213 East 68th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On June 15, 1965, , advised that among the individuals arrested on June 11, and 12, 1965, in connection with a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, protesting the rehiring of School Superintendent BENJAMIN C. WILLIS, was ELMYRA GRAY PRATTS, a female Negro, age 22, who resides at

At 5:30 p.m. on Saturday, March 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed arriving at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, by SAs of the FBI.

advised on March 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Western Michigan University before approximately 900 people at a mid-west regional conference on black power.

At 2:30 a.m. on March 31, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed to depart Kalamazoo, Michigan in a bronze Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois License PR 3051, traveling west on Interstate 94 in the direction of Chicago.

C. Demonstrations

On January 31, 1968, ROBERT BROWN participated in a "Black-In" demonstration held at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana. The reason for the "Black-In" was that the Valparaiso University Administration had only permitted 50 Negroes to register at the school and the school has an enrollment of 4,000. Approaches made to the president of the college in an effort to have more Negroes admitted to the school apparently were not effective.

2/2/68)
2/2/68)

D. Travel of ROBERT BROWN

ROBERT BROWN traveled to New York City, New York over the weekend of December 23-24, 1967. He returned to Chicago on December 25, 1967. The reason for the trip was to confer with SNCC officials.

12/26/67)

ROBERT BROWN traveled to Bloomington, Indiana, where he attended an SDS conference held December 27-31, 1967.

[redacted] 1/8/68)

ROBERT BROWN traveled from Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington, D.C. on March 15, 1968. Among those accompanying him was former National Director of SNCC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] 3/19/68)

ROBERT BROWN traveled from Chicago to Atlanta, Georgia, on Tuesday, January 23, 1968, where he attended a SNCC meeting at which H. RAP BROWN, National Director, was in attendance.

[redacted] 1/26/68)

V. SNCC LEAFLETS AND PAMPHLETS

The attached leaflet addressed to "Corporate Brothers and Sisters" was obtained from [redacted] Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on January 5, 1968. The remaining leaflets were obtained by [redacted] from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office and Chicago Chapter of CORE Office between October 21, 1967 and March 8, 1968.

From the blues.
[illegible] to cry.
[illegible]
And what it says ain't no lie. ...

BLACK MEETIN' BLACK

AT THE

SNCC OPEN HOUSE

Saturday: 6:00 to 10:00 P.M.
302 E. 43rd. St.

HEAR: SNCC's PROGRAM OUTLINED.

MEET: BLACK PEOPLE FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE,

SEE: BLACK FOLK HAVING FUN.

— COME —

..Support SNCC ...... DON'T LET IT DIE..

An Open Letter

TO THE PEOPLE:

In this hour of crisis in the nation, in the world and among oppressed minorities everywhere, the Black Peoples Congress calls for a new commitment to the Revolution of 1776 and the freedom and equality to all men it promises. That Revolution is still unwon. Black people are oppressed and persecuted far more than those white Europeans who fled to America's shore in search of freedom. They are oppressed and persecuted by the great-grandsons and great-granddaughters of those white immigrants.

Black people are caught between the powerful forces of the southern racists, on the one hand, and the financial and industrial bigots of the north, on the other. They are the victims of a nationwide drive to re-enslave all black people by trickery, by political manipulation, by force if necessary. By succeeding to buy off black leaders, and by trying to kill those leaders who they can't buy. Mob violence, lynching, and the manipulation of the black masses through the guise of "non-violence", are his tools. Civil rights leaders are his fools.

We in the Black Peoples Congress have been possessed by the monster of rage and anger. And in the words of Robt. F. Kennedy: "We are in the midst of a revolution against the status quo. (We) are angered with systems which have allowed poverty, illiteracy and oppression to flourish for centuries. (We) will achieve (our) goals one way or another. (Even) if (we) have to pull (this) government tumbling down over (our) heads. And (we) will prevail." We will be free, or all mankind will be slaves. PEACE IF POSSIBLE, WAR IF NECESSARY.

WE call on YOU to be unafraid, unmoved by the vicious acts of white racists, friend and foe, alike. TO FIGHT FOR BLACK LIBERTY, EQUALITY and JUSTICE. To rise to the challenge of the times. To help us in our unconditional "WAR ON WHITE RACISM." To help us build our "BLACK SOCIETY",

AND COME WHAT MAY, WE WILL NOT BE TURNED AROUND.

BLACK PEOPLES CONGRESS

CITIZENS AMICUS BRIEF IN
SUPPORT OF H. RAP BROWN'S APPEAL
FROM HIS BAIL RESTRICTIONS

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM, 1967

MISC. NO.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ex rel.
H. RAP BROWN

RELATOR-PETITIONER

V.

HON. RAYMOND FOGEL, CITY SERGEANT,
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA,

RESPONDENT.

We, black and white citizens of the United States, herewith respectfully request the Supreme Court of the United States to expedite its consideration of the petition of H. Rap Brown for a writ of certiorari to the United States [illegible]eals for the Fourth Circuit and, upon such consideration, to grant said petition.

As we understand it, the United States District Court for the [illegible]trict of Virginia, Richmond Division, imposed upon Mr. Brown, as a condition of his release on bond, the restriction that he could not leave the eleven counties of the Southern District of New York, the district in which the office of William M. Kunstler, one of his attorneys, is located, except in connection with litigation in which he is involved. Because of this restriction on his travel, Mr. Brown has been prevented from fulfilling many speaking engagements, both in the United States and abroad, and will be unable to meet similar commitments in the future.

In imposing this condition, the federal judge indicated that Mr. Brown was "not going anywhere to make speeches because he is going to have to stay in Mr. Kunstler's district except when going to and from trial and going to the defense of these matters."

The inability of Mr. Brown to fulfill his speaking engagements constitutes a subtle but potent threat ot the free speech of every American. If he can be imprisoned in a geographical area from which he cannot emerge to articulate his views and those of the SNCC whose nationalchairman he is, then bail is being effectively used to silence both him and his organization. While there may be many people who disagree with the views propounded by Mr. Brown, it is not in the American tradition to squelch them by conditioning his release on bond on his silence.

The STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE cannot afford to obtain national radio and television time for the expression of its views. It must depend on their articulation throughout the United States and, in particular, at the many colleges and universities that are eager to provide forums for him. Since the restrictions were imposed upon him, he has had to cancel such engagements at such institutions as Colgate University, Oxford University, and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

We call upon the Supreme Court of the United States as the ultimate guardian of the First Amendment to consider his petition for a writ of certiorari promptly and upon such considerations to set aside the restriction of his right to travel. Only such action will the rights of all American citizens be protected and the voice of dissent be kept alive in the land.

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE
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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
306 East 43rd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60653
373-9025

DOLLARS TO SNCC

I enclose $__________ to carry on the work of SNCC. I pledge $__________ every__________.

Please include me on your mailing list. My name is:

(last) __________ (first) __________ (middle) __________

Address (Street) (City) (State) (Zip) __________

Phone__________

Please make Checks payable to:

SNCC

306 E. 43rd St.
Chicago, Ill. 60653
373-9025

CG-1... 40512

HEAR

RAP BROWN

SPEAK TO

BLACK CHICAGO

Makin' Revolution Black!

He is being held in New York under bond, and has been refused permission to travel. Each of the last three times he has been scheduled to speak in Chicago, something has stopped him. He will phone his speech in.

Come to the

SNCC

Fund-Raising Rally

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16,1967
CHRIST METHODIST CHURCH
6401 S. SANGAMON
6:00 pm. until

OTHER SPEAKERS INCLUDED :

... $2.00 ...
$1.00 for students

A Black Thing!!

Chicago, Illinois 60653

373-9025

December, 1967

Dear Friend of SNCC,

We would like to ask your help. The "power structure" has esculated its efforts to stop all forms of protest. Tactic after tactic of harrassment, intimidation, imprisonment, character assination, etc; has been used in order to stop the Movement for the liberation of Black People.

The White power structure is conducting an all out war to kill SNCC. Countless SNCC workers are in jail or face the threat of imprisonment. Office after office is being forced to shut down because of a lack of operating expenses. SNCC is sinking fast. But, will SNCC be allowed to die? Not if you really care.

We need your help to raise enough money so that SNCC can remain alive. So that we can continue our Southern program and begin a program to reach the masses of Black people in the Northern ghetto. Black people must be prepared to resist and to survive.

Please give this request serious and immediate consideration.

Thank you very much for your help and loyalty to SNCC.

Yours for Black Libgration

Robert Brown

Robert Brown, Dir.
Midwest SNCC

enc: Pledge form
- Midwest SNCC Literature

Sir:

The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee has sat back for some several weeks, and watched with interest the development of the Cook County Jail scandal. We have viewed with amusement the melodramatics of politics as honkies accuse honkies of corruption, briberary, misconduct, and political wheeling and dealing. All at the expense and well being of countless Black lives.

We have sat back and watched the game of political power that is being played by the politicians and with each act, the world has revealed to us a new face. There is no such thing as Justice. There are no free men. And Black people are prisoners in a honkey hell.

We have remained silent while racist have repeatedly made remarks against Black inmates. But, even silence itself, says something. Yes, there comes a time when we can no longer be silent. We must speak, knowing full well that words are loaded pistols, when I speak, I fire.

The Black inmates of Cook County Jail have asked us to speak for them. No probe of the conditions of the jail can be complete without hearing both sides. Black people demand a chance to be heard.

Yours truly,

Robert Brown

Robert Brown, Dir
Midwest SNCC

CG-100-40342

UHURU

CORPORATE BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

WE THE CONCERNED COMMITTEE OF THIRTEEN HUNDRED WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WISH YOU AND YOURS A HAPPY BLACK NEW YEAR AND TO OFFER OUR HOPE ALONG WITH THE HOPES OF MIL* LIONS OF BLACK CONSUMERS IN THIS COUNTRY FOR YOUR COMPANY'S CONTINUED HIGH RATE OF GROWTH IN THE COMING YEAR. ALSO, WE HOPE THAT PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY WILL BE THE KEYNOTE FOR THE NEW YEAR RATHER THAN UNENDING VIOLENCE AND HATRED.

OUR PURPOSE FOR WRITING YOU AT THIS TIME IS TO SOLICIT MONEY TO ESTABLISH LIBERATION SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT THE EAST* ERN SEABOARD OF OUR COUNTRY. THE EDUCATIVE AIM OF THESE SCHOOLS WILL BE TO STIMULATE A BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THRU THE TEACHING OF AFRO*AMERICAN HISTORY AND TO PROMOTE AN EXAMI* NATION OF THE TECHNIQUES USED TO EXPLOIT THE TALENTS, SKILLS, AND BRAIN POWER OF BLACKS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF OTHERS.

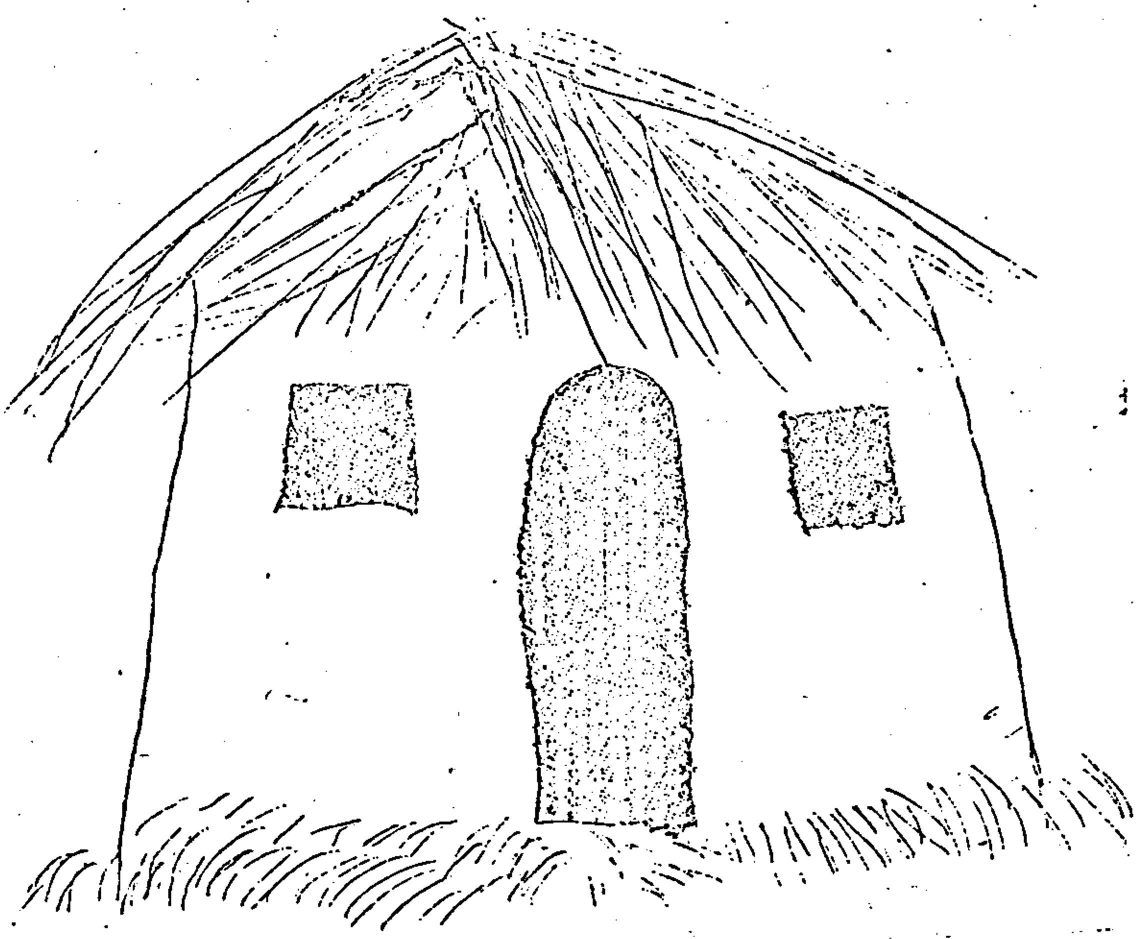
WE KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO MAKE THIS A CO*OPERATIVE VENTURE BY CONTRIBUTING YOUR COMPANY'S FAIR SHARE FOR THIS NOBLE UN* DERTAKING. ALTHOUGH WE ARE SHORT STAFFED AT THIS TIME, OUR REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO CONTACT YOU***PLEASE HAVE CHECK, CASH, OR MONEY ORDER READY.

REMEMBER, YOUR GIFT MAY BE TAX DEDUCTIBLE***SEE YOUR AC* COUNTANT. THANK YOU AND AGAIN A HAPPY BLACK NEW YEAR.

STUDENT NON*VIOLENT CO*ORDINATING COMMITTEE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AFRO-AMERICAN REVIEW

UHURU! (FREEDOM) HARAMBEE (LET'S ALL PULL TOGETHER)



A [illegible] THE KNOWLEDGE OF [illegible] PAST IS LIKE [illegible] TREE WITHOUT ROOTS...

As of this issue the Afro-American Review will be offering a new feature "Black History-Past and Present." This feature will consist of capsule sketches of events, organizations or individuals of importance to Black people from pre-history to the present day.

Why linger over events and figures from the past when there is still so much to be done to overcome the present and to secure the future? First, there is a need for Black people to recapture their history-and with it their true identity-from the white slave masters, murderers, and exploiters who have kept it from us or distorted it and used it to keep us in mental and physical bondage. Second, there is a needfor Black people to know their past so that mistakes and misconceptions as to the nature of the Enemy-the white man-can be reduce to a minimum. For example, a knowledge of the atrocities and barbarities of slavery and the slave trade, and of the3,000 lynchings of Black men, women and children since the 1880's would have hipped the brothers and sisters in the non-violent movement to the futility of appealing to whitey's "conscience" or to white folks of "good will." Slavery was ended by a long and bloody civil war, not by sit-ins or picket lines. Freedom comes from the barrel of a gun. Third, the more and energy spent on seeking out and mastering Black history the less time spent in learning whitey's lies or in staring at that idiot box or boob tube that is television. Fourth, Black history can help instill Black people with the necessary spiritual and psychological strength so that we can function purposefully with dignity and courage without having to rely on whitey's: religion, liquor, drugs or women!

UHURU!
(Freedom)

HARAMBEE!
(Let's all pull together)

NEGROES SWEET, DOCILE, MEEK, HUMBLE AND KIND

BEWARE THE DAY THEY CHANGE THEIR MINDS.

H. RAP BROWN

Rap Brown....Burn it down.
Rap Brown. Burn it Down!
Rap Brown.. Burn it Down!!

This little chant recently gaining popularity among Black youth in such cities as Newark and Detroit is only one indication of the tremendous impact that Rap Brown has made on Black America and the nation at large since his election in May as national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) Not a fluid and sophisticated speaker like his predecessor Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown has developed his own tell-it-like-it-is style that has stirred the hearts and blood of the Black disposseded and caused fear and apprehension among white American and Uncle Toms as no Black spokesman has since the late Brother Malcolm. A few examples of Brown's oratory:

> " Violence is necessary, it is as American as cherry pie."
> " If you (white America) play Nazis with us, we ain't gonna play Jews."
> " The Hunky got respect for but one thing, a gun."
> " If America don't come 'round, you should burn America down!"

Born Hubert Gerold Brown in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on October 4, 1943, Rap Brown received all of his formal education in Baton Rouge, including three years at Southern University as a sociology major. Ulysses S. Jones Dean of men at Southern, has testified to Rap Brown's good academic record and to his exemplary conduct as a student.

In 1963, Rap Brown left Southern to go to work for S.N.C.C. in Mississippi. He later became project director for the state of Alabama, the post he held prior to his election to the national chairmanship. Rap Brown got his nickname during his early years as a civil rights worker when his uncompromising stands evoked responses of "Rap it to 'em baby." His career since May, 1967, including a number of indictments for allodgedly inciting riots, advocating treason, etc. can be followed, in a distorted fashion, in the nation's news media. Despite the tremendous pressures, Rap Brown has yet to temper or retract his adherence to the view

themselves by any means necessary.

Hero to Black youth, scourge to white America and Uncle Toms, courageous, dedicated, H. Rap Brown is a man that Black people should be proud of.

THE ROOTS OF THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE

If one were to ferret out the roots of Black bourgeoisie in the United States, one would have to study the varied and sporadic efforts of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War, to acquire wealth. However, it was not until after the Emancipation Proclamation that the spirit of business enterprises to root in the Negro elite. This was due to their association with the Freedmen's Bank, which was established to encourage thrift among the newly freed slaves. Although this premature business venture failed shortly after its start, those Negro elites involved maintained their business experience, and some of the capitol (bread) acquired during their reign. Because the Negroes who were free, had years of "Freedmen's" experience over the newly freed slaves. They quite naturally took over Black leadership. These Negro elites or "house Niggers," began opening shops and small businesses for their newly freed Black brothers. A small number of Negro elites went on more extensive business ventures. Their ventures were found mostly in the field of banking. This was due to the experience given these Negro elites. Negro elites. in all areas of community life, education, religion, and fraternal organizations began to organize their own banks in a number of cities of the South.

I. Efforts of the free Negroes to acquire wealth.

Before the civil war, the ownership of land or real estate was the main avenue opened to the free Negro. Who was trying to acquire wealth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, following the American Revolution. Free Negroes began to acquire land in New York and Pennsylvania. Some of the free Negroes who migrated from the South acquired land in Southern Ohio during the teenth century. In those areas of the upp South which were dominated by the plantation system some free Negroes were able to acquire land despite the general opposition of their presence. As the plantation system of agriculture became unprofitable in the tide water section in Maryland because of the exhaustion of the soil, the plantations were broken up into small farms and some of the growing numbers of free Negroes were able to buy small farms. Some free Negroes were able to buy small farms in the poorer section of this area. The plantation system was also dying out in tidewater section of Virginia. Free Negroes in this area also bought up land. These farms were about twenty-five acres or less, it may be assured that these farms were used for subsistence rather that for commercial enterprises. In North Carolina where the plantation system was never as harsh as in the states farther South free Negroes were able to acquire land, In Louisiana where there was a multitude of mulattoes who were free, there prevailed a free Negro community of fantastic wealth. These free Negroes own plantations which range from 40,000 to 200,000 dallars, and these plantations had from 40 to 100 Black slaves. This was indeed the beginning of the Black bourgeoisie in the United States.

This article to be continued in our next issue.

GET ON THE ROAD

A letter received from a Black brother who is on the road to equality.

Dear Brothers,

Evanston is a hate crazed community. Like so many other cities in the United States. Growing up here was a hell of an experience. I've walked through fire and didn't get burned. Right, I didn't get burned physically, but mentally I was scorched to ashes. I had respect and adoration for the white man. I must have been nuts. I was nuts while living through that nightmare. I was the cast of most Negroes. I was indoctrinated to respect the white man.

But, some Black brothers woke me up and I joined the BLACK REVOLUTION. I now think Black because I know Black is

I hope sincerely [illegible] at all my other Black Bro[illegible] and Sisters wake up before it's too late. Walk proudly down the road of equality. There is no road to equality unless you think BLACK, BLACK, BLACK, BLACK.

Thank you,

Brothers for unchaining me.

LEON

Half black man, half honky. His appearance is that of a black man.

His habits are those of a honky. He afraid of the great white father.

Leon will argue, cut and probably kill his black brothers. But, he'll take all the hardships in the world to please his lovable honkies.

Leon is our enemy, and like all enemies he must be purged.

I'll have more vivid information on this poor black brother in next week's article.

Don't be slack---we must think BLACK.

*removed

EDITORIAL

THE POWER OF BLACKNESS

What is the power of Blackness? It is the ability of a whole black community to respond to the white power structure, no matter how insignificant the oppressors act of adulterated hate might be. It is the ability of a whole black community to think from a common base, in other words, to think Black. It is the ability of a whole black community to have racial pride, and not to be afriad of being black; and not to imitate the white man, for all of us should realize that the white races standards are not to be desired. So why copy them?

What is the whole Black community? It is just the whole Black population; the poor and the rich, the weak and the strong, all of us work together from within to improve our economical, political, and social powers. The time has come that we must exercise real power. No longer should we ex-

[illegible] they re[illegible]ible? The gaines in the p[illegible] have been for basic human rights and are looked upon with great admiration by many; but what materially have we gotten from these so called gaines?

It is time that the Negro of Evanston stop seperating himself from the main streams of Black life. Things in Evanston aren't so good that we should become pacified because the white man tells us that our standard of living here is better than Black people who live on the West Side of Chicago. The question should be, do we enjoy the same standard of living that the white man enjoys?

What percentage of Negroes, if any, can move anywhere they want to in Evanston? It is a known fact that we pay more for rent in our neighborhood than in a comparable white neighborhood. In otherwords we are contained in a ghetto and are exploited by White as well as "ambitious"Negroes.

The school system of Evanston is finally intergrated and every Negro family thanks the white man. Why hasn't it been intergrated before now? Even in the school system things aren't as rosy as they may seem. The jump from grade school to high school sets the future for the Black youth. It is during this critical stage of life that our black youths are that down; for they are given basic classes where as comparable white youth are given regular class and if the school system is pressed enough he may even get honor classes. While the black youth chances of going to college or even finishing high school because his motivation is stifled, the white youth advances.

The Black Youth is also deprived of his true heritage. The White man sets up his standards and rituals all other cultures. By doing this he forces the Black Youth to accept white racism, and bring about division and disorder among the Afro-American, which is one of his main goals. How many black people know anything about their true heritage? What is the power of Blackness?

until the white race is ready to give us human [illegible] but create the conditions which makes it necessary. CG-100-40842

MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISTRUST

For more than a decade in Evanston Illinois there has been an arena of misunderstanding and mistrust between Black people. For various reasons, some justified, other not, we cannot seem to communicate with each other. We of the Afro-American League say to you, the time has come to learn why this is so.

Some of our people say that the only reason that we have these problems is that there has been a high concentration of Southern Blacks and that they cannot communicate with them. We, of Course, term this silly. Others say that Black people are never going to learn how to trust each other. We think that if both of the groups check the situation, that they will see that they are not talking about foreign people, but they are talking abouth Black Americans. With the same habits, same goals, same motivations, and the same hang-ups, and that hang-up is that they are BLACK, and whether they want to be BLACK or not. this is what they are, and will be for the rest of their lives.

Our main goals is to [illegible] among our

We of the Afro-American League, the [illegible] that at this time we should answer some of the rumors that have been circulated in Evanston about our goals and what we plan to do in the areas of freedom and equality for the Black people, here.

We, intend for all BLACK PEOPLE to be made aware of the problem that exist in Evanston concerning them.

We, seek to unite BLACK E PEOPLE of Evanston, Illinois. For it is the purpose of some whites to divide and conquer them.

We, intend to make the BLACK PEOPLE of Evanston strong in the political areas. To ask every man and woman to register for voting purposes, regardless of his or her political party.

We, intend to improve housing conditions for BLACK PEOPLE. To try and get a ceiling put on the high rent being paid by BLACK PEOPLE.

We, intend to improve relations between the Evanston Police Department and BLACK PEOPLE, so that a racial situation does not arise.

We, intend to make BLACK PEOPLE proud of the fact that they ARE BLACK.

If our thoughts be wrong, then God help our people for

Application [illegible]

BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS

Name ______________________________ AGE ________

Address ______________________________ Phone # ________

School ______________________________

Name School Org. ______________________________

____

I would like to do:

School Organizing ________________
Community Organizing ________________
Newspaper Work ________________
Research Work ________________
Office Work ________________
Other ________________

Hours ________ to ________

RETURN TO
SNCC
306 E 43rd
Chgo., 60653

CUT HERE

SNCC LITERATURE LIST

Please put my name on the SNCC mailing list.

NAME

ADDRESS PHONE

I would like the following:

- ☐ Soul Talkin' SNCC Newsletter -- $3.00 yearly
- Posters ------------ $1.00
- ☐ Stokely ☐ Rap ☐ Malcolm ☐ Muhammad Ali
- Reprints:
- ☐ SNCC at the U.N. ------ $2.00 package
- ☐ "What We Want" by Stokely --- .50
- ☐ "Power and Racism" --------- .50
- ☐ Stokely at OLAS ---------- .50
- ☐ "Institution and Power" by --- .50 Robert Brown

Return To
SNCC
306 E 43r[illegible]
Chgo. Ill 6[illegible]

"THE HALL OF MIRRORS" pg.

Vol 1. No 1
FEB 20. 1968 Chgo, Ill.

Soul Talkin'

A SNCC Newsletter



"Wake them up to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage"
Malcolm X

"TOWARDS A BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS"

pg. 2

WHY A BLACK CONGRESS?

Honkey reaction to Black student protest has clearly pointed to the disuntiy of Black students groups across the country. Massacres (such as in Orangeburg, S.C.) have become the order of the day for the racist buffoons who are fighti g to maintain their systems of colonialism and imperialism. MASS GENOCIDE HAS ALREADY BEGUN!

BLACK YOUTH must begin to orhanize to defend Black people against the white dogs who seek to exterminate us. WE must re-define and re-capture our dignity and destiny.

BLACK STUDENTS, both HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE, have always been at the core of the striggle for survival in this country. As a new summer approaches, again, black youth must do the same.

A CALL IS OUT FOR THE CREATION OF A BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS. The need has been clearly defined:

1) There is a lack of communicatioms among the different Black groups on the campuses around the country. When a rebellion occurs, no one knows anything about it until the honkey puts it in his news media.

2) There is a need to redefine the educational process so that all of this irrelevent bullshit that they throw in school courses will be thrown right back and replaced with something that makes sense. BLACK HISTORY MUST BE TAUGHT TO ALL BLACK STUDENTS, BY BLACK TEACHERS.

3) High school escapes (dropouts) will have an organization which they can identify with and that meets their needs.

4) Local student organizations, instead of addressing their problems alone, will have a UNITED FRONT OF STUDENTS behind them.

JOIN and SUPPORT THE AFRO CLUB IN YOUR SCHOOL. HELP BUILD A BLACK STUDENT CONGRESS. FILL OUT THE ~~APPLICATION~~ BLANK ON THE BACK PAGE.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING CO
306 E. 43rd ST.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60653

Afterthought To The

"Orangeburg Massacre"

The honkies who murdered four, Black, unarmed students of South Carolina State, and wounded fifty more, are merely playing their roles as IMPERIALISTIC, RACIST DOGS WHO SHOOT UNARMED TEENAGERS IN THEIR BACKS.

While the massacre at Orangeburg is tragic, Black people must recover from our grief to learn the lesson that the racist, honkies are teaching. There is no alternative for Black people but to arm ourselves, shoot with perfection and defend our own.

All over the country, these dogs are implementing plans to destroy the Black community in mass. Sheriff Woods, that honkey with the toy gun, made by Matell, has called for 1,000 vigilantie to shoot down you and me. HONKIES HAVE GAS, TANKS, HELICOPTERS, AND SOPHISTICATED GUNS TO GET RID OF US. THEY WILL NOT SUCCEED because they are a race of cowards and the spirit of the Vietnam- prevails in Black people.

LET US ARM OURSELVES AND DECLARE WAR ON THE LOCAL HONKIES BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE. LET'S FIGHT AND PREPARE TO SURVIVE.

— End —

WHAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE MUST DO NOW!!!

1. MONEY IS DESPERATELY NEEDED FOR BONDS ON CLEV SELLERS AND THE STUDENTS WHOSE LIVES ARE IN DANGER IN ORANGEBURG JAIL. CLEV's bo is set at $50,000 cash. SEND TO:

Cleve Sellers Defense Fund
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

or

c/o SNCC
506 E. 43rd
Chgo., Ill. 60653

2. SNED LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO: S.C. STATE STUDENT BODY
c/o BACC (BLACK ACTION COORD. C
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

HALL OF MIRRORS

CITIES	DATE	DEAD	INJURED	ARRESTED	DAMAGE
Omaha, Neb	Apr 1,2	0	2	21	NFA*
Nashville, Tenn	Apr 8-10	0	19	80	NFA
Cleveland, O	Apr 16-20	0	4	10	NFA
Massilion, O	Apr 17	0	1	6	NFA
Baton Rouge, La	Apr 30	0	NFA	7	NFA
Rochester, N.Y.	May2, Jul 24	1	2	7	NFA
Jackson, Miss	May 10-11	1	2	NFA	NFA
Houston, Tex	May 16-17	1	23	489	NFA
Chicago, Ill	May21,30 Jul 7,30	0	10	135	NFA
Vallejo, Calif	May 22	0	2	0	NFA
Boston, Mass	Jun 2-5	0	100	159	$1,000,00
Prattville, Ala	Jun 11-12	0	4	10	NFA
Philadelphia, Pa	Jun 11, Jul 26-27	0	NFA	43	NFA
Tampa, Fla	Jun 11-13	2	18	80	$2,000,00
Cincinnati, O	Jun 12-16 Jul 3-5	1	20	384	$3,000,00
Dayton, O	Jun 14-16	0	3	10	$1,00
Lansing, Mich	Jun 15	0	3	2	NFA
Atlanta, Ga	Jun 19-20 Jul 3	1	12	10	NFA
Cambridge, Md	Jun 26-28 Jul 27	0	1	2	NFA
Buffalo, N.Y.	Jun 27-29	0	100	240	$250,000
Lake Geneva, Wis	Jul 1-3	0	10	109	NFA
Des Moines, Ia	Jul 2, 16	0	2	23	NFA
Kansas City, Mo	Jul 9	0	1	11	NFA
Waterloo, Ia	Jul 10	0	5	5	NFA
Erie, Pa	Jul 12-13 Jul 19	0	3	17	$150,000
Hartford, Conn	Jul 12-13	0	11	20	NFA
Newark, N.J.	Jul 12-18	26	1,200	1,600	$15,000,00
Plainfield, N.J.	Jul 14-16	1	50	75	NFA
Cairo, Ill	Jul 16-18	1	NFA	NFA	NFA
Fresno, Calif	Jul 17	0	1	NFA	NFA
Greensboro, N.C.	Jul 18	0	1	10	NFA
Nyack, N.Y.	Jul 19	0	NFA	18	NFA
Minneapolis, Minn	Jul 20-22	0	10	43	$1,0
Youngstown, O	Jul 20-22	1	3	7	NF
Englewood, N.J.	Jul 21-22	0	11	13	N
East Harlem, N.Y.	Jul 21-24	3	14	NFA	
Birmingham, Ala	Jul 23	0	12	70	
Detroit, Mich	Jul 23-30	41	2,000	5,000	[illegible]

TO BE CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

A LETTER FROM PRISON

TO MY

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS

February 22, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to it's fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroits, And for every Orangeburg, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of 68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not

enough. Aggressior[illegible]he order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA!

AMERICA: If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

LASIME TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

Monday, February 5
Student leaders from South Carolina State College attempted to desegregate the all white bowling alley owned by Harry F. Ford. The operator of the bowling establishment, the All-Star Bowling Alley, refused to admit the black students.

Tuesday, February 6
Students again attempted to desegregate the bowling alley and were again turned a[way]. Twenty students were arrested. Later, after word had been circulated on campus, 60[0] students from the college went down to the shopping center where the bowling alley [was] located, demanding that those arrested be released. Approximately 150 law enforce[ment] officials were on the scene and some of them, attempting to disperse the crowd, beg[an] to beat the students. Several girls were clubbed to the ground. 20 persons were [in]jured and were treated at the college infirmary. One unit of the National Guard [was] called in and additional units were placed on standby alert.

Wednesday, February 7
Students met all day and all night, discussing the violence and police brutality d[irec]ted toward them the previous night, and also protesting the failure of the South C[a]rolina State Legislature to approve the budget or to allocated funds for the coll[ege] although funds had been appropriated for the all-white University of South Carolin[a].

Thursday, February 8
Whites drove through campus, shooting at students and into buildings. A campus g[uard] was shot and wounded. Student leaders, who had submitted a list of seven grievan[ces] to the Orangeburg City Council, staged a "prayer-in" during the early evening and [la]ter held a meeting in a ball park near the campus. Students, continuing protest d[e]monstrations, lit a bonfire on campus. National Guardsmen, claiming that they we[re] fired upon, charged into the crowd of students, firing at random. The students, [seek]ing cover, fell to the ground. The Guardsmen continued firing. Practically all [stu]dents shot were laying on the ground, face down, and were shot in the back.

The aftermath:
- 30 students in jail
- 10 in the hospital
- 3 dead
  - Sam Hammon (18, killed outright in a blast of gunfire)
  - Delano Middleton (17, an Orangeburg High School student who died an[...] after being wounded)
  - Henry Smith (18, classmate of Hammon who died early today, who was s[hot] and then beaten almost to death)

SNCC staff member, Cleveland Sellers, is in a South Carolina penitentiary on $50,[000] bond, charged with inciting to riot, arson, assault with intent to kill and damag[ing] property.
Students shot had to travel to nearby towns for medical attention after being ref[used] treatment at the local Orangeburg hospital.

Friday, February 9
Gov. McNair declared a state of emergency and called for a 5:00 P.M. curfew. Bot[h] South Carolina State and Claflin Colleges, which adjoin, have been closed indefin[itely]. Students had to pay their own way home. They either had to get out of town by 5 or stay on campus.

HISTORICAL NOTE:
In 1960, SNCC's second chairman, Chuck McDew, led major student demonstrations in Orangeburg dealing with public accommodations. That winter all student demonstr[ators] were herded into a compound outside the city jail and hosed.
This winter, they were massacred.

SNCC
360 Nelson Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

SNCC CHAIRMAN KIDNAPPED BY HONKIES

H. "Rap" Brown, Chairman of SNCC is refusing to eat to pro[illegible] his illegal arrest and detention by the federal government thro[illegible] its agent in the State of California. Mr. Brown was arrested o[illegible] the alleged charge that he had violated the travel ban that had been imposed upon him by federal courts in Louisiana and Virgin[illegible] This unconstitutional travel ban provided however, that Mr. Bro[illegible] was free to tral for consulting with his attorney which was exactly what Mr. Brown did this past weekend when he wnt to California to consult with Attorney William Kuntsler who is pre[illegible] a brief to submit to the Supreme Court on Feb. 26th appealing t[illegible] travel ban.

Once more we see an example of honkie justice violating th[illegible] rights of a black person in America. But we all know about hon[illegible] justice, particularly when it is applied to SNCC and other blac[illegible] militant organizations.

Having been held in maximum security in the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, Mr. Brown is now being transported to Richmond Va. for a hearing there tomorrow, Friday, Feb.23rd. [illegible] in New Orleans, Rap was charged with violating the travel ban a[illegible] well as intimidating an FBI agent. Now any black person knows [illegible] if the FBI will not be intimidated by the American people into the truth about John F. Kennedy, it sure won't be intimidated b[illegible] man, even if that man is H. Rap Brown.

What went down is simple: Rap was followed to California [illegible] black FBI agent who returned to New Orleans to testify against [illegible] During a court recess, Rap went over to the black agent and cor[illegible] called him by his earned name, "TOM". Mr Brown continued to ex[illegible] the hope that the agent's children grew up to be a better man t[illegible] he was. The agent of the Federal Government wanted to take Rap out back but realizing that he would come up on the loosing end action that went down, he broke track records getting to the wh[illegible] judge. He told the judge that Rap had threatened his life and [illegible] children's lives. The result was that Rap has been bound over t[illegible] the grand jury for the charge of threatening an FBI man and bon[illegible] has been set at $50,000. This, plus the $50,000 bond imposed f[illegible] the alleged travel ban violation brings the total ransom to $10[illegible]

At the same time that this was occuring, the State of Loui[illegible] issued a warrant for the arrest of SNCC's Cleveland Sellers, no[illegible] the South Carolina State jail under a $20,000 bond following hi[illegible]

(over)

arrest dur[illegible] the Orangeburg Massacre [illegible] Federal Government, acting through Louisiana, wants Sellers extradited to stand trial a charge of carrying concealed weapons, something they claim Mr. Sellers did when he was in the state two years ago. It is interesting to note that the State of Louisiana dropped this cha[illegible] so that charges could be pressed against Sellers for refusing to inducted into the Military. Now they are charging him with an o[illegible] on which they refused to charge him 18 months ago. It should als[illegible] pointed out that both Brown and Sellers are being threatened with jail sentences on charges concerning weapons, challenging black people's human right to avail themselves of some means of self-de[illegible] This is in direct contradiction to the training being given to white citizens by the police in such cities as Kansas City, Misso[illegible] and Deareborne, Michigan in the use of guns.

We are calling upon all organizations that are concerned wit[illegible] bringing about fundamental social change in this country to send telegrams to the Justice Dept. in Washington protesting the jaili[illegible] H. Rap brown and Cleveland Sellers. While we are not under any i[illegible] that these telegrams are ever read, they at least serve notice on "Man" that we are watching his every move, and if the telegrams d[illegible] make him reconisder his action against Chariman Brown, and SNCC [illegible] Secretary Sellers, there are other ways of getting the message a[illegible]

For the brothers and sisters in the Richmond, Va. area, Rap have a hearing on this Friday, Feb. 23, 1968 at 1:00 P.M. at the Office Bldg. This hearing will be on the charge that he violated travel ban imposed upon him by the federal courts in Richmond aft[illegible] arrest during the Cambiidge rebellion this past July. We are cal[illegible] upon everyone in that area to go to the hearing. Those that can'[illegible] in-stand on the steps; those that can't stand on the steps-stand the street. Let Americans know that H. Rap Brown is not alone a[illegible] that black people are outraged and we will see justice done or so[illegible] will pay some dues.

Funds are needed for the H. Rap Brown gail fund and for the Orangeburg Defense Fund. they can be sent to SNCC, 360 Nelson St SW, Atlanta, Georgia, 30313.

It is obvious that the "Man" will not be satisfied until he Rap Brown and every black militant in this country dead. We must let this happen. The atmosphere that is being generated in New O[illegible] around Rap is one of a lynching and observers there state that th[illegible] no doubt that Rap's life is in danger. We are sure that the atmo[illegible] in Richmond will be no different. Rather than waiting to die li[illegible] an animal at the hands of his oppressors, Mr. Brown is refusing t[illegible] eat, feeling that if he must die, it will be[illegible] in the act of re[illegible] to cooperate with and fighting against oppression that continuall[illegible] off the lives of his people. But it must not be forgotten who is blame. If H. Rap Brown's hunger strike leads to his death we wil[illegible] every honkie in America responsible, and blacks will start colle[illegible] all the dues that white America owes. RAP BROWN MUST BE SET FRE[illegible]

(30) Feb. 23, 1968
SNCC

HONKY HARRAS[illegible] CHAIRMAN RAP

Since Rap has assumed the responsibilities of Chairman of SNCC in May [illegible] 1967, his term of office has been one long and continuous history of [illegible]ment and intimidation by the system of "just - ice" in this country. [illegible] seven months the U.S. government has tried to charge Rap one quarter of a million [illegible]ollars for his freedom from prison, only to snatch him up again and again and place him behind bars for "telling it like it is" to black people in this damned country.

Now in a New Orleans prison, Rap has loudly proclaimed, "HELL NO"!

> "Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.
>
> My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to it's facist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind..." (A LETTER FROM PRISON) -Rap Brown

He has been starving now for one week. He has refused to eat, he has refused to drink. His stomach has shriveled from hunger, his mouth is partched from thirst. He takes no orange juice - he takes no water. Chairman Rap is slowly dying.

To understand the mental ordeal that the government of the United States has placed on Rap we have prepared this fact sheet ennumerating the blows Rap has had to endure at the hands of this government. Read and understand.

July 24, 1968 -- Rap is charged with inciting to riot and arson in Cambridge, Maryland. A nationwide manhunt is ordered by the F.B.I. to pick him up. In Washington Rap lays wounded from a honky bullet that creased his scalp in Maryland.

dissent in America have been death, exile or imprisonment. I am no exception.

I am being held as a political prisoner. However, my confinement will not rebuild Detroit nor will it save America from its due fate. For as America has bestowed upon me in my 23 years her extreme disfavor, she has also through her inhumanity, racism, oppression and exploitation of both black and white, domestic and foreign, made herself an enemy of mankind. I am told that people across the country have recognized my imprisonment to be a sounding board which may in some way reveal their own fate. If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny.

To all those who favor freedom I say thank you for your convictions and your contributions toward that end.

To all the black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines, I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for our freedom is yet to come."

BLACK POWER,

Rap Brown

Aug. 22, 1967 - Rap's bail is reduced from $25,000 to $15,000.

Sept. 5, 1967 - Virginia Governor Goodwin orders Ra to be returned to Maryland to face riot charges.

Sept. 13, 1967 - Rap returns to Alexandria, Va. to be present during court proceedings around his possible extradition to Md. He was re-arrest by Alexandria officials and placed in jail. Two different judges refused to set bail for him. Rap's lawyer, William Kuntsler, appeal to the federal court in Virginia to set bail.

Sept. 18, 1967 - Bond was set at $10,000, and Rap was released on his own recognizance, but in the custody of his lawyer. In granting the bond, the judge confined rap's travel solely "to the district in which his custodian (Mr. Kunstler) resides (southern district of New York) except when traveling for the purposes of trial or legal hearing or in preparation for defense of any charges against

CG-100-40342

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
688-0331

March 4, 1968

MARCH 20-----DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN and THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

white america has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white america always treats her enemies----SHE MURDERS THEM!!!

The most recent example of white america's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsay Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to white america: it's material possessions.

So---take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle---but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

BLACK POWER

WHAT YOU CAN DO!

1. Hold massive rallies, demonstrations, marches, picketing in support of Rap Brown in as many cities, towns, areas, as possible. Contact all groups and individuals involved in the Black Liberation Struggle and ask them to help in this massive effort.

2. At rallies etc., enumerate charges against Rap and read letter from prison which Rap has sent to his brothers and sisters.

3. Engage in any acts of civil disobedience which you consider appropriate, acts that will completely tie up the enemy's system--by any means necessary!

4. Send telegrams in support of H. Rap Brown, demanding his release to U.S. Atty. General Ramsay Clarke, Washington, D.C.
Send telegrams protesting the Orangeburg Massacre and demanding that the murderers be punished to Gov. McNair in Columbia, South Carolina.
Please send copies of telegrams to: SNCC
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

5. Above all, let's take care of business the same way that the man takes care of business with us----in the only language he will ever understand. Our time is running out fast. We must learn a good lesson from our Vietnamese brothers who are defeating America--the so-called "most powerful country in the world." SELF DEFENSE and RETALIATION----with GUNS and STRATEGY---is the only answer! For Orangeburg, for Rap Brown, for Huey Newton, for Max Stanford, for LeRoi Jones, for Cleveland Sellers, for all of us, the word is MAXIMUM RETALIATION TO THEM with MINIMUM LOSSES TO US!!!

1 APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
CLEVELAND BRANCH

A source on May 17, 1967, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was organized about 1938 or 1939, and was affiliated with the National SWP and followed its policies and directives.

A second source on May 17, 1967, advised that the Cleveland Branch SWP, with approximately 29 members, is affiliated with the National SWP and is currently active in Cleveland, Ohio.

APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM, Also Known as Militant Labor Forum

In May, 1967, a source advised that the Forum is a paper organization set up by the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP), Chicago, Illinois, for Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members and sympathizers. Open meetings held under the auspices of this Forum are geared to the activities that the SWP is pushing at a particular time, e.g., unemployment, election campaign, Cuba, segregation, etc.

A CBSWP member is in charge of the Forum and schedules meetings under the name of the Forum in order to conceal the SWP sponsorship of same. The meetings of the Forum generally are held at Chicago SWP headquarters although the Forum, in the past, has sponsored other affairs, such as meetings, socials and parties held at other locations.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM
also known as
FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM
and formerly known as
TWIN CITIES LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 23, 1967, that the Friday Night Forum, frequently referred to as the Friday Night Socialist Forum, is not an organization, but is a name under which the Twin Cities Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (TCB-SWP) sponsors public meetings. These meetings were formerly sponsored under the name Twin Cities Labor Forum. These meetings are planned and arranged by SWP members acting under the direction of TCB-SWP leadership. Their intended purpose is to dispense Marxist doctrine without identifying the Socialist Workers Party.

The TCB-SWP is an affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1 APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 13, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966 Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

1

APPENDIX

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Ames Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes

"To instruct, train, teach, and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam(NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI, and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI,including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5,1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958,decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
April 19, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference: Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] insufficient contact to determine reliability.

RAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
MMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 13 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

532 PM DEFERRED 2-13-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCTRATIC SOCIETY, IS- SDS.

b1

REMYTEL FEB TWELVE LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHAPTER SDS (UC-SDS) HELD DEMONSTRATION BUSINESS EAST BUILDING ON UC CAMPUS BEGINNING THREE PM TODAY. DEMONSTRATION HELD IN PROTEST OF UNIVERSITY'S COOPERATION WITH INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSIS (IDA). APPROXIMATELY THIRTYSIX INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATION CONSISTING OF PICKETS CARRYING SIGNS READING "IDA HELPS U.S. KILL BETTER EVERYWHERE" AND "UC GET OUT OF IDA." ALSO FACT SHEET PUBLISHED BY UC-SDS DISTRIBUTED REQUESTING BAIL MONEY FOR INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT INCIDENTS AT ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA.

EX-113 REC 11 100-439048-2214

SOURCE STATED DEMONSTRATION PEACEFUL AND WITHOUT INCIDENT, TERMINATING THREE FIFTY PM.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

FEB 14 1968

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC

cc - Thompson

63 FEB 19 1968

XEROX

P

FEB 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	7/23/68	4/10 - 7/18/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: ear

CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [redacted] dated 4/19/68.

- P -

LEADS

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
	FUG	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

REC-23

16 JUL 29 1968

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, (Via Courier)
1 - US Secret Service, Chicago, (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
2 - Chicago (100-40342)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Request Recd.

Date Fwd.

How Fwd.

By

9 1968

CG 100-40342

INFORMANTS

Source | Location

100-40342-2021

Instant Report

Instant Report

100-40342-1856

COVER PAGE

100-40342-1856

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified confidential to protect sources [redacted] and [redacted] since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

Details concerning the UFAP - Murder investigation of ROBERT VANCE WALTON, Et Al, can be found in Bufile 88-44846, Chicago file 88-12083. WALTON is former Chicago Branch SNCC officer and is on the SI and AI.

Following Chicago agitator index subjects associated with SNCC are mentioned in this report:

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN
ROBERT VANCE WALTON

Details concerning the Selective Service Act, 1948, investigation of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN can be found in Bufile 100-448502, Chicago file 25-50236. AUSA ROBINSON, NDI, Chicago, estimates BROWN's case will come up for trial sometime in September, 1968.

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, (Via Courier)
1 - US Secret Service, (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago, (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago, (Via Courier)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Chicago
Date: 7/23/68

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was arrested by FBI on 7/17/68, for violation Selective Service Act, 1948. BROWN arraigned and released on bond same date. Details of Midwest SNCC conference week-end of 4/13-14/68 set forth. STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's speech on 3/25/68, at Chicago, Illinois, set forth. SNCC funds and officers set out. SNCC leaflets attached.

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DETAILS:

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

On May 14, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Region Director, SNCC advised that his efforts to open a local SNCC office had failed. He was continuing to operate SNCC from his residence at 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. He could also be reached through contacting BOB RUSH or JOE MONTGOMERY.

(Source [redacted] 5/16/68)

BOBBY L. RUSH, a male, Negro, is student organizer of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY, a male, Negro, is gang organizer of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(Source [redacted], 5/2/68)

(Source [redacted] 6/16/68)

III. CHICAGO AREA SNCC OFFICERS

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director

On January 26, 1968, [redacted] Chicago Sanitation Department, City Hall, Chicago, Illinois, advised their records indicate ROBERT A. BROWN is the son of deceased LAWRENCE NATHANIEL BROWN who had been a sanitation employee from May 17, 1950, to June 15, 1964. On June 12, 1964, Mrs. ALICE ELLA BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, shot her husband, LAWRENCE NATHANIEL BROWN with a bullet from a rifle through the heart killing him instantly. She was exonerated by the court on grounds of justifiable homicide. ROBERT A. BROWN is one of 13 children in this family.

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN is Midwest Region Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

On April 15, 1968, [redacted] Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station (AFEES), 615 West Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois, advised that ROBERT A. BROWN reported for his pre-induction physical examination at approximately 8:30 a.m. on this date. BROWN was accompanied by 2 other Negroes, a male and a female. They remained outside the building for a short time, but carried no signs, created no disturbances, and in no way engaged in picketing of the induction center. BROWN initially submitted to the pre-induction physical; however, when it came to take the mental examination, he refused and at this point he was requested to leave the induction center. BROWN complied with the request and left.

(Source [redacted], 6/6/68)

On June 18, 1968, [redacted] AFEES, advised that on this date ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN underwent a complete induction physical and mental examination. He refused to fill out the Subversive Organization Form DD 98. At the conclusion of the examinations he refused to submit to induction in that he did not take the oath and step forward signifying acceptance of military obligation.

On July 16, 1968, Assistant United States Attorney EUGENE ROBINSON advised that Federal Grand Jury in session in the Northern District of Illinois, Court House, Chicago, Illinois, returned true bill and Judge J. SAM PERRY, United States District Court, Chicago, authorized a warrant for the arrest of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN for violation of Selective Service Act, 1948, Title 50, Appendix United States Code on a suppressed indictment. Bond was set at $4,000.

On July 17, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN at his residence 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, without incident. BROWN refused to make any comments without consultation with his attorney. He refused to reveal the identity of his attorney, implying that all the preparations for his release after this arrest had been previously handled. At approximately 3:30 p.m. on this date BROWN's bond was made and he was released.

On May 14, 1968, [redacted] BROWN was first introduced to the "Black Power Movement" by LAWRENCE LANDRY when BROWN was 14 years of age. BROWN was then signed up as a member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). [redacted] BROWN might soon be ousted from leadership in SNCC. SNCC financial condition is poor and most local "Black Power" leaders would prefer to have a new SNCC leader in Chicago.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) CHICAGO CHAPTER

Chicago chapter of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed of primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns concerned with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages, and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

(Source [redacted] 1/5/68)

LAWRENCE LANDRY is a male Negro, who was instrumental in the formation of ACT, a militant west side civil rights organization in early 1964. ACT was then described as a "Third Force" in the civil rights movement composed of the most militant leaders in the Negro revolution. He was national chairman of ACT. In 1963 LANDRY was chairman of the Chicago branch of SNCC. He has been arrested in Chicago on at least 2 occasions in connection with street demonstrations and is alleged to have been instrumental in inviting the disorders on Chicago's west side in August, 1965.

(Source [redacted] 1/5/68)

On June 6, 1968 [redacted] advised [redacted] He characterized ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as having an intense hatred of white people also as lacking the intelligence to conduct a constructive program of activities for SNCC.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY recently joined the Chicago branch of SNCC as gang organizer in the Chicago area. He has influence over a teenage gang in the neighborhood of 75th and Halsted Streets, Chicago, which he uses for SNCC leaflet distribution, canvassing and other purposes.

(Source [redacted] 5/15/68)

BOBBY L. RUSH

BOBBY L. RUSH is student organizer of Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

THOMAS CLYDE CARTER

On May 13, 1968, THOMAS CLYDE CARTER, generally known as TOMMY of 14927 South Leavitt Avenue, Harvey, Illinois, advised that he is SNCC Field Director for the South Suburban Area of Chicago. CARTER described himself as an acquaintance of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director of SNCC. He said he had met STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director SNCC, on several occasions, but was not a close confidant of CARMICHAEL's. He declined to discuss aims and goals of SNCC, but claimed his branch membership exceeded 50 individuals. He considered a physical confrontation between black and white races as inevitable and had his forces prepared for the assured confrontation. He was critical of the FBI for giving firearms instruction to the Harvey, Illinois, Police Department.

ROBERT VANCE WALTON

ROBERT VANCE WALTON, generally known as YAREE AMEER is affiliated with the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Direct Action Coordinator and leader of the young black miltants.

(Source [redacted] 11/17/67)

On June 13, 1968, [redacted] advised that on June 8, 1968, ROBERT VANCE WALTON accompanied by his brother JOHN MICHAEL WALTON entered a store on Chicago's south side and without warning fired two fatal shots from a .38 caliber revolver into the head of ABDER RAYYAN an Arab National, born in Jordan, who has been in the United States for the past 5 years. [redacted]

advised that in addition to the first warrant, a second murder warrant has been obtained for ROBERT WALTON. This warrant was obtained upon the development of new information regarding the shot gun killing of a 7 year old boy on July 2, 1967.

On June 14, 1968, an authorized complaint was filed before United States Commissioner, Northern District of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois, charging ROBERT VANCE WALTON JOHN MICHAEL WALTON and SALLY B. MILLER with violation of Title 18, Section 1073, United States Code, unlawful flight to avoid prosecution - murder. $50,000 bond recommended for each subject. THE SUBJECTS ARE ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

IV. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC FINANCES

(Source 7/8/68)

(Source 7/10/68)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director of SNCC, enrolled in a 3 months training program from January through March, 1968, at the Urban Training Center for Chirstian Missions (UTC), 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, which is called "Ministerial Survival Conference in Preparation for Community Action Training Program." BROWN received $60 per week to attend classes for 5 hours daily in this program.

(Source [redacted] 2/1/68)

In March, 1966 [redacted] advised that UTC is supported financially by the Chicago Catholic City Missionary Society, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, with a part of these finances coming from a number of churches and church groups in the Chicago area. Among the principal contributors is the Church Federation of Chicago. Most of the staff of the UTC are ministers of various denominations oriented toward a social action-protest philosophy which is "anti-power structure" in nature.

On June 17, 1968, [redacted] advised [redacted] JOHN MICHAEL WALTON now wanted for murder and that he was formerly associated with the Chicago branch of SNCC [redacted]

Bulletin number 1185, Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, pages 3 and 4, reveals that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America Union (UERMWA), was one of 11 unions expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), during 1949-1950, on charges of Communist domination. The bulletin stated that UERMWA was expelled on November 2, 1949 and that its present status was that of an "unaffiliated" union.

(Source [redacted] 2/67)

ERNEST DE MAIO holds the position of President of District 11, UERMWA, 37 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois and is also Vice President of the International UE organization. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

("UE NEWS", official organ of UE, June, 1967)

V. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC ACTIVITIES

Communist Party (CP) of Illinois

At the present time there are no CP of Illinois members active in the Chicago Branch of SNCC and the CP exercises no influence over SNCC.

(Source [redacted] 4/18/68)

Midwest SNCC Conference

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, arranged a Midwest SNCC Conference to begin at noon Saturday, April 13, 1968, and to continue through Sunday, April 14, 1968 BROWN invited a number of individuals from outside Chicago from the Midwest area to attend the conference.

At approximately 1:00 p.m. Saturday, April 13, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN arrived at Chicago Alderman A. A. "Sammy" Rayner Hall, 7127 South Chicago Street, and discovered that Chicago Police Department officers were already on the scene. Several officers BROWN recognized as being with the Human Relations Unit. They interviewed BROWN advising him that at his meeting on this date he had better be careful, not engage in any unlawful activity or make any inflammatory remarks or he would be subject to possible arrest.

BROWN then warned each person individually that came to the hall for the SNCC meeting that they were under police surveillance and to surreptitiously go to the meeting place which would be held that evening at 6:00 p.m. at 5008 South Dorchester, Chicago.

The meeting was held between 8:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. BROWN stated that no meeting should last longer than 2 hours as no blacks should be together at one place too long for security reasons. He said no one place should ever be used for more than one such SNCC meeting. Approximately 20 to 25 Negroes were in attendance at the meeting. No extensive

introductions were made as the majority appeared to know one another. Four or five of the Negroes were from outside the Chicago area, however, the source recognized only "TUCK" ADDISON from Gary, Indiana, and FRANK JACKSON from Kalamazoo, Michigan.

BROWN stated that similar SNCC meetings were being held in various places around the country. He said the black groups have to be ready to coordinate activities if the future black revolution is to be effective. He belittled the efforts by local black power groups to form a united black front. He explained that this is just a hoax and SNCC would not be part of it. SNCC must get itself and its associates together. They must organize so that each individual has his own "job" which would be in an area which the individual himself feels to be most important. Whatever "job" is selected by an individual it should be kept secret from other SNCC members and should absolutely remain that way. This type of security is necessary so that no one else can innocently or otherwise tell on another SNCC member. BROWN said in the future he would not be able to handle details of anyone's "job" and does not want to know any individual's "job" function. He said if members find themselves under surveillance by the police not to come to him. He does not want to be restricted in his movements so he does not want to be involved in their problems. He said no black man should go to jail or submit to arrest. If danger of being arrested they should shoot it out with the police.

BROWN was asked for examples of what he meant by "job" and he implied that if someone wanted to do a job in a political field that person would select a politican or a public figure who is a danger to the movement or an individua hindering the black power movement and the job would be to "remove" that individual. He indicated this type of "job" should be well organized and handled efficiently. He explained that such individuals should be handled by "us" before these individuals have a cnance to act against "us".

BROWN said there will be a black convention in Chicago at the same time the Democratic National Convention is to be held. He expected black militants from all over the country to be in Chicago to "tear up the city." BROWN will see to it that Chicago is full of disturbances with the objective to keep the convention from being held and to make it necessary to move elsewhere.

As a further example BROWN said that in the field of education the SNCC member who takes this assignment for his "job" should keep in mind the objective that all schools should be closed down. Black students should not be studying courses set up under the white system. The schools are not teaching subjects of interest to the black. The United States laws are not black laws and blacks have no responsibility to obey the white mans' laws. The blacks should not serve the white mans' country and should not even consider themselves citizens of ths country. This country should be "wrecked".

The crowd was attentive and generally quiet throughout BROWN's talk. BROWN was asked it he wanted to hand out assignments on "jobs". BROWN refused and implied that each individual member is on his own and will have to determine, when, where, and what time to carry out his "job".

BROWN placed much stress on future security of operation. "TUCK" ADDISON commented that he was not interested in associating with anyone who would have to be persuaded to handle a "job". All of the individuals in this meeting were expected to be committed to the movement. He did not want problems created by any individual member who was having trouble with the authorities. He said police and informers whose identities can be determined should be killed. He wanted to associate with people in the movement who have been in jail and can be trusted or who have been in the movement for a long time. He would not associate with any new member in the movement.

(Source [redacted] 4/15/68)

FRANK AUGUSTUS JACKSON is a sophmore student at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he is a member of a recently chartered student organization called Black Action Movement (BAM). This organization recently sponsored a "Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power" from March 29 through 31, 1968.

(Source [redacted] 4/1/68)

EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON, generally known as "TUCK" ADDISON was a graduate of Lincoln University where he was known as a "agitator and black power" advocate. ADDISON was opposed to the war in Vietnam and at one time requested leave to go to North Vietnam which request was denied.

(Source [redacted] 9/15/67)

University of Northwestern Disturbance, Evanston, Illinois

On May 3, 1968, [redacted] adv shortly before 8:00 a.m. on this date that approximately 60 Negroes, reportedly members of an organization called "For Members Only" (FMO) which is an all Negro organization recently formed on the University of Northwestern (NU) Campus to provide facilities for Negro social gatherings and to serve as a medium for the study of Negro culture, gained entry to the administrative building of NU located at 619 West Clark Street, Evanston, Illinois. A member of the janitorial staff open the doors prior to the official opening of the building at 8:30 am. The group barricaded themselves in the building and refused entry to employees of the building. This group is demanding that more Negro students be admitted to NU and that the school administration "do away with races" and proceeded to hang signs to this effect in the area of the building.

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director SNCC and ROBERT RUSH, Student Organizer, SNCC, traveled to NU campus in connection with the student demonstration. BROWN and RUSH had planned to remain with the demonstrators, however, BROWN and the leader of the student demonstration were in disagreement over the students demands and BROWN and RUSH departed in the late afternoon hours.

(Source [redacted] 5/3/68)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL Speech, Chicago, Illinois

On May 2, 1968, the following verbatim transcript of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC which he made at the Afro Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, on March 25, 1968, was made available on this date.

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

Stokely Carmichael: Good evening brothers and sisters...I can wrap some coats on to you. We have a lot to talk about tonight. We want to take our time and understand what we have to talk about tonight. I think in part if you see any black man you see Negroes, we all the same.

Response from audience.

Carmichael: Now then tonight we have to be very very serious and we have to understand very clearly what is happening in this country. It is crystal clear that the honkies are preparing to commit genocide against this beautiful race of people.

Person from audience: Peace brother.

Carmichael: That's clear and we want to go over that because what we're talking about tonight is not political, not economic, not poverty program. We're talking about survival, survival, survival, and survival is entirely different from old, poverty program, education, and all that junk. After you have survival you can play with that, but when your talking about survival you're talking about food, shelter, clothing, that's all. Now there are some of our brothers and sisters who do not believe that white people will or getting ready to commit genocide against us. So we have to be clear in our minds when we say they are getting ready to commit genocide against us, that we can at least explain that from grounds over which they can see the light. Now it is very easy. All we have to do is to let our brothers and sisters read the man's history. If you read the honkies history you'd see wherever the honkies got they disrupted societies, disrupted societies. We can explain to brothers that the honkies came to this country. The Indians took him in and fed him, showed him how to plant corn, to hunt, fish, how to adapt to this country and when the Indians showed him that he wiped him out. We have to demonstrate to our people exactly what is going on because if we do not break off we're going to be dead. We can explain to the brother that when the honky went to South America he saw the Aztec Indians with their silver and their copper and all of their monuments. The Aztec Indians took him in showed him the silver. He fight, stole, it and wiped them out.

We are not teaching it tonight, we're giving facts. We'll tell you what we're preaching.

The honkies went to Africa. We were milling in Africa. We were the greatest there was. He came, he got mad. He stole our gold, stole our diamonds, stole our copper, stole our zinc, and turned around and stole us as well.

He went to China. The Chinese had gunpowder. They used it for fireworks on their days of festivities. They sold it to the honkies. He refined it, made a gun, and came back, shot them all. I ask you to read the honkies' history and show me where he has gone where he has not conquered, where he is the majority or the minority.

What we're dealing with today is the final showdown, the confrontation between the black and white around the world especially inside the United States, and since we're dealing with a final confrontation of black or white, we have to ask ourselves how will we survive, but brothers and sisters you don't have to worry because we're gonna survive, and therefore he is capable of doing it. We must prepare ourselves... preparation. I always tell a little joke about the brother in Alabama. This honky came into a juke joint and just started hitting on his brother and kicked him all down the floor and the white man jumped up, he said, "Nigger if I had my gun I'd kill you. The brother said"slide up against the wall here. White man you mean to tell me you have... (rest of joke unintelligible because of large response by audience).

It is always better to be prepared then to be not prepared and it is always better to have you than caught without it, but there is another reason why we say he is getting ready to commit genocide against us. He brought us here for a specific reason to build this country. We have built this country so it is the most powerful and richest country in the world. We built it. He no longer has need of us. When you don't need something destroy it.

If its costing you much money destrov it. You get rid of it. Now if we say that he is getting ready to do this thing to us and if we are talking about survival, then some of the conferences we lost last year, we must go beyond.

We have three very important concepts which we must all understand very clearly in our minds, and these concepts are going to help to build the type of ideology that is going to bind us together as a group..to shoot this white man once and for all, that's very important. The first concept: We must have undying love for our people. I want to repeat that we must have undying love for our people, and that's the most important thing we have. If we have undying love for our people we would not be dying in Viet Nam. We would be dying in the streets of Chicago. We do not have undying love for our people because he has transferred the love that we once had for each other for relative things like this country. So we are willing to die for his country but we are not willing to die for our people.

Response from audience.

...first our people then, and only then you and me as individuals. Our people must come first. The only thing is that an undying love of our people is going to be very hard, because we hate each other so much, and we hate each other so much because we are taught how to hate each other; and if we are talking about building an undying love for our people we must begin to want..All of those things he taught us, the first thing he taught us was to hate black because that's us. It is no accident that we have such...statements about the blacks he taught us...Even today some of our people still want to be called Negro rather than be called black. It is because we have a hatred of that which is black that we hate ourselves, because black is like us which is why we do the things we do to each other. If we are going to turn it around, we must say we love the blacks.

Response from audience.

Unless we get him to understand that concept he will continue to demind us. We must have such a strong love for our people that..cannot disrupt us, cannot disrupt us. We must have such an undying love for our people that if a brother should have to go to Viet Nam we love him so much we will break his legs,

Large response from audience.

and we must do it in a spirit of love, not hate. We must have such an undying love for our people that when a brother says he does not want to go to Viet Nam that when the MPs come to get him, he got to get all of us.

Response from audience.

We must have such an undying love for our people that we no longer say anything negative about our people. Nothing, from now on everything we say about our people must be positive. We cannot say anything, it must be positive.

The second concept which is very important, flows from the first, and says every Negro is a potential black man, and we have to work with that concept to make all our brothers who is a slipping Negro yesterday, today he's a black nationalist...if the brother is a nationalist then who should help that brother see the light and come on home. If we do not help that brother see the light the honkies are going to use him against us, but even more important than the honkies using him against us is that he is our people, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, and the honkies can't have any more they had enough. So we have to understand that concept. We must understand because too many people are running and talking about the toms...we never was no tom, we was a traitor not an uncle tom, but we don't have any more...we do not have it because we do not have an undying love for our people. If we had an undying love for our people there...we would say to ourselves...we would work together in a spirit of love, a total friendship, and we would work for them. If they don't come home they are traitors to...kill traitors, but we do not want to emphasize killing our own people. That is negative. We want to emphasize bring the Negro home and making him black. That is what we must emphasize because we cannot fight our people and the enemy. We cannot. That is what we must emphasize because every Negro is a potential black man and that means he is a potential ally and

you do not alienate your potential ally. We must understand that concept. The brothers and the sisters who are still wandering. Let us take time, let us take love brother and bring them home, because if you got a converted Negro brother you got a strong black man. And let us remember that it was not too long ago that brother Malcolm X was speaking to us and we were kicking at him. Let us remember thatblack power is only two years old and we were kicking at that when it first came out. Let us remember where we were and we'll help everyone. We must bring all of our people home.

Now then the third concept and the most important concept and perhaps the most difficult concept is one we must spend some time with because it really is important. For black people the question of commuting is not just simply a question of land. It is a question of our people...for black people the question of commuting is not just a question of land it is a question of our color our people, and where we are, that is to say that when you go to a place you're not home until you're with your people. If you went to Los Angeles you would not be home until you moved to Watts. If you went to New York you would not be home until you moved to Harlem. If :you went to Detroit, you would not be home until you were on Riverside. Chicago, you would not be home until you were on the south or the west side. Pretty soon it will be the home city, and in Washington, D. C. the whole city is our's, but now we have to understand these concepts because if we understand these concepts we can break down this giant national barrier and it is honkies...In Cuba 65% of the population is black. In Puerto Rico...In Panama 45% of the population is black. In Santo Domingo 50% of the population is black. In Guatemala 50% of the population is black. In the West Indies the whole West Indies is black and when you in Africa the whole, the whole (unintelligible due to large response by audience). If we can begin to understand that concept we break down this giant thing the honkies have...you American Negro, you Canadian Negro, you Negro Negro...all of us because if we recognize that we would recognize that the black man in the world today is 900,000,000 strong...We got 900,000,000 strategic, 900,000,000 strategic placed situations in the Western Hemisphere. The biggest mistake this white man made was to mess with the African. He's going to pay for it.

Now then we have to talk about the concept of Negro versus African, because people are going to analyze... When we were in Africa we were Africians. We were black men. We were free. After he stole us from Africa when he brought us to the United States, we became slaves. We became Negroes Understand this concept clearly. The Negro and the slave are the same thing. We want to work with the concept a little bit more because we have to...now he stole us from Africa and more when he says we didn't steal you, they sold you out, and then we go around saying our people sold us out. The only reason he is saying that is to keep us divided because if you believe your people sold you out wouldn't organize with them. You wouldn't organize them. We'll get the white concept out of our mind. We have to say no Africans sold anybody out, hunkies you stole us all.

Response by audience.

Now the only reason we have to say that is because we need it for our own psychological uplift. We got to say it because its true. Let me ask you a question...Africa. He ain't had nothing, nothing. Where's the gold come from, Africa. Where's the diamonds come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the copper come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the zinc come from?

Audience: Africa.

What does he have?

Audience: Nothing

The honky then have nothing, nothing at all.

As a matter of fact he stole us to pick the...What the honky buy us with trinkets? Our women were wearing the best gold and diamonds there is to buy. What did the honky buy us with fire water? The best booze and the best pot comes from Africa. I know what I am talking about. I am just laughing (unintelligible due to audience response). It is obvious that he had no currency, nothing whatsoever to buy us with, but he had the straight attitude. Let us think: 1) that we couldn't come together because we don't trust each other if we sold each other out; and 2) He's got to say this because he can't admit that he would do all that stealing by himself. So he's got to...(unintelligible due to audience response). So we must understand that concept because if we say were African, you say you're a free people. If you say you Negro you say to began in slavery. If you say you began in war that means you searched your ancestors back into slavery and if your beginning was..you cannot grow up to be nothing but a good slave. Because that's where you began, a slave. It follows that your going to be a slave, but if you said you were African and you would say that you went to the first university in the world, the University of Timbukto.

Large response from audience.

If you said you were an African you would come from people who are warriors like Hannibal, like (lists names of other warriors, but names unintelligible) you would be somebody.. If you want to say the blood of Africa was on you, you would have given civilization to that white man. You give it to a people who say your an African. Your civilization began in the Mesopotamian Valley and...(unintelligible due to audience response). If you ever say you're African you could say your ancestors roamed this world and all of its..and your ancestors would fight the sun before they would bow down to anyone. If you would say you're African then they would not be able to debate us the way they...jive talk about the Africans don't like you and you don't like the Africans, cause they got...If anyone say you got justice you say...people what you think about Stokely Carmichael.

Large response from audience.

He has divided us up that we do not know who we are, where we came from, what our ancestry is. He divided us as he saw it. He dropped us in the West Indies. He dropped us in Cuba. He dropped us in Brazil. He dropped us in Guatemala. He dropped us in Panama. He dropped us in Santo Domingo. He dropped us in Puerto Rico. He dropped us in the United States, even in Canada we are..what did he do this white man wanting to do this to us as a people.

We have to understand man, and we're talking about color today and nothing else. The world is divided and the country that is pushing it the most is the United States of America. Let me say the divided of our brother. You know we came back into the country. We tried to talk to black people...don't you sit down and talk to us Stokely Carmichael...Communist. That's O.K. communism is a white thing we're coming from a straight black thing. We don't get you and immediately we got to take some time and explain alot of things to unite.

Now the honkies..responsible Negroes those.. communists blah, blah, blah. Before we left this country about 8 months ago...what a good thing it is that these white people are sitting down together to return..in harmony with each other. It is the United States and Russia that are sitting down today to develop...and that ain't nothing but a white fight. We must understand that all the Eastern communist world is breaking off to denounce China. So all the whites are going to come closer together. There's a direct flight from New York to Moscow right now, leaves every day. I think Pan American has got it. What we have got to understand is that white force is moving closer together. It was the United States of America that voted for South Africa to join the Olympics, the United States of America. Like I said the white man witch doctor in South Africa..He was trained in the United States of America. When they brought him over here to put him on.. telling folks we don't have to kill them we can use some of them to steer cars. It is strictly a question of power and the United States is moving closer and closer to it and we have some of our brothers and sisters who are arguing about whether or not they should run for this honky in the Olympics.

What are you going to get fxm the Olympics, a gold medal. The gold is coming from South Africa, its ours. Its ours. Its ours. All he's doing is burning his heart out for gold that belongs to him. The honky stole it all, and when the honky gives him...and says thanks alot nigger, and then we people..debate about the Olympics....I'll tell you honky you'll lose and that's enough for me.

Large response from audience.

Don't be afraid to tell them, if we want you to lose, because you been using us to sin for you and you been against us and we not going to to nothing for you no more.

Response from audience.

Now then we want to move into areas specifically about trying to corrupt our movement, cause it is very clear that nowhere it is good. We know where it is going just some of us scared to get up and say so, but we going to get our people and going to get up because this is the most beautiful race of people in the world and we going to get up to kill..The United States works on what is called the 3 M's, the missionary, the money, the marine, That's right. Everywhere I've gone that's how they count it. They send the missionary...They send the money in and its fizzling out. The next comes the marines for protecting some...

Large response from audience.

That means that we are a disease to all these black men and all black women. You got to get...(unintelligible due to response of audience). We have got to get some guns. We have got to get some guns to the news for the benefit of our people against our enemies. We have got to get those guns. I will tell you why we have to get guns,,not only because we need protection when you..., but we need it because of all of the programs that is run by the...will not solve our problems. Because our problem is the white man..Let us examine then the...so when I couldn't stop he decided he would refine it. So he..black power. Well black power means...black power means the vote. If you

got the vote then you going to get everything. Brothers and sisters let me tell you something. The vote now has never been, nor ever will be relevent to the survival of · black people in this country,

Large response from audience.

and I'll prove it to you. We have not been able to vote in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and even Washington, D. C. We have been surviving without a vote. Not only that, the vote doesn't help us a damn....You know that beautiful man from Atlanta, Georgia...got elected to his position. They didn't like what he said. They kicked him out, and could survive for 2 years without the... You know brother Adam Clayton Powell. He's been out of office for almost 2 years now...The vote does not mean anything because of the...political power from out of the barrel of....They count everything because they... and they have us thinking enough for them. It time for us to pick up the gun for our people. It is not the question of the vote, it is the question of the gun. It is a question only of the color. If it is not a question of the gun, it is a question of the will of people to fight to the dying end.

Response from audience.

So we must understand the vote in its proper perspective. If we vote today we do it only for one reason to bring our people closer together. That's all, that's all. We do not expect a vote to win us anything because it will win us nothing in Gary, Indiana, it will win us nothing in Cleveland, but some people are going to be up or you sleep, because we are all waking up today and got to get other people to put us to sleep. We have got to wake up the Stokes and the Hatchers. The votes mean absolutely nothing unless we get the gun. Give us a pride in ourselves, tell us about our history, our culture and developing love for our people. That's what education is all about. If you had that in you, you could conquer the world. If you had that in you chemically, physically...but its because we have a sense of nothingness, cause we're Negroes, cause we're slaves. You can use slaves

for white trash, then we are in a way completely white-washed, [illegible]manized, and asleep. In order to wake up we must take over the education system in our schools, and we must start off by saying to our brothers black is beautiful. It is so beautiful to be black. We must give them a feeling that they are somebody with trust and dignity. The whites boy gives it to his children and to us. Everytime he says these things he may not think the white man is superior. He doesn't have to say that. He tells you Christopher Columbus discovered America. Marco Polo discovered China. A white man discovered everything. If white people discovered everything god damnit, they got to be superior. He may not have to come out and say their superior, but he tells you everyday, he tells you. The most beautiful and richest country in the world is the United States of America, whose running it. White folks. So whose the most beautiful and richest in the world, white folks. Cause this ain't our country, I know we got over that.

Audience: Peace brother.

So we have to understand this concept of education...plenty.

Now the first and the last they are going to be the most difficult for us, is the one we really have to work hard on is this thing about economics. I say they got these people down...saying black power means green power, and they got all these preachers jumping up saying that's right green power first, green power, that's what we need. Now look here we don't need money all that bad, I'll tell you why, because the most materialistic concept he has is in the dollar. He will kill his mama for the dollar. and here comes some preacher...that we should fight for the dollar. He just like the monkey killing for the dollar. Ain't that some junk. We not fighting for no dollar. There's something more important than the dollar. Its our people, that's more important than the dollar. Everywhere they yell, get green power, you get green power you get black power. Black power is talking about people. What they saying is you get money you can buy people. Its the same old concept. We cannot be fighting for green power. It is the poverty program that's disrupted all of our communities across the country when we were coming together.

Response from audience

It is the poverty program that has done it. The poverty program was aimed to do two things: stop the rebellion, we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers and that's precisely what they have done, because in any race of people the warriors are your youths. The poverty program is geared for nobody but the youthes. Get them off the streets, put them in the parlor, put them anywhere, get them off the streets and give them $50 a week, give $100 a week, give $200 a week, keep them off the streets. But the poverty program began its concepts saying that the black family was divided. The father was unemployed. He was away and he had no moral image. Remember when they ran that junk down on us. Now they say that and when they come to solve the problem they give the money to the youths. Now think what it does to our fathers. My father 40-45 years old, I'm 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and every week I come and through down $70, $90, $100, $200. He's sitting there. I'm supporting the family. What does that do to my father...They should give the money to our fathers who are in fact the rulers of our family and they are solving the problem.

Response from audience.

So we got to understand the poverty program. If we get involved in the poverty program we do so only because we're going to use it as an organizing tool to bring our people together.

Now we want to move in to begin to internationalize a little, and we have to talk about this thing with both sides cause a lot of people don't really understand the difference between both whites and black people. The difference is that there are two types of oppression. There is exploitation. There is colonization. Exploitation is where one race of people exploits or oppresses other people in the same race. That's to say that if I a black man who is exploiting all of you who are black people then there would be exploitation, because we're the same people and all I'm taking from you is money and I'm exploiting you. Colonization is when one race of people totally oppresses another race of people. Cause when they do that not only do they rid them of their money they rid them of their humanity. Because they have to destroy the culture, the history, the language, the ways of life of the people they oppress so the people...can you take that its very deep. We got to understand. We got to understand.

We have to understand because there is a difference between colonization and exploitation. White people are fighting for more money. They have the same culture, the same history, the same city, the same way of life as Lyndon Johnson..Lyndon Johnson cause they not Lyndon Johnson, that's all, that's all. Black people are a colonized people. We have been dehumanized. We are fighting for our humanity..There's the difference. Its a big difference. We're fighting for our history, our culture, our own way of life. We are fighting for our humanity because we have been dehumanized. Our history is not the same as the honkyès history. There is no use playing games. The history the honky can write our history because to write it for us is to admit that we gave him civilization and he will never do that.

Response from audience.

We've got to understand that because the fight between us and the fight between white people are two entirely different things. That is not saying we can't use their fight. Sure, when the Democratic Convention comes here I would advise every black man to sit home and fight each other, its about time that ...(unintelligible due to audience response). I don't need for any black person to get involved in that convention. It ain't going to do any good and don't let Kennedy put you to sleep. He's just a honky like all the others,

Response from audience.

and the only reason anywhere because they want to put us to sleep. That's the only reason. Kennedy ain't going to do nothing more than his brother, which was nothing more than Johnson or any other honky ever did. We have got to make a clean sweep because if we believe that Kennedy passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy did not do anything for the civil rights bill. It was the bodies of four black ladies in Birmingham, Alabama that passed the civil rights bill.

Response from audience.

It was thousands of our young brothers and sisters out in the street...bricks and bottles that passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy didn't pass the civil rights bill. Kennedy never passed it. He was just the smart one. He recognized that if they didn't get the civil rights bill the war was going to come much sooner.

If we understand those two sides of oppression then we begin to see who are our allies. Brothers and sisters our allies are the colonized people of the world.

Response from audience.

That's to say that we are allies of the third world...(unintelligible) due to audience response), and we must be allies again because they..like us are fighting for our humanity. H-U-M-A-N-I-T-Y. Its different from money. A lot different from money. The brothers and sisters who threw bricks and bottles against tanks, they're not throwing it for a dollar they're throwing it for their humanity. Maybe all they're saying is god dammit if all I can do nigger, get off of your feet and die like a man you been living in this slum far too long. Its for humanity of our people that they threw those bricks and bottles. Can you not hear them yelling, nigger do something die like a man on your feet. If that's all you can do for them die like a man, die like a man.

Response from audience.

We must understand that concept because if the United States move to start more of a war and you going toget whipped more and more. We got to understand whose side we going to be on.

Response from audience: Negro

The next one is going to be the middle East. We must be on the side of the Arabs, of the Arabs. We cannothbe on the side of the Zionist. We must be for the poor. We must be for the Arabs because there's is a just fight. They are fighting for the land that was taken from them by the Zionists, the British, and the United States of America.

R..ponse from audience.

We must be for the Arabs because they are fighting in Africa. Africa is our mother land. This is important. A young Jewish boy....1948 where Egypt 4,000 year ago, millions of years ago and we going to let them march into Egypt sit here and talk about them Arabs sure is bad. Them Arabs ain't done what they supposed to do. They should drop them into the sea.

Response of audience.

You've got to understand what is going on in the world today. A Zionist has no business in Palestine. The land belongs to the Arabs. The land belongs to the Arabs and the longer you sit out there before the Zionists you cutting out your own eye, because they moving into Egypt and Egypt is ours.

Now we going to come to a very very important concept. This concept of love and hate. Now you know people say that the reason all like Rap Brown is cause he preaches hate, and that's right. Now they don't understand Rap Brown, since the brother in jail and since he is my leader, I might be able tonight to explain a little to you about the brother. Brother not talking about hate. The honky recognizes what he is talking about. The honky recognizes that in every black man and every Negro there is some Rap Brown.

Response from audience.

He recognizes it, that's why he won't like Rap Brown, because he knows Rap Brown...why else does he put Rap Brown in jail. Rap ain't steal nothing. Rap ain't had..shot none of them. He ain't seen Rap lite no fires. Rap ain't broken no laws. Rap is wrapped in the truth and the trust...(unintelligible due to audience response). Now we got to understand this concept of hate, because I will tell you when those brothers... walk out of my house in Washington, D. C. and a fellow came up to me asking...I said yes, I said I him. He said, Well I don't hate nobody.

Response from audience.

I said well I hate those white folks for what they did. He said he don't hate no white folk. He's right he doesn't hate no white folk, because he does not love his people, and I'll tell you why we cannot have such a thing as love and not have such a thing as hate. There's a thing the honkies call dialectic philosophy, which says there are opposites for everything. There's a boy; there's a girl. There's joy; there's sadness. There's laughter; there's tears; There's cold; there's hot. For everything there is an opposite, and as these opposites react that's how you get changes in the world. If you got love you got to have hate.

Response from audience.

If you got love you got to have hate cause you would not be able to differentiate. You could love, you could hate. Some people you don't like too much. Some people you dislike. Some people you hate. If you didn't have it you couldn't tell who to dislike, you couldn't tell who to marry cause you'd be in love with everybody. So there must be an opposite, but if you say you don't have no hate ;you say you don't have no love because if you love your people you would hate sanybody who would try to mess with them. Yes you would.

Response from audience.

If you had an undying love for your people anybody who touched them you'd kill them on the spot, for if you a mother and a father and you have children and you love those children and somebody come to hurt your children you would want to take care of them. Even an animal would protect its own. This man has dehumanized us and...he just snaps his fingers and we come back wagging our tails. We are human beings, we're people with emotions. If we love our people and...(unintelligible due to bongo playing in audience), We cannot stand up on our feet if, god dammit, we hate you. You can say it to him, but we cannot say it to our people. (mimicing) I hate the niggers down there. I hate them all they do is shooting. I hate them, but I don't..because I don't have hate in my heart.

Response from audience.

It is because we do not have love for our people that man do the things he does to us. If we had love, if we had undying love, if we had undying love (large amount of response from audience). If we had undying love for our people when they touch one they would have to touch all. That then say specifically some things about Chicago. There are a lot of so-called Negro leaders in Chicago. They do not care about their people. They care only about themselves and the few choice niggers around them. They do not.

Response from audience.

I will tell you why they do not care about their people. They do not care about their people because in the last week they seen 18 of our brothers and sisters have been wiped out by each other in these gangs....They have not gone down to talk to the young brothers and sisters because they are afraid of their own people. They are afraid of their own people. Rangers are fighting Disciples and fighting the Saints and fighting the Loves to fight the Viceroys and all of these Negro leaders ain't got time to go out and beg them to stop killing each other.

Response from audience.

Last night when we were trying to speak to some of these gangs one of the brothers ...got shot in the face. We couldn't find one black leader to go to the hospital to meet with those gangs to stop the gang war that is going on. Couldn't find one. They didn't even know the name of the gang and they suppose to represent us inthhe city. Where are the ministers of our community. Where are the ministers who are quickest to condemn us when we rebel against whitey. Why can't they...when we rebel against ourselves. Why can't they do that. Where are the ministers who beg us to love the white man, but can't teach us to love ourselves. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers, who say they are teaching the preachings of Jesus Christ. who said of all the commandments I give you this is the most important, "Love thee one another." Where are our people, where are our ministers. Where are these black men if you can find them with their pork chop faces...and when we need them we can't find them. Where are our leaders in Chicago. Where are they.

Response from audience.

Eighteen of our people died. Eighteen of our young glorious died and they don't give a godndamn and they call themselves Negroes. They call themselves Negroes, and why aren't you talking to our young brothers and sisters. Their flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood.. They are the warriors of our race. They are the ones who never compromise. They fight that honky war every single day of their lives, every day of their lives. You want leaders. I'll give you leaders. Get the Blackstone Rangers fighting for their people and you got some leaders..(unintelligible due to audience response) You want leaders. I'll give you leaders. Get the Vice Lords, get the Roman Saints, get all those groups together to the black club to fight for their people and we got the leaders. We'll have some leaders because they will fight to the death. They fight to the death now for no reason just because they hate the white man and just because they're individually frustrated.

Response from audience.

If we can teach them to fight the white man not because they hate him but because they love their people we can have this situation lock stock and barrel, without...(unintelligible due to audience response).

What are you feeling so moral about. We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He not gonna give you anything. We got to take it. We got to take it. We got to take it.

Response from audience.

And these brothers on the streets everyday take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Lets organize them and let them take it for our people. But the preachers and the leaders are afraid of most black people in their community. The gang fighters, the gang fights, because the gang fighters may not have any politics, they may not have education, they are not glorifying the poverty program, but their hearts are black. Their hearts are black cause when something comes down they black and fight. They don't try to stop it they want to help and people we must understand that we must have an undying love for our people. We must begin to love our peole so much that we will not let anyone touch one hair on their happy head.

Response fromaaudience.

We are not preaching about hate we are preaching about love. because if you love your people you will destroy your people's enemies.

Now there's one last thing I want to do before I leave. I want to ask you not to applaud until I raise my hands. I want you to listen very carefully to what I am going to read. Brother Rap Brown is in jail. After I read the statement you may applaud. I will not beg for any money. You will simply pass the baskets. You will give as you so desire. I am not a preacher. I don't beg for money. Rap Brown is in jail not for money but for love of his people. If you have love for you people you will put some money in the basket to help get....

Response from audience.

Iwant to read a statement that was written by my leader. The man I'll die for in a minute because he's ready to die for me. Rap Brown, the brother, wrote the letter while he was in jail. I want you to listen to it very closely because I don't care what you say...

SNCC Threats

On April 30, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN accompanied by BOB RUSH, Chicago Branch of SNCC Student Organizer, attended a political meeting held in a south side Chicago church. Present and speaking at the meeting were Chicago alderman A. A. "Sammy" RAYNER and democratic congressional candidates AUGUST "GUS" SAVAGE. The audience consisted generally of young people, not of voting age, from the Forestville High School area.

BROWN was not expected at this affair and without invitation took over the stage and microphone and began speaking. He said the candidates could campaign, but he doubted if there would be any elections. He said "Niggers" should not vote and if any were caught at the polls they would be sorry. He commented that most black office holders do not represent their own people and they "would be taken care of later".

BROWN accused Alderman RAYNER of taking money from LUCY MONTGOMERY, a rich North Shore society Chicago white female. He did not think RAYNER was too bad and if he did not "mess up", he would be helped. He warned congressional candidate SAVAGE to be careful and not take advantage of his own people, the black race. There was no crowd support for BROWN and they were so overwhelmed by his remarks they did not bother to question his obvious contradictory statements.

(Source [redacted] 5/6/68)

(Source [redacted] 5/26/68)

Cooperation with Chicago Consortium of the Black United Front (BUF)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director SNCC has been selected to be on the guide lines committee to formulate policy for a new group called Consortium of the Black United Front (BUF). BUF is an attempt to solidify the relations of civic, social and religious Negro groups of Chicago into a single new black power structure.

(Source [redacted] 6/14/68)

(Source [redacted] 4/29/68)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN and BOBBY L. RUSH were observed in attendance at National CORE meetings held in Columbus, Ohio, during the weekend of July 5-7, 1968.

(Source [redacted] 7/8/68)

V. SNCC LEAFLETS

The attached SNCC leaflets entitled "I am the Law" and "Help" were obtained from [redacted] mentioned previously. Leaflets entitled "We Must Love our People" and "Brothers" were obtained from [redacted] on May 10, 1968.

"Boss" Daley

On Monday April 15, 1968, "Boss" Daley announced that he had ordered police to shoot to kill arsonists and "shoot to maim or cripple" looters. He further suggested that chemical Mace be used in detaining little children found looting.

The Mayor obviously is not aware that there is no statute of law that provides the death penalty for arson.

Also order 67-14 (governing the use of force by police) limits the use of firearms by police in crowds. It particularly forbids a policeman to

1. Fire into crowds
2. Fire over the heads of crowds, except on orders from an officer above the rank of captain.
3. Fire warning shots were there is a chance of injuring bystanders.
4. Fire into buildings or thru doors when the person fired at is not clearly visible.

HOW CAN THE POLICE OBEY THE MAYORS ORDER TO SHOOT TO KILL WITHOUT VIOLATING ORDER 67-14?????

Not only does "Boss Daley claim to be a "lawmaker" he also wants to be the law enforcement the judge and the jury.

What the good Mayor does not realize however is that [illegible] of those 2,93[illegible] people picked up in riot areas during the riots are not guilty of any crime. In fact, many of them were on the streets because they were turned out of their homes. Many others had gone shopping (legitimately) and the packages they carried were those they had bought. But when the police came down the street they made a general sweep. Anyone who happened to be on the street were picked up, along with those few who had been doing the damage.

We [illegible] not want to be guilty of the same crime that Mayor Daley is guilty of--namely, pre-judging all of those arrested and condemning the innocent along with the guilty.

If [illegible] to help call the Chicago Bar Association office and get the facts about these arrests. Or, call community legal defense office [illegible], who are setting a defense fund to provide legal services for those arrested.

TO CITIZENS OF AMERICA THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Remember, this order is NOW IN EFFECT. Any citizen who happens to be walking down the street (this could be in the downtown area, your own neighborhood--anywhere) and becomes an innocent bystander while the police investigate any kind of a crime could be a VICTIM OF A POLICEMAN WITH A GUN. A black man cannot light a cigarette on the street today without risking arrest on grounds of arson! Even if you are not black, even if you are not in the streets, and whether you are walking your dog or riding home on a public bus, you COULD BE THE VICTIM OF A POLICEMAN WITH A GUN! Regrets by policemen who "accidentally" shoot an innocent victim do no good to a [illegible]

TO: ALL POLICE OFFICERS IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO

[illegible] your job more important than the lives of the men, women and children [illegible] Your human [illegible] [illegible] black policeman, [illegible] murder your [illegible] [illegible] Are you going to continue to [illegible] the [illegible] and eventually [illegible] of black people in the city of Chicago? [illegible] would not [illegible] [illegible] Remember before [illegible] brother, father [illegible] sister [illegible] may be [illegible] you kill.

HELP!

FREE RAP and CLEVE

Come To A

Bail Bond Party

Sat., March 2, 1968
8:00 P. M.
7428 N. Paulina

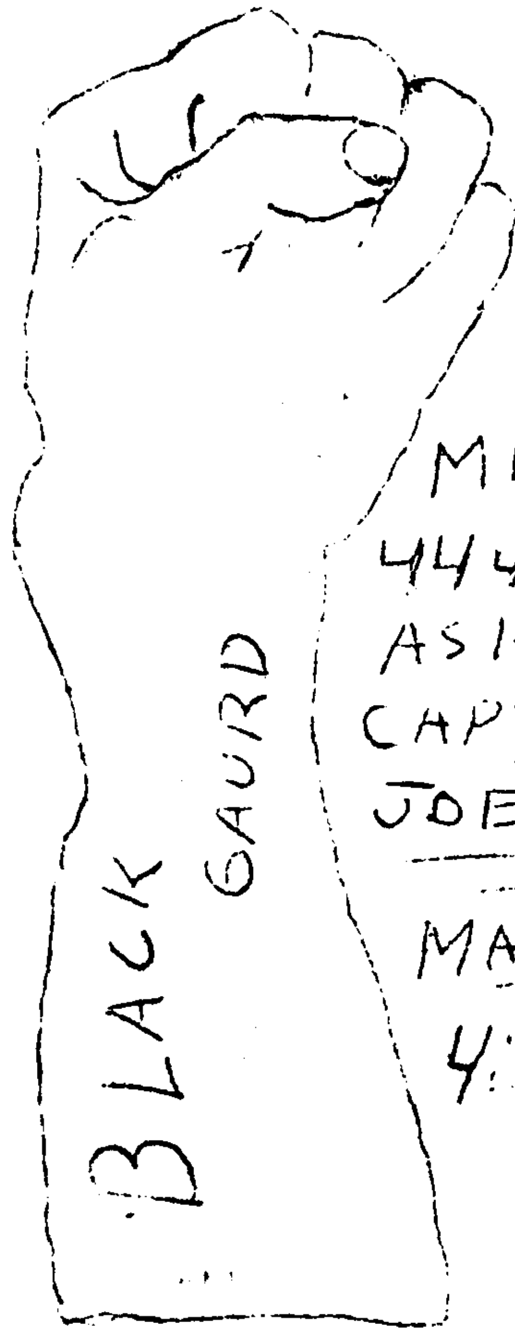


H. RAP BROWN

incc - 306 E 43rd.

PEOPLE

SPONSORED BY S.N.C.C.



MEET AT 4443 S. Mich.
ASK FOR CAPTAIN JOE. WEBB

MAY 11.

4:00

BROTH[illegible]RS!!!

Beware of the deceivers! Don't be mislead by their black exterior and premeditated white lies! They are only implements of the "white" power structure, being used by them for the ramification of "Black" people.

The objective of this circular is to unite our brothers into a common front against the "white" power structure. Now can black people unite when we have certain Tomboos such as our valiant non-violent "Negro" leader, Whitney Young, Who so fearlessly attacked Stokely Carmichael for his belief that Black people should be militant? In his attack he stated that Stokely only had 50 followers, when I know of at least 50 from my group alone. The purpose of his statement was to implant the thought that Stokely was leading a "suicidal Revolution". The bag that Whitey is coming out of is pitting Black man vs. Black man. While we squabble amongst ourselves, whitey is preparing to commit genocide

PROVE TO STOKELEY THAT WE ARE BEHIND HIM 500%.

ATTEND THE MEETING BEING HELD SATURDAY, MAY 4th

at 4426 South Drexel

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois 60604
July 23, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40342

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CHICAGO	ATLANTA	DEC 27 1968	7/19 - 12/18/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: CMS

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [redacted] dated 7/23/68.

-RUC-

ENCLOSURES

TO THE BUREAU (2)

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies of new thumbnail sketch for Chicago Branch of SNCC for Bureau approval.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "confidential" as information contained herein from [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

Copies on page ii

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

17 JAN 2 1969

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

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(18)

CG 100-40342

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
	100-40342-2063
	100-40342-2164 2063 2064
	CG 100-40342-2168 -2168 -2160
	CG 100-40342-2170
	100-40342-2076 -2076 Characterization of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois (via courier)
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1 - NISO, Chicago (RM)
1 - OSI, Chicago (via courier)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Chicago
Date: DEC 27 1968

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Synopsis: ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN and other officers of the Chicago Branch of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), disbanding this branch during 8/68 and associated themselves with the Black Panther Party. The Chicago Branch of SNCC is therefore no longer functioning. Details of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Chicago set out as well as officers, members and financial information prior to the disbanding of the Chicago organization.

-RUC-

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

The following organizations referred to in this report are described in the appendix section attached hereto:

1. Black Panther Party (BPP);
2. Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP);
3. Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP);
4. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS);
5. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), National and Chicago Branch.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Origin, Aims and Purpose

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as of May, 1968, headed the Chicago Branch of SNCC, which as of that time was a loosely organized and non-membership type organization. BROWN operated the organization from his residence located at 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Chicago. BROWN and his associates attempt to develop opposition to the white power structure by contacting various Negro youth gangs and black power type organizations and in that regard using intimidation and boycott methods.

[redacted] 5/68)

The Chicago Branch of the BPP was founded on August 25, 1968, with ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as organizer, ROBERT LEE RUSH as Chicago Chairman, JOSEPH L. MONTGOMERY as Field Director and FRED HAMPTON, Field Organizer. At this time the Chicago Branch of SNCC was dissolved and discontinued and the organization of the BPP in Chicago took place as an affiliate of the national organization. As of that time there was no longer any SNCC functioning in Chicago.

[redacted] 8/27/68)

8/27/68)

10/21/68)

11/6/68)

It is the belief among many SNCC officials that statements such as made by PHILLIP LEROY HUTCHINGS in Los Angeles regarding extreme militancy, are made deliberatly in order to counteract the appeal of the BPP in the minds of young Negroes. This is further felt to be true because SNCC has no means of training anyone in any type of firearms and if a revolution ever did occur, SNCC people would be the first to run and hide.

11/6/68)

D. Locality in Which Active

The Chicago Branch of SNCC operates in the Chicago, Illinois area.

5/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 10/19/68)

II. MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS

A. Locality in Which Active

N/A

B. Identity of Leaders, Members and Membership Requirements

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as of August, 1968, was midwest director of SNCC and head of the Chicago Branch of that organization.

[redacted] 8/10/68)

ROBERT LEE RUSH as of August, 1968, was student organizer for the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

[redacted] 8/68)

III. TERRORIST OR REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

A. Acts of Violence

N/A

B. Statements of Members Showing the Violent Aims and Purposes Involving Racial Disturbances.

At a meeting of black nationalists held on August 10, 1968, at the Affro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the main speaker, urged members of the black community to arm themselves to prevent genocide of the black race and to prepare themselves for the "revolution." CARMICHAEL urged the black race to support MAO TSE TUNG and also urged young black youth going to Vietnam to kill American soldiers rather than soldiers of the North Vietnamese. He said that law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, should be

kept out of black communities. He added that black informants should not be killed, but the police whom they inform should be killed. Among officials of the Chicago Branch of SNCC, attending this affair, was ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN.

[redacted] 3/10/68)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is a former national director of SNCC.

[redacted] 3/10/68)

[redacted] 3/25/68)

[redacted] SNCC has no means of training anyone in the use of firearms and its members would be the first to run and hide if any type of revolution did occur.

[redacted] 11/6/68)

C. Other Information

During the early part of 1966, members of the Chicago Branch of SNCC were reportedly participating in firearms, judo and karate training under the supervision of ROBERT BROWN, head of that Branch. This training reportedly took place in the area known as Altgeld Gardens on Chicago's south side. There is no indication that such training continued after February, 1968.

[redacted] 11/25/68)

IV. PUBLICATIONS

The Chicago Branch of SNCC, during the period July and August, 1968, was not known to have issued any publications.

(■■■ 12/16/68)

V. GENERAL ACTIVITY

■■■

(■■■ 6/14/68)

During June, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN is known to have been in contact with SNCC Headquarters in Washington, D.C., such being located at 2208 14th Street.

(■■■ 7/12/68)

During June, 1968, BROWN also was reported to have been in contact with STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Washington, D.C.

(■■■ 7/22/68)

VI. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS.

The August 10 - 16, 1968 weekly edition of the "Chicago Defender," Chicago, Illinois newspaper, page 6, column one, contained an item captioned, "Black Party is Goal of SNCC Chief." This article was datelined New York and stated as follows:

"Formation of a nationwide black political party with a black panther as its symbol is SNCC's major goal, according to PHIL HUTCHINGS, the organization's new program secretary.

"The party's main emphasis, he said, will be on black people controlling their areas, and on building links among

non-whites throughout the world. It will not be the traditional political party giving you a choice between the lesser of two evils, but a party designed by black people and filling the needs of black people, said HUTCHINGS.

"The party's symbol, a black panther, was first used by Lowndes County, Alabama Freedom Organization, established by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former SNCC chairman in 1965."

8/18/68)

8/5/68)

11/4/68)

11/4/68)

VIII. INFLUENCE OF THE CP, OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS OR BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS.

The August 10 - 16, 1968 issue of the "Chicago Defender," page six, column one, contained an item captioned, "Black Party is Goal of SNCC Chief." This item in substance stated that SNCC planned to form a nationwide black political party with a black panther as its symbol.

[redacted] 8/18/68)

As of October, 1968, there was no CP influence in the Chicago chapter of SNCC.

[redacted] 10/17/68)

During October, 1968, PHIL HUTCHINGS, Program Director, SNCC, visited national officials of SDS in Chicago in order to form an alliance between SNCC and SDS. [redacted]

[redacted] 10/24/68)

[redacted] 11/19/68)

IX. MISCELLANEOUS

On September 10, 1968, Assistant United States Attorney EUGENE ROBINSON, Northern District of Illinois, at Chicago, advised that Federal Judge ABRAHAM MAROVITZ dismissed the Selective Service case against ROBERT

ALFONZO BROWN, on the condition that he enter military service by October 9, 1968. BROWN agreed to this arrangement.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBINSON advised on November 14, 1968, that BROWN had complied with Judge MAROVITZ's order to report for induction, but at the Army's discretion such induction was held in abeyance pending a security check of BROWN.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBINSON advised on November 26,1968, that the indictment against BROWN,regarding his Selective Service violation, was dismissed by Judge MAROVITZ on November 26, 1968, without prejudice to file again if BROWN is found qualified for military service, following the Army's security check, and he fails to comply.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

> "Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, ". . . we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

1 APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1968, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

I

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL - SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL- SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL - SWP is a local branch of the National SWP, with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), CHICAGO BRANCH

A source advised in May, 1968, that the Chicago branch of the SNCC is an affiliate of the national SNCC with headquarters located in Atlanta, Georgia. It is a non-membership type group headed in Chicago by ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, a 19 year old male Negro, with the title of Midwest Region Director. BROWN maintains strict loyalty to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Recruiter and Organizer and former National Director of SNCC. BROWN attempts to align Chicago's SNCC activities within the framework of CARMICHAEL's policies.

In a speech at Chicago on March 25, 1968, CARMICHAEL commented as follows:

"The white people are preparing to commit genocide against the black race. What are we feeling so moral about? We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He's not going to give you anything. We got to take it. These brothers on the streets every day take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Let's organize them and let them take it for our people."

The source advised the Chicago branch of the SNCC operates from BROWN's residence. BROWN and several associates attempt to implement CARMICHAEL's policies through contacts in the Negro youth gangs, student groups, and black power oriented organizations to influence opposition to white power structures through boycott and intimidation methods.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

DEC 27 19[illegible]

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted]

[redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1 FEB ... 72

COVER PAGE

...6 1972

The SNCC activity in Chicago [illegible] the three brothers, [illegible], and [illegible]. Of these three, only the name of EDWARD [illegible] also known as (aka) [illegible] is consistently [illegible] communications sent to other offices. [redacted] has not been able to establish membership in [illegible] anyone else.

[illegible] SNCC are done very [illegible] very little success.

The report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" [illegible] the identities [illegible] probably limited [illegible] few individuals [illegible] them would [illegible] the security [illegible] the United States.

This matter is being RUC'd since Chicago can find no evidence that a SNCC chapter [illegible] in the Chicago [illegible] SNCC [illegible] [redacted]

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-40342-[illegible]

CG 100-40349

Source

100-[illegible]

[illegible]

Instan[illegible]
Inc[illegible]
Inc[illegible]

100-[illegible]

100-40[illegible]

100-303[illegible]

a pers[illegible] in [illegible] possible position 100-[illegible]

- C* -

COVER PAGE

NON-SYMBOL [illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - United States Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Chicago

Date: 2/18/72

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis: Alleged Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activity in Chicago is almost nil. Attempts to establish a SNCC chapter evolves around three brothers, EDWARD, RONALD, and MELVIN MC LENDON, whose efforts have not produced positive results. There is no known SNCC offices or officerships. There is no known SNCC publications available in the Chicago area. EDWARD MC LENDON admitted to having contact with WILLIAM HUNT, but a SNCC chapter, per se, does not exist.

- RUC -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DETAILS:

I. EXISTENCE OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) CHAPTER IN CHICAGO AREA AND LOCATION OF OFFICE

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

There is no known SNCC activity ... and no office ...

SNCC ... to have ... or acting ...

There is no known SNCC activity ... SNCC ... Black Panther ...

... active chapter of SNCC in Chicago since ...

WILLIAM HUNT travelled to Chicago alone to aid in organizing a SNCC chapter.

5/18/71)

WILLIAM LA TRANE, a SNCC leader from the Atlanta, Georgia, area, had accompanied WILLIAM MUHAMMAD to Chicago on or about May 16, 1971, in connection with the organizing of a new SNCC chapter in that city.

5/21/71)

[illegible]/11/71)

10/12/71)

The efforts of Brother EDWARD SAINT X, whose true name is EDWARD MC LENDON, to form a viable SNCC chapter in Chicago have failed to produce positive results. No office or headquarters for SNCC are known to exist. The only location, which could be considered as a headquarters for SNCC would have to be EDWARD MC LENDON's own home.

[illegible]/15/72)

CG 100-[illegible]

[illegible]ERSHIP AND OFFICERS

The proposed new SNCC chapter in [illegible] will be under the leadership of three individuals [illegible] EDWARD S[illegible], [illegible] (Chap[illegible]in, brother [illegible] (first name unknown), [illegible] of [illegible] SAI[illegible], and [illegible] ALV[illegible] (last name unknown).

[illegible])

[illegible]

The only persons known to currently [illegible] with the Chicago SNCC activities are [illegible] MC LENDON, RONALD [illegible], and MELVI[illegible]. There are no SNCC offi[illegible] such known [illegible] JAMES BR[illegible] has [illegible] become [illegible] terminat[illegible] his [illegible] with the [illegible]

[illegible]

III. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] in Chicago. [illegible] newspapers, [illegible] available [illegible], which [illegible]

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam is an all black nationwide organization headquartered at Muhammad's Temple 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, under the guidance of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, self-styled "Messenger of Allah" and only divinely appointed leader of the black race in the United States. Its purpose is separation of the black man from the devil (white race) through establishment of a black nation.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
February 18, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character EXTREMIST MATTERS

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 5 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 7

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	1/8/68	11/13/67 - 1/3/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	mld
	CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Bureau airtel to Cincinnati, 11/16/67.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Instant report has been classified "Conf[redacted]tial" to further protect the identities of sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS
Convic.	Auto.	Fug.	Fines	Savings	Recoveries	

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)
6 - Atlanta (RM)
(1 - 100-SNCC)
(Con't)

12 JAN 11 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

CI 100-14158

Copies Con't:

(1 - 157-
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3 - Cleveland (RM)
(1 - 100-SNCC)
(1 - 157-
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6 - Cincinnati
(1 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-1674) (Civil Disturbance, Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio, 11/13/67)
(1 - 157-1707)
(1 - 157-)
(1 - 157-373)
(1 - 157-1293)

In view of the racial disturbance participation by SNCC at Central State University (CSU) Wilberforce, Ohio, one copy each of instant report has been disseminated locally to the 109th MI Group, OSI, NISO and Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio.

In accordance with re Bureau letter instant report sets forth SNCC activities at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

It should be noted that for purposes of brevity and clarity, and to avoid repetition, only the most informative newspaper articles concerning SNCC and the disturbance are set forth in succinct form to indicate activities of this group on the campus.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
	100-14158-532 Instant report.

Furnished orally to SA on 1/3/68.

CI 100-14158

Identity of Source	Location
	157-1674-20
	157-1674-18
	[redacted]
[redacted]	Used to characterize CLEVELAND SELLERS. (100-14208-17)
	100-14208-17
[redacted]	100-14208-14

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will contact [redacted] for any more positive indication of SNCC activities or involvement in violence type agitation at Central State University.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20226

January 8, 1968

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns *an individual* who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. [ ] Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. [ ] Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. [ ] Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. [ ] U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. [x] Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

   (a) [ ] Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
   (b) [x] Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
   (c) [ ] Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. [ ] Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph [ ] has been furnished [ ] enclosed [ ] is not available
may be available through ______________________

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1 (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 1/8/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #:

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

100-14166

DETAILS:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Programs and Activities at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio

(Source: [redacted] on November 8, [illegible])

(Source: [redacted] November 8, 19[illegible])

(Source: [redacted] on January 3, 1968)

During the past few weeks there have been many internal problems at Central State University relating to maintenance employees' strike and tension between Black Power group and the more conservative students and administration.

(Source: [redacted] on November 8, 1967)

"The Record", published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, during periods when school is in session, published on November 17, 1967, an article stating that the trustees of Central State University, which is about five miles south of Antioch College, ordered the school closed Wednesday, November 13, 1967, after a day and one-half of intense fighting between police authorities and students. [illegible] as a result of police attempts to arrest [illegible], a student and a leader of SNCC at Central State University, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the [illegible] president of neighboring Wilberforce University, a [illegible].

The charge stemmed from an interchange between Wilberforce University President REMBERT STOKES and WARREN during a rally held in the wake of a controversy over increased benefits to non-student workers. STOKES claimed WARREN threatened to kill him; WARREN said that he said, "If the revolution were now I'd have to kill all Toms".

Several SNCC members told the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record", that the Central State University Administration expelled WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC Chapter.

WARREN attended classes on Monday, following expulsion and approximately thirty students thwarted campus police attempts to arrest him. Students placed themselves between WARREN and the authorities and later barricaded him in Wesley Hall. By the time campus police entered WARREN was gone.

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a newspaper of general circulation published at Cincinnati, Ohio, published in its final edition on December 3, 1967, that Dr. HARRY E. GROVES, Negro president of Central State University, blamed "persons from Atlanta", where SNCC's national headquarters is located, for stirring the riots on the campus.

(Source: [redacted] on November 14, 1967)

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a daily newspaper published in Cincinnati, contained an article in the September 16, 1967, issue which stated that GEORGE WARE was a principal lieutenant of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of SNCC.

(Source: [redacted] on November 14, 1967)

[illegible]

[illegible] pass [illegible]

[illegible] October [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] of Cincinnati at Cincinnati, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

CONF[illegible]NTIAL

The "Journal Herald", a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article in the November 28, 19[illegible], edition, [illegible] that MICHAEL WARREN, controversial Central State senior, expelled earlier this month, made a surprise return to the campus on November 27, 1967, when the school reopened and declared publicly, "If the revolution were on at this moment, I would have to kill all [illegible] [illegible]."

It was allegedly similar to the statement he made on November 1 to Dr. HERBERT STOKES, President of nearby Wilberforce University. The [illegible] [illegible]'s expulsion, and subsequent banning from campus.

Asked by reporters if he planned on [illegible] for re-admission, he stated, "I can't answer that question because I don't trust you." WARREN was [illegible] in the front [illegible] next to Mrs. CHARLES [illegible] of Dayton, a [illegible] advocate. Asked if she was instrumental in [illegible] on the campus she said she could not comment [illegible] situation.

Source: [illegible] [illegible]

The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], published [illegible] [illegible], edition, an article concerning [illegible] Power at Central State University. [illegible] Central State University [illegible] [illegible] more than [illegible] per cent [illegible] Negroes.

The school came to national [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] night of rioting by angry students, [illegible] police, "Black Power", which [illegible] the closing of [illegible] [illegible] weeks.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] one of [illegible] the university officials was to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] students, faculty, administrators, parents, and a few [illegible] to examine and discuss the question, what does [illegible] Black Power mean?"

CONF[illegible]

"If the symposium proved anything it was that 'Black Power' means a variety of different things to different people."

"More than 2,000 students gathered in the gymnasium, along with teachers, deans, parents, and school maintenance workers. Nearly all present were Negroes; eight men at the speakers' table ranged from University Present Dr. HARRY GROVES to HARLELL JONES, who was fired from a laborer's job at the city of Cleveland for Black Power militancy."

"Then came the definition of Black Power."

"There are non-violent positive aspects of Black Power," said GROVES. "It is a continuing, changing thing that can mean more economic and political power for Negroes."

"DeForest Brown, a militant Negro leader from Cleveland, didn't see it that way." "Black Power," he said, "is only the authority of black people who act in their own best interest. It is not just an non-violent movement because we believe we are men and we are going to act like men."

"Brown's remarks and those of some of the other militant speakers drew some applause, but the students responded more enthusiastically to Dr. JAMES T. HENRY, a geology professor and veteran city councilman in nearby Xenia. HENRY said it was necessary to speak of Black Power 'like it is'."

"I will fight for Black Power, but within the context of entering the mainstream of power," he said. "When I came here in the 1930's the race relation situation in Xenia was tough, but it is better now and it is because we fought to change it - but we fought within the mainstream of political establishment."

"Also at the table was GEORGE WARE, a quick young man who travels the country organizing Negroes on college campuses for the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was another who didn't think Black Power meant working within 'the mainstream'."

"This is a country", advised WARE, "that will allow kids to throw rocks in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, every year, and will bring in the National Guard when a few kids try to defend one classmate at their own institution."

"There was scattered applause for WARE, but it did not match the response given a young Negro who identified

himself as president of the Student Government."

"I don't think hate of any kind helps us", the student spokesman said. "Hate blinds." "Our goal is not to overthrow the Government, but to be involved in it."

"There was no evidence at the end that either side - the violence or the non-violence had much influence on the other."

"One stand-patter was MICHAEL WARREN, the student expelled for threatening the life of Negro president of neighboring Wilberforce University. Negro moderates to WARREN are, 'Uncle Toms'. WARREN announced through the loud speaker, 'I would if the revolution was on at this minute, have to kill all the Toms.'"

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Cincinnati.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	1/17/68	11/22/67 - 1/16/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: mjw

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted], 1/8/68, at Cincinnati.
Report of SA [redacted] dated 12/18/67, at Atlanta.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of confidential informants and sources whose identities might otherwise possibly be determined

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED	NONE					ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

6 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
3 - Cincinnati (4 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-373) (1 - [illegible]) (1 - 157-[illegible]) (1 - 100-[illegible])
(1 - 157-1293) (1 - 100-7522) (1 - 157-329) (1 - 157-[illegible])

100-439190-2017

18 JAN [illegible]

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

SEC.

with subsequent jeopardy to their future usefulness and to the security of the country.

SNCC activities at Central State University and Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, are more fully set out in referenced Cincinnati report of 1/8/68.

In view of SNCC activities in racial disturbances, copy of this report has been disseminated locally to the 108th MI Group, NISO, and OSI, as well as Secret Service, Cincinnati.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
	157-373-6
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-14158-562
	157-373-68
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-14158-564

Identity of Source (continued)	Location
	100-14158-502
	157-1534-7
	157-373-106 -113
	100-14158-596
	157-373-69, p. 2
	100-14158-595
	100-14158-579 -596
	100-14158-532 -593
	157-1674-18 -20

LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton

area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
January 17, 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. XX Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

(a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:
(b) X Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
(c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through ______________________________

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: CINCINNATI

Date: 1/17/68

Field Office File No.: 100-14158
Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: [redacted]

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTENTS

DETAILS:

CINCINNATI CHAPTER OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Organization

Precedent to the establishment of a Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about August, 1967, there was an organization known as Friends of SNCC, made up of white and Negro individuals, which existed for several years as a money-raiser for SNCC and which was last headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL, a long-time Cincinnati Negro militant. BALL was formerly chairman of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) from April, 1964, to April, 1966. When BALL resigned from CORE in April, 1966, he became chairman of Friends of SNCC, according to the April 6, 1966,"Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper, and the April 9, 1966, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper. He became chairman of the Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about July 28, 1967.

At the July 28, 1967, meeting of SNCC, attended by about 35 persons, it was determined that a local SNCC chapter had been established, headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL as chairman, and that Friends of SNCC, which BALL had headed as chairman, had been discontinued.

(Source: [redacted] August 2, 1967)

In August, 1967, THOMAS JAMES PORTER succeeded BALL as chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, BALL becoming Program Director, according to the August 29, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, which quoted BALL as stating that "the change was made to make the SNCC chapter more effective and viable in the Cincinnati area." The change in the chairman took place at the August 25, 1967, SNCC meeting, according to the September 2, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, which added that "the activities of the local SNCC chapter will be escalated considerably requiring re-structuring of the chapter."

LEONARD BALL actually did not, by giving up the

chairmanship, take a demotion in SNCC but was made a SNCC field representative in addition to being Program Director of local SNCC.

(Source: [redacted] September 21, 1967)

Principal Leaders

THOMAS JAMES PORTER, Chairman, Cincinnati chapter of SNCC;

LEONARD CARSON BALL, Program Director, and also a Field Representative of national SNCC;

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

WILMA TONEY, Acting Secretary.

(Sources: [redacted] January 15, 1968, and August 2, 1967)

While PORTER is chairman and BALL program director, the decisions of BALL generally carry more weight than those of PORTER.

(Source: [redacted] January 15, 1968)

Membership

Present membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 15. About September 1, 1967, the membership was about 25. When Friends of SNCC existed, it had a membership of white and black individuals of about 200, some of whom knowingly or unknowingly believe they are SNCC members. Weekly public meetings were discontinued because non-members of SNCC would show up, with several "windy" persons taking up considerable time in long speeches and opinions which accomplished nothing and frequently prevented the purpose of the meeting from being accomplished.

(Source: [redacted] January 15, 1968)

Meetings

Meetings are held periodically at different locations. They were held previously once a week at various

places, with one public meeting a month at Carmel Presbyterian Church. [redacted]

(Source: [redacted] January 15, 1968)

In early December, 1967, it was learned that the previous schedule of an open weekly meeting on Friday night about 8:00 p.m. at the Carmel Church had been changed to a closed meeting of leaders held each Friday at either the Black Arts Studio or PORTER's apartment on Glenwood Avenue, with the last Friday of the month for an open meeting at the church. Open means a general membership attendance, plus visitors and guests.

(Source: [redacted] December 4, 1967)

SNCC Newsletter - Containing Background and Purposes of SNCC

Cincinnati SNCC periodically puts out a mimeographed newsletter which contains anti-white and anti-police comments as well as some comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC officials, and about Black Power and anti-Negro groups. For example, in one, it quotes H. RAP BROWN as saying, "There are thirteen concentration camps here in America. Do you black people think that they are for just STOKELY and me?"

(Sources: [redacted] October 5, 1967, and October 26, 1967)

In one SNCC newsletter distributed, being unsigned and undated but received on October 5, 1967, there was contained the following on the organization and purposes of SNCC, an editorial appeal to "younger black thinkers," emphasis on unity, and the necessity of "black organizations... to think and act revolutionary..."

"CINCINNATI CHAPTER SNCC
NEWSLETTER

"THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

"SNCC became an organization in February, 1960, and was the most militant and un-compromising of the existing civil rights organizations. During the early sixties, SNCC operated mostly in the South organizing and encouraging black people by using bold tactics and techniques in breaking down and removing barriers of segregation. SNCC soon found out, after much frustration, that the scope of the movement had to be broadened to reach and include more black people. THE MOVE HAD TO BE INWARD. Beginning with voter registration drives voter education clinics, workshops and freedom centers, SNCC gained many in-roads into the white controlled southern political and economic system. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Black Panther Party in Alabama was formed. A new sense of awareness and accomplishment was instilled in the hearts and minds of fearful black people. The cultural and social revolution gained its first foothold. And the difficult job of organizing still goes on in Miss., Alabama, Georgia and in the northern ghettoes.

"To make SNCC's policies and programs clearer, the following statement was issued from the Atlanta Office:

"SNCC is a Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We (SNCC) shall seek to build a strong nation-wide

Black Anti-Draft Program and movement to include the high school students along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Vietnam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of National Freedom Organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objectives will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

****

"EDITORIAL

"The recent revolts teach the younger black thinkers many valuable lessons. One of them being; that, there is now and has always been an unconscious and undeclared war on Afro-Americans by the average hunkie. And a conscious strategic and declared war on us by the Power Structure.

"Proof of this is in the hypocritical position the power structure has taken. First they say that the revolts were natural and necessary to bring this problem to the attention of people, then in the same breath, they say how terribly wrong it is for oppressed people to rebel, they say that we should respect the government, regardless of how much the government

obviously disrespects us. They even prey on our innocent and ignorant brothers making them say that we are wrong. When all along it is the hunkie who is wrong and who must admit this fact. Since he has shown us he is incapable of doing this it seems like there will be continued war.

"Every day more and more Afro-Americans are waking up to the obscenity of the hunkie in America, so this war will become a two sided thing where the crumbling of white, racist America will be our victory and their defeat.

****

"A MESSAGE TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF CINTI.
SELF-HATRED in REGARDS to DIS-UNITY

"United we stand Divided we fall." Then why in Hell can't we black people unite? One of the main reasons for this obvious dis-unity is self-hate.

"We as a group of people in this land hold down a unique position in this hypocritical society in which we live. We are unique in this respect, we were brought to this land in cruel bondage, taken from our ancestral lands and brought here to build a nation for the hunkie with our lives, our blood, our sweat and our strong backs, because whitey was to damn lazy and no good to do this himself.

"As a reward for slavery & servitude we were systematically stripped of our manhood, racial pride, and self respect. The man, hunkie, whitey, beast or whatever you want to call him, literally taught us how to hate ourselves and our fellow brothers.

"This process of emasculation enacted against us have left us as empty as a shell, with no foundation to stand on. As a result, here we are today ashamed of ourselves and our race, although many of us will not admit to this personally, but as a racial group this is self evident in many ways. It shows up the false class distinction we have tried to construct among ourselves, commonly called

the black middle class or black........ (words eradicated and continuation in same paragraph the following) A g r o u p of black people who have worked hard to obtain a certain economical status and then find themselves trying to dissassociate themselves from the black masses. So, what is this but dis-unity. Another way this shows up is in complexion consciousness. Many black brothers & sisters are ashamed of the dark, but beautiful, hue of their skin and the natural texture of their hair. By the same token, many lighter skinned brothers & sisters have the foolish notion that this makes them more acceptable to whitey than there darker brothers. So, what is this but dis-unity.

"One of the most saddening ways this self-hatred is shown is in the violence & larceny that brothers commit against fellow brothers. It's almost as if they are saying, 'Nigger! I am tired of you reminding me of what I am.' So, what does this accomplish but a general animosity towards one another.

"Black people of this city and across the land, we have to learn to be proud of what we are and to take the necessary steps to recapture the pride that this white power structure has stripped us of. This can be done through a process of re-educating ourselves as to who we really are and our true heritage. Believe me black brothers & sisters we do have truly beautiful and remarkable heritage. These steps are necessary in the building of a foundation for us to stand firmly on and this is in turn will enable us to shuck the yoke of self-condemnation the white man has placed around our necks. A tree without roots slowly dies, therefore black people, it is it is urgently necessary for us to re-discover our roots or die. With the regeneration of this long lost pride, beautiful black people, we will all be on the same road to true black unity.

"Can you imagine a proud black people standing as one, helping one another, loving one another,

working with one another for a glorious black tomorrow? Black brothers & sisters it is time for us to come together regardless of our station in life or the complexion of our skin and above all, let's learn to love one another. It can be done! By a concerned black man...... Leroy Coston

"OFFENSIVE - DEFENSE"
([illegible] Brown's concentration camp statement, [illegible] [illegible] 5.)

"We [illegible] together and think as black people for black people, we must admit to ourselves that the power structure is our enemy. The way to overcome this enemy dog is to know him and fight him harder than we help him.

"Because of our unawareness, there are times when we unconscously help this beast, but when we began to constantly think of hurting this enemy we can work for our liberation within the framework of our daily lives. Nothing is worse than helping your enemy to defeat you and this is what the hunkie has been making us do.

"We must begin to move politically and militarily in retaliation in every aspect of our daily lives. We must try to hurt our enemy. We have to lower our defensive defense and take strategic offensive measures as our defense.

"Black organizations must began to think and act revolutionary because there is a black revolution in America and all black people are affected. The hunkie hates all black people and the hunkie is working actively against all black people. Not just SNCC! We must all work together in our fight towards overcoming our oppression. We must remember that individualism is a luxury we black people cannot afford. Once we really understand what this enemy has done and is continuing to do to us, we will understand that he is truly our enemy and anything we do to him is justified. We all understand that these racist, hunkies uses laws as their weapon for oppressing us, so we must militantly ignore them and adopt our own set of laws. Laws that are for helping black people overcome the oppressor rather than those

which aid in our oppression. We must realize that our enemy is killing us twenty-four hours a day and it is time for our offensive defense action TODAY!"

(Source: [redacted] October 5, 1967)

Financial Condition of Cincinnati SNCC

(Source: [redacted] November 30, 1967)

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On November 30, 1967, it was reported that SNCC has been holding meetings on Friday nights at the Carmel Presbyterian Church which are conducted by either LEONARD BALL or TOM PORTER, or both, with an average attendance of about 45 persons. SNCC, at this time, does not have a membership roster, as such, but persons who attend meetings and indicate an interest can sign their names and addresses and contribute the sum of $2.00 to the organization, money being one of the primary goals at this time.

(Source: [redacted] November 30, 1967)

SNCC Members from Dayton and Xenia, Ohio, Including Central State University and Antioch College, at Cincinnati SNCC Meeting, October 24, 1967

On October 24, 1967, a meeting was held beginning at 8:00 p.m. in the first floor apartment house at Prospect and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, for the purpose of organizing a Tri-City SNCC to comprise Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio. A secondary [illegible] was to establish communications between various Black Nationalist groups for getting out information on problems and decisions on courses of action. [illegible] was leader of the Cincinnati SNCC group.

FLORENCE TATE and her husband, CHARLES TATE, both of Dayton, Ohio, were there. CHARLES TATE is chairman of the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee (NVDAC) of Dayton, a civil rights organization. FLORENCE TATE is the [illegible] representative in Dayton, and is the individual who established the Afro-American Center there. TOM PORTER and several others in Cincinnati SNCC were there, as well as several students from Antioch College and two persons from Yellow Springs; also, [illegible] of Xenia, Ohio; and CHARLES COBB and COURTLAND COX, both of whom are field representatives of national SNCC. The total at the meeting was about 20 persons.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT [illegible]

(Source: [redacted] November 9, 1967)

Affiliation of SNCC Personnel with Various Organizations

LEONARD BALL was among persons attending a Tri-State Rally of the Nation of Islam (NOI) at the Masonic Temple Building, Beresford Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 6, 1967.

(Source: [redacted] August 11, 1967)

A characterization of the NOI is contained in the appendix of this report.

On July 17, 1967, it was reported that the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), headed by Reverend HAROLD HUNT, pastor of the Carmel Presbyterian Church, who

had been picked during the June, 1967, riots in Cincinnati to speak for it to the City Administration, was formed to get unity in the Negro community. Its membership includes [illegible] PORTER and LEONARD BALL, as well as representatives of other civil rights groups in Cincinnati. The source stated that it is not believed that there will ever be unity in the Negro community.

(Source: [redacted] July 17, 1967)

REVEREND HAROLD HUNT

The "Wall Street Journal," New York City, Midwest Edition, of July 13, 1967, carried an article captioned, "'Rebellion' in Ohio," which comments on the racial disturbance in Cincinnati, and, in part, states:

"...many Negro youngsters are looking to a new kind of leadership, one that is less willing to accept the rules of society and more willing to risk drastic action to provoke meaningful response by the white community.

"'I do not advocate violence but neither do I advocate nonviolence,' declares the Reverend HAROLD HUNT, Pastor of Carmel Presbyterian Church in this city's Negro-populated Avondale section; he is a leader in this new movement....

"Following the recent violence, Mr. Hunt has emerged as the spokesman for the younger Negro community here; he now heads a team that is negotiating with the city for 'equal justice' and 'equal employment.' The minister is well-prepared for his role. An alumnus of a Chicago training school run by protest-organizer SAUL ALINSKY, he served a brief stint in Detroit before coming here two years ago.

"'We're organizing because we know we've got to keep the pressure on to get action,' he (HUNT) declares. An evening meeting at the HUNT home, in the heart of Avondale, illuminates the strategy. Some of the Negroes present: [illegible] PORTER

of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). LEONARD BALL of Friends of SNCC, E. WINTHER MC CROOM of the Political Action Programming Assembly, and the Reverend RICHARD SELLERS of the West Cincinnati Presbyterian Church.

"The ostensible 'downtown' target of the HUNT campaign is City Hall, and the Negro negotiating team has presented City Manager W. C. WICHMAN and other officials with a list of sweeping demands. Many deal with incidents related to the rioting. but the most significant focus is on job opportunities..."

Political Action
Programming Assembly,
Incorporated (PAPA)

PAPA, "a group of young Negro men dedicated to creating within the Negro community the highest degree of political and economic awareness, education, and participation, has announced that it plans to seek affiliation with the Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee, which was established as a result of the rebellion which took place in Cincinnati during the week of June 12 through June 16. PAPA has pledged the full support of its membership to this organization, and had agreed to throw the full weight of its organization behind the negotiating efforts being carried out by the negotiating team headed by the Reverend HAROLD L. HUNT, Carmel Presbyterian Church," according to the July 1, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is listed in "Who's Who In America" as born Chicago, Illinois, January 30, 1909; Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1930; LL.D, St. Procopius College, 1958. "Sociologist with Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, 1931-36, 1936-39; member State Prison Classification Board, Division of Criminology, Illinois State Penitentiary System, Joliet, 1933-36; co-founder Back of the Yard

Neighborhood Council (Chicago): executive director of Industrial Areas Foundation, 1939-(to present). Member of Authors League...Author: Reveille for Radicals, 1946; John L. Lewis, a Biography, 1949. Contributor of numerous publications. Lecturer on criminology, community organization and organized labor in various universities. Home: 5477 South Hyde Park Boulevard. Office: 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago."

The Illinois Edition of "The Worker," dated April 9, 1950, contained an article captioned, "Chicagoans To Pay Tribute To Pearl Hart." This article was as follows:

"More than 350 Chicagoans from every community and suburb will attend the Pearl Hart 60th Birthday Testimonial Dinner for this Chicago attorney. The event, which is sponsored by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, takes place Saturday evening on April 8, 1950, at 7:00 p.m. in the Walnut Room of the Bismarck Hotel, Chicago. Among the many sponsors of the dinner is SAUL ALINSKY."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A characterization of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is attached hereto.

PEARL HART

During May, 1961, a former confidential source advised that on June 23 and 26, 1941, LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former National Communist Party functionary, advised that PEARL HART, a Chicago attorney, was introduced to him as a member of the Communist Party. He also reported that he was repeatedly advised through reports by an Illinois Communist Party leader at National Committee meetings and through instructions to him from National Communist Party leaders that PEARL HART continued to be a member of the Communist Party up to at least October,

1945.

In May, 1961, PEARL HART continued to be the President of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the Chicago Chapter of the Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

ALINSKY

On April 7, 1962, the "Chicago Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Chicago, Illinois, area, carried an article concerning The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and ALINSKY. This article was captioned "Object: Aid the Negro," and further, "New TWO Fights Race Problems, Methods Rouse Controversy." It, in part, stated:

"Chicago, Illinois, could become half Negro in 12 years according to University of Chicago sociologists. Chicago could be ringed by mammoth white suburbs. A controversial group in the South Side of Chicago contends that Chicago can be 'the first big, solid Negro community organization in the U.S.' Through a powerful citizens organization, its leaders assert, the Negro can solve his own problems. SAUL D. ALINSKY, a self-described 'agitator,' who admits to 'rubbing raw the sores of discontent,' says his goal is the peaceful integration of the entire area -- city and suburbs.

"But, its opponents have claimed it is a 'hate group' attempting to freeze the Negroes in segregated communities while practicing 'the ruthlessness of the class war.' Negro voters march on City Hall. Negro mothers 'sit-in' in slum buildings. A group called The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) has organized the slums. Has the controversial young Woodlawn Organization, formerly The Temporary Woodlawn Organization, helped the cause of racial understanding in Chicago? 'Yes,' said TWO's founder, SAUL D. ALINSKY.

'No,' said five protestant pastors. ALINSKY organized the famous Back of the Yard Neighborhood Council in the 1930's in Chicago..."

On January 11, 1965, a confidential source, an agency which collects security-type information in the Chicago, Illinois, area, furnished a report concerning the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). The IAF, 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was established and incorporated in 1940. The purpose of this organization is to study the causes of the problems in American industrial areas, and to aid in the development of programs for the solution of these problems.

A secondary purpose of the IAF is to act as a consultant in guiding staff development and the training of personnel in community organizations. The IAF is supported by voluntary contributions, and it promotes the development of indigenous community organizations.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is Executive Secretary of the IAF. The IAF was an instrument used in the organization of more than 30 per cent of Chicago, Illinois. for social action. One such organization formed by the IAF was The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), a group formed on the South Side of Chicago in 1961 and used primarily for promoting racial integration in their local areas...Since 1941, ALINSKY has started approximately 44 power based organizations through the country, and has supplied organizing tools and organizers for many communities that have asked for them. ALINSKY has been known to be an opportunist who would use any friendship or contact to advance his own aims. When civil rights questions concerning housing, job opportunities and neighborhoods became the prime objection of various racial and religious groups in the Chicago area, ALINSKY entered this field of endeavor, and assisted in the formation of various neighborhood organizations.

(Source: [redacted] October 2, 1967)

Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

On August 13, 1966, the "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper in Cincinnati, published an OAAU statement setting out that it was organized "as a working base for an action program designed to eliminate the political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation suffered daily by 22 million Afro-Americans...no action program will work unless it is controlled completely by Afro-Americans...We do not want any money from Whitey...This program...is one to show our people how to gain control over the politics, economy, and social and civic affairs of our community... must re-educate our people so that they will be willing to shoulder the responsibility of running our own community...We are asking Negroes to... vote as a block for Negro candidates only...We believe every policeman assigned to a Negro community should be Negro. In the wave of recent riots, it has been only Negroes killed by trigger happy police that are mostly white...Furthermore the White Policeman is a symbol of White domination and oppression, and the Negro is fed up with this practice..."

A characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) is contained in the appendix.

LEONARD BALL is a member of the OAAU, which set up the Black Arts Studio, 726 East McMillan Street, Cincinnati,

operated by TOM PORTER and his partner, HENRY JONES.

(Source: [redacted] June 16, 1967)

Miscellaneous Activity of Cincinnati SNCC

The January 11, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, had item that SNCC "'opposes and repudiates' the appointment of Mrs. VIRGINIA COFFEY as new executive director of the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission. SNCC says Mrs. COFFEY (who is Negro) 'knows nothing about the black community' and contends the appointment is 'the white power structure once again picking leaders for the black community.' The appointment, SNCC says, was 'made for the convenience and service of white people only. The HRC never has been that effective and will be even less so now. The big question is: How long will the black community tolerate this effrontery and insult?'"

The Uhuru Festival (Uhuru is Swahili word for "Unity") sponsored by the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), Cincinnati, Ohio, 12/27-30/67, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, the minister of which is Reverend HAROLD HUNT, chairman of UBCO, was participated in by Cincinnati SNCC leaders. Local SNCC chairman THOMAS J. PORTER handled a workshop on "Education in Revolution," beginning at 1:00 p.m., December 30, 1967. "He spoke about everyone being segregated by the white people, such as the Jews, Negroes and the Indians. He said HITLER killed six million Jews and this is what 'whitey' is planning to do to the Negroes; that 'when you are arrested, you are under arrest, but that if you knock the cop down on his back then you are no longer under arrest'; that the black people should set up their own form of government in Avondale (predominantly Negro area of Cincinnati) and call it 'Blacksville' with roadblocks to keep 'whitey' out; and that when a black man is arrested, he is tried by a white man in a black robe who is a racist. He claimed that the white man pushes his unqualified friends into positions that they don't deserve, and that when he (PORTER) gets his degree (from University of Cincinnati, where he has had a Danforth Scholarship) he is going to help his black friends into places of responsibility."

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

WILMA TONEY, of Cincinnati SNCC, handled a workshop on "Individuals' Role in the Revolution," at the Carmel Church, 1:00 p.m., December 29, 1967. She started with the history of NAT TURNER, then spoke on the difference in unity of black families as opposed to unity among white families, and how to educate black children by buying black dolls instead of white ones, as well as using the word "black" instead of "Negro."

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, spoke at a workshop on December 28, 1967, beginning about 1:00 p.m., on the subject of "Black Power as a Political Concept; The Press and the Black Community." BALL "talked about a magazine article; then complained about the lack of colored news commentators on TV and in commercials. He also stated that 'concentration camps all over the U. S. were being renovated to put the Negroes in as the whites want to make them an extinct race.' BALL also attended the festival on December 30, 1967, but didn't speak."

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

The Uhuru Festival was a failure because of "the small attendance at the workshops held during the afternoon hours of December 27-30, 1967, when many persons had to work, and because the scheduled main speaker, Reverend ALBERT CLEAGE, of Detroit, a Black Power advocate, did not show. Only about 50 persons attended the main meeting the evening of December 30, 1967, when a seminar was held by local people in place of the speech by Reverend CLEAGE."

(Source: [redacted] January 2, 1968)

During August, 1967, JAMES HARRIS, of Lincoln Heights, Ohio (Cincinnati incorporated suburb of practically 100% Negro population) cooperated with Cincinnati SNCC leaders in obtaining approval of the local Board of Education for a speaking appearance by H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC chairman, at a Black Power meeting to be held in the Lincoln Heights School auditorium on August 19, 1967. Approval for BROWN's appearance was viewed in the community as a victory of the Black Power advocates over the moderate citizens. The community became divided over the Black Power concept

and many bitter arguments followed, extending to division among members of the same family. Many persons in Lincoln Heights feared racial rioting would follow BROWN's appearance. BROWN did not appear on August 19, 1967, as he was incarcerated in New York City after an arrest. The rally, however, was held in the school auditorium without BROWN, and SNCC leaders addressed the audience, praising SNCC and advocating Black Power. No white persons were allowed in the Lincoln Heights school that evening.

(Source: [redacted], January 4, 1968)

(Source: [redacted] November 29, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, "Education Director of Cincinnati SNCC", announced that there would be a Youth Conference and Workshop in the afternoon, together with a public rally later, on Saturday, October 21, 1967, from 12:00 noon to 6:30 p.m., and at 7:30 p.m. at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road and Lee Place, according to the October 21, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra. Scheduled speakers were CLEVELAND SELLARS, Director of the South Carolina Chapter of SNCC; COURTLANDT COX of the SNCC national staff; and ERNEST STEVENS, Campus Coordinator of SNCC.

Reverend HAROLD HUNT led the workshop, along with LEONARD BALL. It was attended by about 13 persons, who were given talks on education and how to prepare for leadership. At the public rally in the evening, there were about 47 persons, speakers including ERNEST STEVENS and COURTLANDT COX of national SNCC. SELLARS did not appear at either session.

(Source: [redacted] October 25, 1967)

In the August 3, 1967, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, was an article concerning a law suit filed by LEONARD BALL and other members of SNCC, as well as the local chapter of SNCC, and the national SNCC, against the Cincinnati Safety Director, Chief of Police, and other city officials. The suit filed in U. S. District Court asked that the court prevent local courts from prosecuting SNCC members on charges ranging from arson to carrying a concealed weapon. They also wanted local law enforcement officials prohibited from presenting evidence against them before the county grand jury on charges against them. The suit also wanted local officials to be prevented from 'impeding or intimidating' them or their supporters or friends, and from interfering with their rights guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution and Federal laws. SNCC was unsuccessful in this injunction action, which was denied by U. S. District Court Judge DAVID S. PORTER on August [illegible], 1967, according to the August 4, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star."

There was racial disturbance in Cincinnati, Ohio, [illegible] shortly before 10:00 p.m. on Monday, June 12, 1967, which lasted until 6:00 a.m., Sunday, June 18, 1967. The disturbance began after a protest meeting the evening of June 12, 1967, in front of the Samuel Ach Junior High School over the arrest of PETER FRAKES early Sunday, June 11, 1967, for traffic interference while picketing in front of the Cincinnati City Hall in protest of the conviction in April, 1967, of POSTEAL LASKEY, a Negro, for the murder of BARBARA BOWMAN, a white women, and to emphasize the right of freedom of assembly. Among those who spoke to the protest crowd was LEONARD BALL, chairman of local Friends of SNCC, who was subsequently seen in an area of disturbance talking to small groups, but then left [illegible].

(Source: [redacted] June 19, 1967)

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] June 16, 1967)

On April 29, 1967, the then SNCC national chairman, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, spoke at a mass rally at the Carmel Presbyterian Church beginning about 8:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL spoke "about the background of the Negro in Africa, how everything was stripped from the Negro by the whites, and that the Capitalist system exists to keep Negroes subservient, with no hope for Negro liberation or freedom without destruction of the system. After the speech, LEONARD BALL took up collections for the Friends of SNCC. The rally was attended by FLORENCE TATE, a SNCC representative from Dayton, Ohio."

(Source: [redacted], May 4, 1967)

DAYTON, OHIO, SNCC

Black Liberation Party (BLP)

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A characterization of MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national officer of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and founder of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), is contained in the appendix of this report, which includes characterizations of the NOI and MMI.

(Source: [redacted] November 1, 1967)

[redacted]g

(Source: [redacted] June 21, 1967)

W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH

[redacted], advised in 1949 that W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH was a member of the CP at Dayton, Ohio, from 1945 to 1948. [redacted] said MC INTOSH was not very active but did attend a number of meetings of the Party. [redacted] stated that to his knowledge, MC INTOSH was not a member of the CP during the year 1949.

Programs and Activities of SNCC Wherein Its Personnel Were Involved in Planning of or Engaging in Violence

H. RAP BROWN, SNCC national chairman, spoke at

the West Side Job Rally, 2301 West Third Street, on June 14, 1967, beginning at 8:00 p.m. The June 15, 1967, "Dayton Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton area, carried an article entitled "Brown Raps 'Honkies,' but Not Like Stokely." The article quoted BROWN in regard to the press as stating, "Newspapers are a weapon against black people... after each rebellion they call it a riot...dig 'em; they are out to get you." BROWN was also quoted as stating in regard to Black Power that, "We ain't seeking no love. We're seeking power, and the 'honkie' better understand that."

[redacted] advised FBI Special Agents in June, 1967, that after the West Side Job Rally about 9:45 p.m. on June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles; some shop windows were broken and there was some scattered looting. The disturbances continued into the morning hours of June 15, 1967, with a continuation to a lesser extent the evening of June 15, 1967, and early morning hours of June 16, 1967. [redacted] stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance. [redacted] advised an FBI Special Agent that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting, stating that he thought it triggered the disturbance.

XENIA, OHIO, SNCC, INCLUDING WILBERFORCE, OHIO, AND YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

Disturbance at Central State University (CSU), Wilberforce, Ohio, SNCC, with Support from Antioch College and National and Cincinnati SNCC Officers

Violence broke out on the CSU campus on November 13, 1967, according to the November 17, 1967, edition of "The Record," published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, when school is in session, when police attempted to arrest MICHAEL WARREN, a CSU senior and SNCC leader, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the life of the president of Wilberforce University, which is also a predominantly Negro college at Wilberforce, Ohio. CSU is about five miles south of Antioch College. There was a day and a half of disturbance and fighting between police authorities and students with numerous arrests of students and some non-students. Several SNCC members to the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record," that ... administration expelled student MICHAEL WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC chapter.

(Source: [redacted] various dates beginning in November, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, is quoted in the November 18, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, as stating during the previous week that "a team of SNCC leaders were en route to the embattled university (CSU) to organize and stage demonstrations, sit-ins, and 'anything necessary' to have our brother SNCC member reinstated."

The November 17, 1967, issue of "The Record," supra, pointed out that the CSU trustees ordered the university closed November 15, 1967, with students to be advised of the time of the reopening of the school.

On November 14, 1967, [redacted], advised that about 5:00 p.m. that date, approximately 40 Antioch College students from Yellow Springs, Ohio, staged a peaceful demonstration in

Xenia to show their support for CSU students.

On December 4, 1967, [redacted] advised that conditions at CSU have been quiet since the school reopened after the Thanksgiving holidays.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

A P P E N D I X

MIDWEST COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (MCPFB) since the latter part of March, 1962, has maintained an office in Room 422-424, Manhattan Building, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On July 16, 1947, Joseph Albert Poskonka, a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1944 to about 1948, advised that the MCPFB was founded at a conference held in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1947, and the MCPFB was to operate as the midwest organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (ACPFB).

On May 5, 1955, a source advised that in a "Statement of Principles," issued in April, 1955, by the MCPFB, it was noted that "The purpose of the Midwest Committee shall be to seek to perpetuate for the foreign born the fundamental concepts of equality, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality, political belief or place of birth, and to preserve the basic ideals of liberty and hospitality, which serve as the guarantees of democracy for all Americans."

A second source as of May 15, 1964, advised that the MCPFB continued to function as the midwest organization of the ACPFB, and still adhered to its "Statement of Principles" last published in 1955.

The ACPFB has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised on May 14, 1964, that it was his understanding that the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was formed around 1936 in New York City, and that the Chicago Chapter of the NLG (CCNLG), which is affiliated with the national group in New York, was formed shortly thereafter, possibly in 1937, by a group of liberal progressive lawyers in protest against activities of the American Bar Association which they claimed was a non-liberal, non-progressive organization. The CCNLG has no established headquarters, but occasionally uses the return address of its officials on literature.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on Page 121 concerning the NLG:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * *National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these offer a bulwark of protection.

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

A P P E N D I X

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X. Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the non-violent civil rights movement, and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and, henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

Characterization of MMI is contained in the appendix.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that Malcolm X (Little), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, Malcolm X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964 with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist, James Booker, in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by Malcolm X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were

established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which was also headed by Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 17, 1968

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	6/18/68	1/17 - 6/11/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		jms
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RACIAL MATTERS		

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] 1/17/68, at Cincinnati.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unneccesary minor repetiti information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS: NONE

Case has been: Pending over one year XX Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes XX No

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

REC-58

10-38

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Louisville (157-35) (RM)
5 - Cincinnati (4 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By					

No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies instant report have been designated for Louisville.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the U.S.

CI 100-14158

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	DE 157-2413

LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xènia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: June 18, 1968

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File #: 100-14158

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

Confidential sources identify leadership of Cincinnati SNCC and furnish data re SNCC [redacted] headquarters, membership, and meetings. [redacted] Recent past to present activities described, including presence and speeches by national leaders, Dayton and Cincinnati, conferences at colleges, travel by local leaders, interest in firearms, meetings with teenage students and subsequent high school demonstrations, racial disturbance in Cincinnati, and recent involvement with Republic of New Africa programs.

\- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP, AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] confirmed the leadership of the Cincinnati SNCC as follows, all of whom are residents of Cincinnati, Ohio, except as indicated:

Chairman:	THOMAS JAMES PORTER
Program Director:	LEROY COSTON
Secretary:	LANA MITCHELL
Treasurer:	PATRICIA PEARL
Fund-raising:	WILMA TONEY
Security:	GEORGE HUGHES
Field Representative:	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, located Alabama

On May 28, 1968, the source advised that WILMA TONEY, although for the time being still carried on the membership rolls of Cincinnati SNCC, had resigned to devote full-time to other Negro organizational activities, and the position previously filled by her was vacant.

Concerning PAYNE, above, the source stated on January 30, 1968, that PAYNE is the only Cincinnati member of SNCC presently operating as a field representative, and is attached to the Atlanta headquarters of SNCC, although he has been working continuously in the area of Selma, Alabama. The source stated PAYNE's title is called Executive Secretary of the Alabama Project; that he is still considered a Cincinnati member of SNCC; and if PAYNE should encounter difficulties of any kind, it is the responsibility of Cincinnati SNCC to provide whatever assistance is necessary.

HEADQUARTERS

On May 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that henceforth the new Cincinnati headquarters would be located in the Jewish Temple at Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated PORTER obtained the headquarters from the Avondale Community Council, who excercises control over the Rockdale Temple, and PORTER paid the sum of $25.00 for one year's use of an office and/or classroom located on the second floor of the above Temple.

MEMBERSHIP - MEETINGS

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] confirmed the total present membership of Cincinnati SNCC as 19, which number includes the leadership above, WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Field Representative, and four new SNCC members whose membership was effective approximately March 15, 1968. The source added, however, that PORTER indicated serious intentions of expanding the membership in the immediate future to include several teenage Negroes, who had exhibited considerable enthusiasm on the high school level.

The source confirmed that weekly meetings are generally conducted on Wednesday evenings unless circumstances require a change or cancellation as determined by the leaders.

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On December 18, 1967 [redacted] advised that at 8:30 p.m. on November 3, 1967, a meeting of the Tri-City SNCC was held at the Afro American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio.

This source had previously advised October 28, 1967, that Tri-City SNCC encompassed Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, all Ohio, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University (CSU) at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

[redacted] advised that CHARLES TATE, who is also the Chairman of the Dayton Alliance For Racial Equality (DARE), a civil rights organization in Dayton, Ohio, was the main speaker and discussed forming a newspaper which would be a communications link between the various cities of Tri-City SNCC.

It was decided that the Afro American Center in Dayton would be the headquarters for Tri-City SNCC, and that each city would have three members who could vote on decisions; however, the total number in attendance from each city would be unlimited.

[redacted] advised January 4, 1968, that on November 10, 1967, another meeting of the Tri-City SNCC occurred at the above address at which the establishment of a newspaper was again discussed, and a decision was also made that meetings of Tri-City SNCC would rotate between the cities involved.

The newspaper, "Yellow Springs News," Yellow Springs, Ohio, Page 1, carried an article which stated that a branch office of SNCC had recently opened at 221 Xenia Avenue.

The article stated SNCC workers were organizing the office and getting a supply of literature, posters, buttons, and so forth, and planned to serve the Springfield - Dayton area. The SNCC workers indicated that the public was welcome to come in for a visit, to chat, or just look around.

On February 9, 1968, SAs of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and WILLIAM HALL, above, depart from the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 12:50 p.m., via American Airlines Flight 476,en route to Washington, D.C.

advised that date that CARMICHAEL had been absent from his hotel room, above, for approximately two hours

during February 8, 1968, during which time he attended a speech given by JAMES FARMER, former Director of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), to an audience of about 400 persons at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated CARMICHAEL was accompanied by Cincinnati SNCC leader, PORTER, and upon the conclusion of FARMER's speech, CARMICHAEL returned to the Sheraton Gibson Hotel to address the Negro Methodist Ministers at a closed meeting at approximately midnight in the Roof Garden of the hotel.

The source stated that following the speech above, CARMICHAEL, in his hotel rooms with all members of Cincinnati SNCC, held a party and continued discussions similar to that previously carried on in Dayton, Ohio, at the TATE residence above.

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 3D, issue of February 11, 1968, carried an article which stated, in essence, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL told a group of Negro Methodist Ministers to go into the streets and help the poor. He told the Ministers that the church should not be geared toward the middle class, but that its job was helping the poor. The article stated that CARMICHAEL, who has a Methodist background, said the church was the only agent within the Negro community which could bring about cohesiveness among the Negro people.

[redacted] on February 13, 1968, advised that JAMES FARMER, former National Chairman of CORE, spoke at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 8:00 p.m. on February 8, 1968, at which time FARMER, in essence, stated Negroes have been programed by a racist society; that it was necessary for Negroes to unify in order to de-program stereotyping, and that Negroes will never achieve full citizenship in this country according to the history of slavery.

[redacted] stated that in attendance at the above speech was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and following FARMER's speech, all the Cincinnati SNCC members gathered around CARMICHAEL as he departed from the Wesley Chapel.

On March 5, 1968, [redacted] stated that on February 15, 1968, at 8:00 p.m., a general meeting was held at the Afro-American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio, at which time MARVIN WILSON was the guest speaker.

WILSON described himself as a national SNCC Field Representative, who would for a period of time work with all the black organizations in Dayton to unify them. WILSON stated he would involve all the black organizations whether they were willing or unwilling, and would work in the streets with those Negroes who have not been involved in any group activity.

WILSON stated the black people have been non-violent too long, and it was time they stood up and did something necessary for their liberation.

[redacted] advised February 19, 1968, that on February 16, 1968, LEROY JONES, Negro poet, spoke before about 1,500 persons, of which about fifty were white, in the University of Cincinnati (UC) Wilson Auditorium, beginning at 8:00 p.m., in connection with Negro History Week. JONES was invited by the United Black Association (UBA), which is a recently formed student Negro organization at UC, the purposes of which are "to enable the black student to acquaint himself better with community facilities and to be aware of and assist in any community problems involving the Negro; and to assist the black student in any way possible," according to the UBA spokesman in connection with the introduction of LEROY JONES. The person who introduced JONES with "He's alive. He's here. He's our cat LEROY!" was THOMAS J. PORTER, Chairman of the Cincinnati Chapter of SNCC.

LEROY JONES

"After four days in jail, LEROY JONES was released Tuesday, January 9, 1968, from Trenton State Prison on $25,000.00 bail, pending appeal of his conviction for illegal possession of two pistols during the Newark rioting last summer," according to a United Press International release datelined Trenton, New Jersey, in the January 9, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area. It points out that JONES and two other men were sentenced..., JONES' sentence being 2½ to 3 years.

"Life" Magazine of June 10, 1966, in an article captioned "Plotting a War on 'Whitey,'" quotes

"LEROY JONES, the brilliant and bitter playwright who is, if not a leader of black extremism, surely one of its most eloquent spokesmen," as stating, "'*What the black man needs is an absolute world of* his own values. This is not realistic with the white man alive. I do not think it possible that we can wish him away.'" It also quotes him as saying, "I don't think it is necessary to make anything clear to the white man except perhaps that most of the people in the world would be better off if the white man didn't exist."

On March 5, 1968, [redacted] had also advised that he had learned that LEONARD BALL, former Program Director, resigned from Cincinnati SNCC and moved to Washington, D.C. on March 2, 1968.

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 7D, issue of March 17, 1968, carried an article titled, "Struggle For Survival

Cited by SNCC Leader," which stated, in essence, that CLEVELAND SELLERS, described as a National Field Director of SNCC, in a speech at the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, 3025 Walter Street, Cincinnati, stated that the black man's struggle in America is a struggle for survival. The article further related that SELLERS stated that if the Negroes do not come together and develop a black conscious philosophy, the white man was going to kill the Negroes off, and SELLERS also accused the Federal Government of Negro genocide by reason of the deaths of several Negro militant leaders in the recent past.

[redacted] advised March 25, 1968, that FLORENCE TATE, of Dayton, Ohio, above, used to work on a Mississippi project for SNCC that she is much more knowledgeable about SNCC and its activities than her husband, CHARLES TATE, and source opined that she has closer association with National SNCC than anyone else in the area, possibly even a minor position of some type, because anyone from National SNCC or speakers, etc. coming to Ohio, consistently go to Dayton first to see FLORENCE TATE.

[redacted] advised April 1, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC Officers, LEROY COSTON, Program Director, and LANA MITCHELL, Secretary, attended a conference in Detroit, Michigan, on March 30 and 31, 1968, where a "Black Man's Constitution" was drafted for the creation of a separate nation of Negroes within the United States, to be subsequently presented to the U.S. Government.

[redacted] advised March 25, 1968, he had learned that all members of Cincinnati SNCC were scheduled to travel to Washington, D.C. for the period, April 12 - 14, 1968, to participate in a SNCC anti-draft demonstration, and that Cincinnati SNCC planned to charter a bus for 38 passengers.

On April 1, 1968, [redacted] advised that LEONARD BALL, above, returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, from Washington, D.C. for a visit, and instructed Cincinnati SNCC that the above demonstration in Washington, D.C. was not finalized as to details; consequently

Cincinnati SNCC should hold their plans to travel to Washington, D.C. in abeyance, and await further instructions.

On April 1, 1968, the same source advised that on March 29, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman TOMMY PORTER travelled to Springfield, Illinois, where he spoke to approximately 200 persons at the State House Inn, 101 East Adams Street, which was sponsored by the Institute for Administrative Leadership and School Desegregation and Equal Educational Opportunities. The source stated PORTER in his speech urged separation not integration of the school system because the present school system taught nothing but lies.

The Cincinnati edition of the newspaper, "Call and Post," Page 5, issue of March 30, 1968, carried an article datelined Dayton, Ohio, to the effect national SNCC Field Director CLEVELAND SELLERS spoke before an audience of 200 at the Mt. Olive Church in that city on the same subject matter that SELLERS had previously spoken on in Cincinnati on March 16, 1968; namely, that "Black people are fighting a war for survival in America."

[redacted] advised April 2, 1968, he had learned that on April 1, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director LEROY COSTON had fifteen or twenty Negro teenage male high school students come to SNCC headquarters at 2348 Highland Avenue for a P.M. meeting.

The source stated he was unable to furnish any specific information concerning the meeting, other than he understood COSTON had learned the teenagers had planned to boycott or demonstrate at some of the city high schools, but they had no definite objectives or organization to their plans.

The source stated he also learned that COSTON planned to have another meeting with the students on April 3, 1968.

On April 4, 1968, the source advised that COSTON cancelled the weekly SNCC membership meeting on April 3, 1968, and instead held another meeting with the Negro male teenagers, which was attended by about thirty students. The source stated he was unable to furnish any specifics, but did not believe violence, as such, was involved.

The Dayton, Ohio, newspaper, "Journal Herald," Page 69, issue of April 4, 1968, carried an article titled, "Rebels Label Revolution Black, Internal,Chaotic," which stated, in essence that at a panel discussion at the University of Dayton's Miriam Hall

on April 3, 1968, CHARLES TATE, above, a representative of SNCC, stated revolution is the "black revolution, and it is a reality," and that "any means necessary for freedom are legitimate."

It should be noted that the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, experienced a racial disturbance, which commenced at 6:00 p.m., April 8, 1968, and lasted until 12:00 noon, April 12, 1968, at which time the Mayor's Riot Proclamation was rescinded according to the Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department.

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that on April 9, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman PORTER stated that everything was fairly quiet, and that SNCC had nothing planned either in connection with the riot or with regard to SNCC meetings and activities.

PORTER indicated with regard to the riots, that a lot of people could be killed, hurt, or arrested, but that there had to be many sacrifices for the greater good, and that more would have to be made.

On April 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the regular Cincinnati SNCC weekly meetings were suspended because of the racial disturbance as were the meetings which LEROY COSTON had been conducting with the Negro high school teenage males.

[redacted] stated that COSTON had indicated the meetings were only with regard to a future walkout by the high school kids from school, and that the kids were supposed to stay out of school until the demands they were to present to the teachers and the school board had been met, but the source at that time did not know the nature of the demands that were to be presented.

The source also advised that he had learned of no plans on the part of SNCC or TOMMY PORTER with regard to the riot or

in the immediate future; that the weapons in the possession of the various SNCC members individually were supposedly only for defensive reasons, and that he knew of no specific use that PORTER had in mind for the dynamite in his possession at that time, above.

High School Demonstrations

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 1, 1968, carried an article titled, "Sit-Ins Prompted By Adults - MILLER," which stated in part as follows:

> "Supt. PAUL A. MILLER declared Tuesday that demonstrations by 1400 students at six Cincinnati high schools were 'a planned action' that was 'aided and abetted by adults.'
>
> "He charged the peaceful sit-ins across the city have 'exploded the myth' that unrest has been entirely spontaneous.
>
> "MILLER pointed to the presence of several militant leaders and peace protestors seen at the schools where youths protested the reassignment of seven students from Withrow and Woodward.
>
> "He warned that if the adults could be linked directly with the disruptions of school, 'they will be charged with aiding and abetting the students by contributing to the delinquency of a minor.'
>
> "MILLER met with City Hall officials, police and principals to plan counter action to keep schools operating as usual 'for the 90% who want to learn.' There are about 17,000 students in the eight high school centers.
>
> "Taft and Western Hills had no sit-ins, MILLER said."

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 8, issue of May 15, 1968, carried an article titled, "Last of 1,300 Suspended Due Back In School," which stated in part as follows:

> "The last 106 students among 1,300 suspended from school during Cincinnati high school sit-ins two weeks ago are due back in classes today.
>
> "Most of the suspended youths had been reinstated by last week through parent conferences with principals."

In connection with the above demonstrations, it should be additionally noted the "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 3, 1968, carried an article, which stated, in essence, that students in the Cincinnati public high schools would have greater voice in the operation of their schools, and that black history, culture, and literature would be incorporated in the curriculum. The article went on to discuss the demonstrations and stated that THOMAS PORTER, local Chairman of SNCC, who spoke to student demonstrators at schools this week, was arrested in Avondale Thursday for disorderly conduct after allegedly using abusive language against a policeman. He had marched with chanting students around City Hall earlier.

With regard to the high school demonstrations above, on April 30, 1968, [redacted] stated that six out of eight Cincinnati high schools were involved in the student protests, demonstrations, and walk-outs that SNCC had encouraged, and because of SNCC's involvement with the students, the regular weekly meetings of SNCC had been temporarily discontinued. The source stated that in further... of SNCC's counselling of the students, LEROY COSTON was meeting again either that night with the students or on May 1, 1968.

On May 2, 1968, [redacted] stated the previous Cincinnati SNCC meetings with the high school students were for the ultimate purpose of disrupting the schools, and the four students who were transferred from Withrow to Guilford were only the vehicle or excuse used to bring about the disruption, and the demands were really only of secondary significance.

On May 10, 1968, [redacted] advised he had learned that MILTON HENRY, First Vice-President of the Republic of New Africa, was to speak in Cincinnati on either May 19 or May 26, 1968, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church at 7:30 p.m. The source stated that MILTON's appearance was a result of a SNCC invitation. The source stated the speech was being sponsored by SNCC for the purpose of raising money for SNCC, and that speakers such as HENRY are merely reimbursed for their travel expenses with whatever additional raised, going to the organization.

The source advised that the only SNCC member presently believed to be also a member of the New Republic of Africa is LEROY COSTON.

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] advised he had learned that several members of Cincinnati SNCC, one of whom was Program Director LEROY COSTON, had indicated intentions of attending a convention to be held by the Republic of New Africa in Chicago, Illinois, during May 30 and 31, 1968.

It should be noted [redacted] advised on May 1, 1968, that the Black Government Conference met March 30 - 31, 1968, at Detroit, Michigan, to establish a provisional Government. At this conference the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was formed for the purpose of organizing an independent Negro nation which was to be made up of several southern states of the United States. According to source ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, currently in China, was elected President of the RNA; MILTON ROBINSON HENRY was elected First Vice-President; and RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY, also known as Brother IMARI, was elected Minister of Information of the RNA.

A characterization of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which is attached hereto.

[redacted] during May, 1968, advised MILTON HENRY is an Attorney at Law from the Pontiac, Michigan, area, and is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit, Michigan, area.

[redacted] states that RICHARD HENRY also known as IMARI, is an employee of the United States Government, who lives in the Detroit, Michigan, area, and is described as a local militant Black Nationalist who, in the past, was President of a rifle club known as the Fox and Wolf Hunt Club, which club was organized and dominated by members of the local RAM group.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, Williams was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin."

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (Continued)

Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that Maxwell Stanford of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where Stanford resides.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UN D STATES DEPARTMENT OF ICE

F ERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
June 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] at Cincinnati, Ohio, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	10/3/68	5/21/68 - 9/27/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		jmh
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM - SNCC		

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/18/68, at Cincinnati.

- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- Bureau (105-168197) (RM)
- 108th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- Baltimore (Info) (RM)
- Cleveland (Info) (RM)
- Louisville (cont'd Cover Page B)

10-46 REC- 65

EX 109

REC- 78

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
10/15/68				
[illegible]				

1968

CI 100-14158

1 - New York City (Info) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (Info) (RM)
3 - Cincinnati
  2 - 100-14158
  1 - 157-1682

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies of instant report have been designated for Louisville.

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Baltimore, Cleveland, Mobile and Philadelphia and NYC for information and possible future investigative use.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:	Location:
	CI 100-14158
	CG 100-40342

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any [illegible] activity in the Columbus area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

FD-_ 4 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 10/3/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: 105-168197

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CONFIDENTIAL

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Complete leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as furnished by confidential sources, who additionally supplied data re [redacted] headquarters, local meetings, travel and conferences in Chicago and New York City with national SNCC leaders concerning SNCC internal conflict and activities. Recent past to present activities of Cincinnati SNCC set forth including status of [redacted] development of marching groups and firearms interest, and meeting with RAM leader MAXWELL STANFORD as result of speech by RNA leader BETTY SHABAZZ in Cincinnati on 9/8/68.

\- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is contained in the appendix of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On July 26, 1968, [redacted] furnished the complete SNCC membership roster effective as of the Cincinnati SNCC reorganization on July 15, 1968, and as confirmed August 16, 1968.

The chief leaders (first three below) all of whom have an equal voice, are:

LEROY COSTON
Educational Advisor

KENNETH ROBINSON
Military Advisor

GEORGE HUGHES
Program Director

DONALD HARRIS
Security Officer

JUANITA McCOMBS
Secretary

CLAUDIA ANDERSON
Treasurer and fund raising

WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE
Field Representative - located in Alabama

Former Chairman

On August 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that TOMMY PORTER, former Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC prior to the above reorganization July 15, 1968, then attending classes at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, was to leave Cincinnati to commence teaching in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 6, 1968. This source stated PORTER was one of the Antioch-Putney Students Interning in Baltimore under the direction of an individual named JOHN HOPKINS and others in the Baltimore School System. The source also stated that PORTER was to complete additional masters work during the late summer of 1969 at Putney, Vermont.

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MEMBERSHIP

In addition to the above, the complete Cincinnati SNCC membership as of July 15, 1968, is as follows:

	Name:	Address:	Tele. No.
1.	Noah Cave		
2.	Landall Williams		
3.	Michael Hardrick		
4.	Ted Harris		
5.	Junita T. McCombs		
6.	Clifford E. Cooper		
7.	Roberta Shears		
8.	Liz Presley		
9.	Jack Gibson		
10.	William Milton		
11.	Ronnie Smith		
12.	Leroy O. Coston		
13.	Thomas Cooper		
14.	Donald Harris		
15.	Larry Myles		
16.	Olga Turner		
17.	Antone Williams		
18.	Elaine Rynon		
19.	Kenneth Robinson		
20.	George Hughes		
21.	Bruce Walton		

Name	Address	Telc. No.
22. Claudia Anderson	[redacted]	[redacted]
23. Toney Myles	[redacted]	[redacted]
24. Maurice Wheeler	[redacted]	[redacted]
25. Harold Jefferies	[redacted]	[redacted]
26. McKinley Pace	[redacted]	[redacted]
27. Lana Mitchell	[redacted]	[redacted]
28. Taylor Hughes	[redacted]	
29. Thomas Porter	[redacted]	[redacted]
30. Tommy Clinton	[redacted]	[redacted]

It should be noted that [redacted] also advised August 1[illegible], 1968, that TED HARRIS, CL[illegible]ORD COOPER and THOMAS COOPER, whose names appear on the above roster reside in Covington, Kentucky, and that JACK G[illegible]SON, ANTONE WILLIAMS, TOMMY CLINTON and HAROLD JEFFERIES are Cincinnati high school students recently admitted to Cincinnati SNCC membership and described by this source as "wild".

FUNDS

HEADQUARTERS AND MEETINGS

On August 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Cincinnati SNCC headquarters are located on the second floor of the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, and that aside from specific situations the routine organization meetings, effective July 15, 1968, were to be held one month from the date of the last meeting.

RECENT SIGNIFICANT OUT-OF-STATE ACTIVITIES

A characterization of US and BPP appear in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC planned to send SNCC Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON, Military Advisor KENNETH ROBINSON and the following Cincinnati SNCC members, with the remainder of the fifteen to be subsequently chosen:

TAYLOR HUGHES,

DONALD HARRIS,

TED HARRIS,

CLIFFORD and THOMAS COOPER and MICHAEL HARDRICK to the Chicago, Illinois meeting.

[redacted] advised on August 18-19, 1968, that by reason of car trouble, only the following Cincinnati SNCC members were able to travel to Chicago, Illinois, for the above meeting on August 16, 1968:

Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON,

Program Director GEORGE HUGHES,

LARRY MILES,

DONALD HARRIS

McKINLEY LACE,

one young male Negro (name unknown), and

TAYLOR HUGHES.

[redacted] further advised that the Cincinnati group thereafter returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, during the a.m. of August 25, 1968, where Johnny Jackson thereafter departed for Selma, Alabama [redacted]

RECENT SIGNIFICANT LOCAL ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

[redacted] advised July 27, 1968, concerning the farm to be used for firearms training in Kentucky, the location is still as yet not known, but it is anticipated that as soon as SNCC Military Advisor KENNETH ROBINSON had "shaped up" the SNCC guards or protective force, he, ROBINSON, intended to utilize the farm.

The source stated ROBINSON, for the previous week, had been conducting marching and drilling exercises in the vicinity of the Rockdale Temple from about 5:30 p.m. to 8;00 p.m., about every night, and on a few occasions until as late as 10:00 p.m.

The source stated ROBINSON has been drilling about 30 men, some of whom were SNCC members, and some of whom are potential or future SNCC members.

Subsequently on August 14, 1968, [redacted] stated that about three weeks previous a local dance was held by SNCC at the Rockdale Temple to raise money and which was well attended. About 1:00 a.m. as the dance was about over, six Negroes from the Mt. Auburn area began to get a little rough to the point it appeared a fight would start as a result of which SNCC military advisor KENNY ROBINSON, called eight of his marching group, and they went to the trunk of ROBINSON's car where they each obtained a weapon, handguns and rifles, and returned to the dance where they told the Mt. Auburn group the dance was over. The source stated ROBINSON's actions were effective, but everyone felt ROBINSON was very foolish in that actions of that type could have brought the Cincinnati Police into the situation quickly.

The source stated ROBINSON's Army does not have a central repository for weapons, but many members of the SNCC Army have their individual guns which they each also keep individually for security reasons, and many of the younger members of the marching group joined it because they believed that sooner or later they would be able to get a weapon as a result of being part of the Army or marching group.

The source stated that ROBINSON, himself, does have several of his own guns, including a magnum, but ROBINSON is so erratic that it is impossible to state that at any given time that he will have a gun in his possession.

The source stated ROBINSON also bought a new motor bike, and has recently been starting new marching groups and linking up recently formed marching groups with his own group at the Rockdale Temple.

The source stated ROBINSON linked up with a new group on the West Side called the "Black Turks" and with a similar type group operating in the Millvale area. In addition, ROBINSON is in the process of forming a new marching group in the Evanston area and has established another marching group in the Madisonville area, and about every other day contacts at least one of the above groups on his motor bike for discussions and drilling practice and on a few occasions there have been sessions of karate instructions.

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

[redacted] advised May 21, 1968, that on May 19, 1968, MILTON HENRY, Vice President of the Republic of New Africa, appeared at a meeting at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road, Cincinnati, which lasted from approximately 8:00 p.m. to 9:45 p.m., and was attended by about 35 persons between the ages of 20 - 40.

The source stated the meeting was sponsored by SNCC, a collection was taken, which totalled about $25, and HENRY was introduced by Cincinnati SNCC member KENNETH ROBINSON.

A characterization of the RNA (Republic of New Africa) is contained in the appendix of this report.

The source stated ROBINSON told the group that Cincinnati SNCC planned to hold weekly meetings on Sunday at the Carmel Church for discussions on Negro culture and tradition, and in connection with those meetings, were planning to have guest speakers from the various Negro movements in

the United States.

ROBINSON stated that SNCC would invite all the speakers to appear, that the cost for same would come from individual donations so he urged as large a donation as possible since the collection would be divided between SNCC and the particular speaker for the occasion.

ROBINSON further stated that the Carmel Church would become the complete and only real "black man's church in Cincinnati where the black man's culture, history and tradition would prevail".

The source stated MILTON HENRY spoke for one hour, which was followed by a thirty minute question session.

The source stated HENRY discussed the separatist movement, which desired the five states of Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama to be set aside as a separate nation, to be brought about by guerrilla warfare and intimidation of the white man.

On June 6, 1968, advised that commencing that date, Cincinnati SNCC would conduct a "Freedom School" at the Rockdale Temple to instruct in Negro culture and tradition; the first meeting would be devoted to registration, and the school was to be open to anyone, with emphasis on teenagers.

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This source advised the same date, that about a week previous there was a meeting at the St. Simons Episcopal Church in Lincoln Heights, Ohio, which was attended by about 15 Negro teenagers from the Wyoming, Princeton and Lincoln Heights High Schools, and Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON, TAYLOR HUGHES, KENNETH ROBINSON and LANA MITCHELL.

The source advised the following Tuesday, the Negro students from Wyoming High School, who had attended the above meeting, presented demands to the Wyoming High School officials to include Negro history and culture in the curriculum.

[redacted] also advised on June 6, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC members LANA MITCHELL, [illegible] ROBINSON and WILLIE THOMAS attended the RNA Convention in Chicago, Illinois, during the Memorial Day weekend, 196[illegible] [redacted].

The source stated he understood the above groups departed the Thursday morning prior to the weekend, and attended the convention that evening and Friday, but because the convention leaders began to fight and differ among themselves, the Cincinnati group got disgusted and returned to Cincinnati.

This source also stated WILLIE THOMAS, above, had bought a clerical collar, adopted the title "Reverend" and became a self-ordained minister to follow the current fad of many of the national SNCC members because it seemed to provide better access to church and other groups. When pressed as to church affiliation, they generally just answer "corner Baptists".

This same source advised that on June 8, 9, 1968, an Afro American Weekend was held at Antioch College, which consisted of a concert and fashion show, but the models for same failed to show up. The source stated that TOMMY PORTER, LANA MITCHELL, BRUCE WALTON, TAYLOR HUGHES and GEORGE HUGHES attended as representatives of Cincinnati SNCC.

The source stated that TED HARRIS, from Covington, Kentucky, and KENNY ROBINSON from Cincinnati, Ohio, are

considered the military or firearms training leaders for Cincinnati SNCC.

[redacted] advised on June 26, 1968, that he believed SNCC as an organization had lost much of its appeal to the Negro population in the Dayton, Ohio area subsequent to the newspaper articles which reported STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Former National Chairman of SNCC, had purchased a $70,000 home in Washington, D.C.

On July 27, 1968 [redacted] advised that the "Freedom School", above, which was started by SNCC, with classes open to the public, at the Rockdale Temple on Thursday nights, 7:00 - 9:00 P.M. had become very successful. The source stated classes had been expanded to Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of every week at the Samuel Achs Junior High School, from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 6, 1968, page 38, carried an article titled, "Must Affirm Our Blackness Negroes Told At Umojo Session", which stated that August 5, 1968, was the opening of Umogo (UNITY) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The article stated Umojo Week would continue for the entire week, would end August 11, 1968, and began with a parade up Reading Road which was led by the sponsors and

immediately followed by the "Avondale Drill Team" led by KENNETH ROBINSON, above, as drill instructor.

The article stated this unit was dressed in blue jeans, black sweaters, and some wore berets. The men wore high military boots, and all wore ammunition belts.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Post and Times Star", issue of August 6, 1968, page 8, carried an article titled "Workshops Highlight Umojo Week Activities" which stated the August 7, 1968, session would open at 10:45 a.m. with a workshop on Economics for Black People, headed by LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of local SNCC.

The article additionally listed several panelists for the educational program, including among whom was TOM PORTER, Chairman of SNCC and HAROLD JEFFERIES (above SNCC membership list).

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 8, 1968, page 17, carried an article titled "Racial Pride Stressed for Unity" which stated that LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, and organizer of workshop sessions for Umojo (Unity) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati stated on August 7, 1968, that his message to the black men and women attending the workshop in the Rockdale Temple was "blackness equals knowledge of self, racial pride, self-respect and cooperative effort".

COSTON was quoted as saying, "We've tried to involve ourselves at every level, but we still have no rights.

The only meaningful measure that can be taken by our people in this racist society is to turn our resources back to ourselves."

[redacted] advised August 19, 1968, he had learned that date that PHILIP HUTCHINGS and IRVING DAVIS, both national SNCC leaders in New York City, New York, traveled to the Cleveland, Akron and Dayton, Ohio areas for the purpose of organizing SNCC operations in these cities.

This source stated HUTCHINGS and DAVIS returned to New York City on August 16, 1968, and indicated they had had reasonable organizing success in Ohio.

[redacted] advised on August 21, 1968, he had learned of no information to indicate PHILIP HUTCHINGS or IRVING DAVIS, above, had been to the Dayton, Ohio area around August 14, 1968.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 23, 1968, page 10, carried an article titled "'Black Berets' March to Promote Self-Help; But Police Are Wary", which stated young Negro men and women are forming uniformed marching units in the Greater Cincinnati area which they say may help create community and racial pride

The article stated the two largest groups are reported in the West End and Avondale and others are said to be forming in Cumminsville, Milvale, Walnut Hills, Lincoln Heights, Madisonville and northern Kentucky and may have a total strength of 200, mostly men between 16 and 25, and a few black sisters.

The article described KENNETH ROBINSON, above, age 24, as a "General" and as a full-time employee of a major industrial firm who had worked his way up from sweeper since he was honorably discharged from the Army four years ago

The article indicated ROBINSON, when interviewed stated he resented having to account for their groups and uniforms and ceremonial use of machetes - long jungle knives - by honor guards because they were Negro. He felt that white youth groups could have hunting knives and hatchets and the like, as well as uniforms, without having to offer special explanations and undergo police surveillance.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of September 9, 1968, page 14, carried an article titled, "She Compares Black With Patriots of 1776", which stated BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of black militant leader MALCOLM X, Sunday night, (September 8, 1968) compared the "black man's struggle for freedom in America" with the original struggle of the 13 colonies in a speech at the Rockdale Temple, above, Cincinnati, Ohio, under the "auspices of the Republic of New Africa".

The article stated Miss SHABAZZ arrived about 6:30 p.m. and was heavily guarded. Guards additionally were stationed at the entrance of the building, and frisked everyone who came in.

The article stated the speech concerned the establishment of a separate black nation within the U. S.; that 20 guards escorted Miss SHABAZZ to a car after the speech, and three carloads of guards took her to the airport.

[redacted] advised September 10, 1968, that BETTY SHABAZZ, above, appeared for a speech in Cincinnati as a result of a previous invitation by SNCC member, WILLIE THOMAS, who is also a Recruiter for the RNA.

This source stated that SHABAZZ came to Cincinnati accompanied by RNA leader, RICHARD HENRY, both of whom departed

from Cincinnati September 8, 1968.

This source additionally stated that WILLIE THOMAS appeared at the Rockdale Temple accompanied by MAXWELL STANFORD, a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, who had arrived in Cincinnati September 7, 1968, and is believed to have departed September 8, 1968.

[redacted]

[redacted] stated he learned that ROBINSON planned to depart Cincinnati during the morning of September 27, 1968, and would be accompanied by DONALD HARRIS, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer and military aide of ROBINSON, and would probably return to Cincinnati during the p.m. of September 28, 1968.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1,1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Aka., Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

> SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial [illegible] charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised that HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name Malcolm X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X. LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI) and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power and since his assassination February 21, 1965 at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing the name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA which is to be revolutionary in nature is to make efforts for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States

Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader". WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader".

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI and OAAU are attached hereto.

<u>A P P E N D I X</u>

"US", also known as
<u>"US", Incorporated</u>

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 19[illegible], with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose . . . based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture".

[illegible] source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled "The Quotable Karenga", authored by MAULANA RON KARENGA, also known as Ronie McKinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

". . . US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture. . . . The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos, . . . We Must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically.

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

". . . You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. . . . The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. . . . When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are . . ."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"We . . . must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws "are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. . . . We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have to get power by talking to the man - - let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia - - let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power . . ."

(cont'd)

"US", also known as "US", Incorporated

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

". . . The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when a thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity. . ."

"JESUS said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow' Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes', or worse yet - - - washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it. . . "

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga".

The first source advised that "US membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third and highest level of membership is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. [illegible] Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of [illegible] there is no such thing as a Negro; the so- [illegible] slaves of the white race, referred to as "white [illegible]," in the United States; and the white race, because of its [illegible] of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 8, 1958, the first source advised Elijah Muhammad had, [illegible] legal counsel, tempered his personal statements [illegible] to his ministers concerning the principles of [illegible] in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

[illegible]

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER, in which he indicated that he had heard the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI) (Continued)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

P. O. Box 1277
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201
October 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTER - SNCC
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Report Form
FD-263

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	4/8/69	1/27/69 - 4/3/69

TITLE OF CASE	Report made by	Typed by
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	pa
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RM - SNCC	

Synopsis:

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 1/22/69, at Cincinnati.

\- P -

NONE

Pending over 1 year No; Pending prosecution over 6 months No.

Approved — Special Agent in Charge — Do not write in spaces below

Copies made:
10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - 109th MIC, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (RM)
1 - Springfield (Info) (RM)
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(Con'd Cover Page B)

REC 27

5 APR 14 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~ONI~~, OSI, SEC. SERV., IDIU, CRIM
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MAY 5 - 1969

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2 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
3 - Cincinnati
(2 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[redacted]

[redacted] R,

For Bureau information, on 1/24/69, [redacted] advised he was in the process of obtaining names, from a source he would not disclose, relative to SNCC applications at either Central State or

Wilberforce University. Several names, without additional identifying data or location, were furnished by [redacted] and despite the paucity of information, appropriate cases were opened in anticipation of probable receipt of further more specific data to be thereafter set forth in a subsequent SNCC organization report.

Data re individuals referred to in the details, who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For additional reasons of brevity and to eliminate repetitive reporting, the essential data of Cincinnati LHM, 3/7/69, concerning the East St. Louis conference of 3/1,2/69, was set forth in enclosed report, but the printed program and related data was excluded since same was more pertinent to respective Divisions rather than the overall organization.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Springfield, Chicago, Louisville, Mobile, and New York for possible future investigative use.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cincinnati
Date: 4/8/69

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current leaders and members of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as supplied by [redacted] furnished data re headquarters, funds, attendance at conferences in Springfield and East St. Louis, Illinois, and efforts re establishment of Black Panther Party. [redacted] contacts with out-of-state Black Nationalist leaders, local SNCC membership, travel, and meetings data.

\- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] furnished the current leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC. The source stated the membership list was effective as of February 2, 1969, reconfirmed as still correct February 20, 1969, and those names which appeared on previous lists, but do not appear on the present list, were removed from SNCC membership by reason of inactivity and/or non-participation in the activities.

LEADERS - (RESIDENCE CINCINNATI UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE)

Educational Adviser	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer	MC KINLEY PACE 2348 Highland Avenue (No telephone)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124
Treasurer & Fund Raising	Vacant
Field Representative	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE (Whereabouts unknown)

NON-LEADERSHIP MEMBERS

NOAH CAVE
1026 Burton Avenue,
No. 791-3799

GEORGE EDISON
3030 Gilbert Avenue
No. 221-7560

TAYLOR HUGHES
3458 E. Millvale Circle
No. 681-3306

JOHN DACE
3593 Roll Street,
No. 542-2873

WILBUR CAVE
1026 Burton Avenue,
No. 791-3799

GARRELL WINSTEAD
1482 Dudley Walk
No. 421-6075

MEETINGS - HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] advised the regular meetings of Cincinnati SNCC were changed from the 22nd of each month to weekly Sunday meetings, unless cancelled or rescheduled, to commence at 2:00 PM at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Further information concerning the NOI is located in the appendix attached hereto.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

On March 14, 1969, [redacted] advised he had learned that two Negro males, names and organization affiliation unknown, but from California, had arrived in Cincinnati, Ohio, within the previous two or three days, and were temporarily residing with the Cincinnati Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Secretary, SANDRA CARR, at 2225 Highland Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

On March 15, 1969, this source stated he had learned that the two Negroes, names unknown, had been arrested in Columbus, Ohio, about March 4 - 5, 1969, for carrying a concealed weapon, and were members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California, but the circumstances of the arrest are unknown.

The source also stated he learned that bond money for the above two, $300 each for a total of $600 was paid, and that both returned immediately to Oakland, California.

Further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix attached hereto.

PARTICIPATION IN OUT OF STATE CONFERENCES

[redacted] advised he had learned [redacted] that CHARLES KOEN, SNCC Midwest Director and leader of a group called the National Black Liberators, in St. Louis, Missouri, had contacted Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, January 25, 1969, and requested no more than two leadership representatives of Cincinnati SNCC to attend a highly confidential meeting in Springfield, Illinois, at twelve noon, January 28, 1969, purpose of meeting and identity of other invitees unknown.

On January 30, 1969 [redacted] stated he had learned that Leroy Coston, above, and Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, George Hughes, were the two representatives who attended the above meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

[redacted] stated the meeting took place in the living room of the home of Larry Isaac, Prime Minister of the "Black Egyptians", 1201 South 15th Street, Springfield, Illinois, who within the past two months had moved to Springfield from East St. Louis, Illinois, and resides at the above address with his wife and two small children.

The source stated the meeting started at about three p.m., concluded about 6:45 p.m., was attended by about twenty eight persons, all Negroes, including several females, and the entire meeting was conducted by Charles Koen, leader of the "National Black Liberators", St. Louis, Missouri, with the exception of a short period of time when the speaking was done by Koen's assistant, also a "Liberator", name unknown, but described as about 28, 6'2", 225 pounds, medium Afro haircut, clean shaven, neat, with a 3" circular scar on his right cheek.

The source stated some of the invitees were late in appearing, some departed before the conclusion of the meeting, and some did not appear at all, according to Koen, such as Dan Aldridge from Detroit, Michigan, two persons from Atlanta, Georgia, one from Memphis, Tennessee, and one from Mississippi. As a result of this the total of twenty eight in attendance is approximate.

Koen also stated he had received a telephone call from Edward Crawford, above, who told Koen that because of inclement weather the planes were grounded, and it would be impossible for Crawford to attend the meeting.

The source stated that at the inception of the meeting Koen stated that for obvious reasons there would be absolutely no note taking, and unless some of the attendees were already known to each other, no one would be introduced to anyone else beyond a first name basis.

The source stated he recalled that as far as attendance by groups or organizations the meeting was attended as follows:

(5) "National Black Liberators" from St. Louis, Missouri, including Koen, composed of three men and two women, who were among the last to arrive at the meeting.

(10) "Black Egyptians" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(3) "Black Egyptians" from Springfield, Illinois.

(8) "War Lords" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(4) "Vice Lords" from Peoria, Illinois

The source additionally stated there were three persons, including one woman, who were identified only as students from a college near Springfield, Illinois, with a name the source stated sounded like "Cardon" or "Cordon".

The source stated that five of the "Black Egyptians", and four or five of the "War Lords", both from East St. Louis, Illinois, departed from the meeting about one hour before the conclusion.

With regard to the meeting proper the source stated Koen set forth the following general purposes and, thereafter, returned to expand on several of the points:

1. To get acquainted with our fellow revolutionaries in different, yet immediately adjacent, territories or areas.

2. Although from different areas, to recognize that it is a common system and a common enemy everywhere.

3. Discuss the divide and conquer policy of the system.

4. Discuss plans to move against the enemy.

5. Discuss bond and court expenses.

6. Roles of the groups and communications.

7. Discuss national meetings of the groups from all areas.

8. Discuss establishment of a central office for their (Midwest) area.

Koen stated one of the main elements of a "revolution" is for the revolutionary to keep his "mouth shut", and each of the attendees had been invited because he is a revolutionary.

In expanding upon the subjects Koen stated that the enemy had recently subjected their groups to extreme harassment and injustice.

Koen stated very recently the offices of the "National Black Liberators" in St. Louis had been raided by police, without cause, on two or three occasions; the doors of the offices of the"Black Egyptians" in East St. Louis had been kicked down by the police; a primarily women's school in East St. Louis had been raided by police who found only two guns and a knife after a thorough search; but most significant was because of the mass shooting which had occurred the previous week in East St. Louis which resulted in the deaths of four Negroes and the injuring of two others who were presently on the critical list.

Koen did not restate the details of the above incident except to the extent it involved six magazine salesmen, two of whom Koen stated were legitimate, and the other four were undercover police officers.

Koen stated that as a result of the above, one "Swede" Jeffreys, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, was unjustly arrested and charged with four counts of murder.

Koen stated Jeffreys was arrested on the basis of an identification by one of the men who had been shot and died, but identified Jeffreys while under the influence of narcotics before death.

Koen stated that the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, led by one "Pops", in attendance at the meeting, and described as about 40-45 years of age, was planning to follow one of two courses of action:

1. To go with a group directly to the jail where Jeffreys is located and kill everyone necessary to free Jeffreys.

2. To commence a planned, but random killing of the enemy one at a time in retaliation.

Koen stated he, Koen, believed careful planning should be done; that the possible loss of several might not be worth more than the rescue of only one, but whatever course of action they, the "War Lords", decided to follow, they had the complete support and encouragement of Koen.

Koen stated that Edward Crawford, above, who was to have attended the meeting, was to have rendered assistance or advice to the "War Lords" in the course of action they decided to follow.

Koen stated the number one weapon of their groups is explosives, and that guns are secondary for use as a last resort.

Koen stated all the groups in East St. Louis have good contacts for explosives in that area, have some available or access to it at the present time, and additionally have a "Black Egyptian" available, who is a former serviceman and a demolition expert, not further identified except located in East St. Louis.

Koen thereafter discussed the establishment of a Central Office for the Midwest area, and stated that although Chicago is also being considered, Springfield is presently the first choice despite the fact there are more transportation problems involved in travel to and from that city.

Koen stated it is tentatively planned that a Midwest Conference of all groups will be held February 8, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois, meeting site not designated, but one of the purposes will be to name or select a Midwest Council of representatives from the various groups.

Koen thereafter discussed generalities and stated he had just returned, no specifics disclosed, from a visit and conference in New York City, New York, with H. Rap Brown, former National SNCC Chairman, and had also just completed a trip to California relative to the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Koen stated that he thereafter contacted National SNCC leader Philip Hutchings telephonically relative to his California travel and was advised by Hutchings that he, Koen, had violated SNCC policy in meeting with the BPP.

Koen stated that partly, as a result of the above, he was leaving within a few days to attend a conference in Connecticut, and would thereafter return to New York City for further conferences, at the conclusion of which he believed he would return to California and attempt to resolve the differences within the BPP.

Koen thereafter indicated another meeting was to be held at the same address in Springfield in the immediate future with some of the representatives of the various newspapers and publications of the various groups with whom they are associated, and the entire meeting was thereafter concluded.

Concerning the conference in general, [redacted] stated the conference as a whole was conducted by CHARLES KOEN; that approximately 75 persons were present on Saturday, March 1, 1969, from a late inception at about 2:00 PM, until 11:00 PM, and on Sunday, March 2, 1969, there were approximately 50 persons in attendance from noon until the conference terminated at about 8:00 PM.

The source stated most of the attendees were unknown, and the majority were from the Midwest area, Springfield, East St. Louis, Peoria, and five students from Carbondale, Illinois, with the exception of the following, insofar as known or learned by this source:

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA - 5

Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, SNCC West Deputy Chairman.

Brother (First Name Unknown) CHOICE.

TONY ORANGE

SANDRA SCOTT

One unknown male

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, AREA - 5

All unknown males, did not identify themselves, and attended the conference on March 1, 1969, only.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 6

This male group was led by EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association (appears in program), and the group referred to themselves as "Mau Maus," indicated they were karate experts, and carried brown, twelve inch long wood clubs in their back pockets.

WASHINGTON, D.C. - 2

One male and one female, both unknown.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - 1

One male from Atlanta, Georgia, unknown, engaged in organizing work in Tennessee and Kentucky.

The source stated that the conference did not start until about 2:00 PM on March 1, 1969, and generally followed the printed program but in essence, from 2:00 PM to 3:30 PM, was devoted to a general session; thereafter, was devoted to workshops from 3:30 PM to 5:00 PM, and thereafter moved to the office of KATHERINE DUNHAM, 530 Tenth Street, who source stated was Director of Performing Arts Training Center at 530 Tenth Street, East St. Louis, Illinois, where a discussion of "black culture" was conducted until about 7:00 PM, at which time the conference returned to the workshops until 11:00 PM when the day was concluded.

The source stated the Sunday, March 2, 1969, program was adhered to, including the presentation of a cantata by the organization of KATHERINE DUNHAM, described in the program.

Concerning the conference, the source stated that KOEN never fully clarified to the group why KOEN had referred to the conference as the First National Political Conference, and made no comment concerning any future national conferences, dates or locations.

The source stated the SNCC West Deputy Chairman, Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, and his group from Los Angeles, California, directed some questions to KOEN concerning the purpose of the conference, but received no explanation from KOEN, and indicated they were angry at being misled by KOEN.

KOEN stated each of the groups represented should unite for the common purpose of forming a national liberation group in furtherance of the four year plan previously proposed by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and that each of the groups should return to their respective states and attempt unification with all other local organizations in their areas.

KOEN stated the attempts at unification presently in effect were all part of an original plan devised by the slain Negro leader MALCOLM X LITTLE of Muslim Mosque, and that in the next few weeks a conference and meeting was to be arranged with the widow of MALCOLM X, BETTY SHABAZZ, now a leader of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), to secure her endorsement for the unification.

Further information concerning Muslim Mosque and the RNA is attached hereto.

[redacted]

KOEN stated, however, that the SNCC national leaders still desired no actual present working relations or involvement with the BPP due to the extensive inner conflicts and dissension of that organization. KOEN stated national SNCC is waiting for the BPP to eliminate its own organizational problems, and presently feel the BPP may destroy itself unless changes are made within, and with BPP relations with other groups against whom they are engaged in actual warfare.

KOEN further stated that several national SNCC leaders, including PHIL HUTCHINGS, were to have also attended the conference, but KOEN gave no explanation for their absence.

On March 26, 1969, [redacted] supplied additional data in elaboration of the information previously furnished March 4, 1969, concerning the conference called by the SNCC Midwest Director, CHARLES KOEN, on March 1-2, 1969, in East St. Louis, Illinois.

The source stated that although it was feasible and possible that other similar type meetings might have taken place on February 28, 1969, or March 1-2, 1969, at other locations he had obtained no information to that effect. The source stated that except for temporary lodgings of the attendees, the conference took place at the Summer College of Commerce, 9th and Ohio Streets, East St. Louis, Illinois, with a "black culture" discussion on March 1, 1969, and a music program on March 2, 1969, presented by KATHERINE DUNHAM at 530 10th Street, also East St. Louis, Illinois.

The source stated that excluding the above segments of KATHERINE DUNHAM, the conference was composed of several periods of general sessions, and several workshops, with significant data supposedly covered in the workshops repeated in the general sessions periods for the benefit of all, with some discussions or questions permitted, and immediately preceding the conclusion of the conference on March 2, 1969, there was a period of approximately thirty minutes from 7:30 to 8:00 PM, which was attended by only twelve to fifteen persons, including CHARLES KOEN, above.

The source stated included in the closed group were several Negroes who referred to themselves as "Mau Maus", one of whom suggested it should be made clear to others that if one man commits some foolish illegal act on his own initiative, he should not expect others to come to his aid and support with either money or their weapons, but if the act itself is in furtherance of militant activities, then it should be understood that every man and organization should respond to help in whatever manner possible.

The source stated that EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association, from Chicago, Illinois, during this period stated that branches of the above association should be started in every city, and that either he, CRAWFORD, or one of his organizers, would travel wherever necessary to establish such a group.

The source stated it was also at this time that CHARLES KOEN discussed the plan to unite all Black Nationalist organizations, and that recently two members of the Black Panther Party, names not disclosed, had been appointed to the SNCC Central Committee, although SNCC itself desired no present close working relationship with the BPP due to the considerable conflicts within that group.

The source stated he was aware of no discussions that took place, concerning plans relative to selling "protection" to businesses, to hijack trucks, to commit robberies or muggings, to steal payroll checks, or to steal cars from rental agencies.

The source stated the first speaker at the first general session was CHARLES KOEN who generally discussed revolutionary economics and the necessity for all groups to become acquainted, to open the doors of communication, and to work together for the common purpose.

KOEN was followed by DWIGHT SMITH of "Black Culture, Inc." of East St. Louis, Illinois, who spent considerable time discussing activities in that area, including the recent arrest of one CHARLES JEFFERIES in connection with the shooting deaths of four Negroes; how the local police had been harassing the local organizations, and that, at least to the present, nothing had been done by the local organizations in retaliation or opposition.

EDWARD "TAIS" CRAWFORD thereafter spoke for about four minutes, but stopped abruptly when he indicated he saw someone operating a tape recorder, and stated he, CRAWFORD, simply did not trust everyone attending the conference.

The source stated Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser LEROY COSTON, thereafter spoke for about five minutes and stated that attempts were being made in Cincinnati, Ohio, to unify and work with all the groups; that one man alone, as an independent, was ineffectual, but the community understands, appreciates, and will support a group they feel is working in their behalf.

The source stated the next general session was March 1, 1969, about nine to ten PM, and was less orderly. The exact speakers were not recalled, but the only references to specific criminal activity was believed made by CHARLES KOEN, who attempted a comparison between capitalism and revolutionary economics.

KOEN stated that if a bank is robbed, and the money is spent to buy an Eldorado Cadillac, that is capitalism, because the system is being supported. If the money is used to purchase weapons, or to buy food for hungry Negro children, that is revolutionary economics.

The source additionally stated he recalled no speeches or discussions by CHARLES KOEN or anyone else concerning the planned hijacking of planes to Cuba, specific travel to Cuba, or negotiations with Cuba for compensation for planes hijacked by "brothers".

The source additionally stated the SNCC organization does own or have available films including, "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger", and "The Battle of Algiers", and additionally he recently learned that National SNCC leader, GWEN PATTON, was in a hospital, believed in Washington, D.C., and for a broken leg, but he could furnish no data regarding her recent visitors.

The source also stated that CHARLES KOEN indicated the conference was originally to have included March 3, 1969, and the meeting was held in East St. Louis, Illinois, to call additional attention by newspaper to a pending court appearance of KOEN and National SNCC leader, PHILIP HUTCHINGS, with regard to their arrest about six months previous at a rally in the East St. Louis area, details unknown.

The source also stated that at a general session on March 2, 1969, about 6:30 to 7:30 PM, one "POPS" JONES, about 40-45 years of age, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, Illinois, spoke for about fifteen minutes in a incohesive manner, which stressed violence and action, but appeared only to make JONES look foolish, create amusement, and cause inattention.

The source indicated JONES made several statements, unrecalled specifically, but to the effect that if one of the organizations intended to conduct a meeting, "Spotters" should be sent out in the neighborhood, and if police are observed, the group should immediately go out into the streets, and kill the police that were observed.

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On January 16, 1969, [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC had been unable to ascertain the present whereabouts of WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative, through TED HARRIS, Military Adviser, who was acquainted with PAYNE's relatives in Covington, Kentucky.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 5
NATION OF ISLAM
CINCINNATI, OHIO

On May 9, 1968, a source advised that Mohammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Nation of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Muhammad's Temple No. 5, Mohammad's Temple No. 5, Muhammad's Mosque No. 5, was founded by Asbury X Williams (deceased) during 1946 and continues to follow the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, is an affiliate of the national organization, Nation of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, and adheres to the beliefs and policies of the national organization.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at [illegible] Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

CONFIDENTIAL

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

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APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna)

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts

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for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax levied on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.

APPENDIX

1 ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

(1-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
April 8, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-12-55)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	6/27/69	3/28/69 - 6/23/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	jmh
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RM - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 4/8/69, at Cincinnati.

\- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-10-74

REC-3

10 JUL 2 1969

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(cont'd Cover Page B)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.			
How Fwd.			
By			

Notations

1969

(Copies Cont'd from Cover Page A)

3 - Cincinnati (2 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Data re individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For the information of the Bureau, the interviews set forth on FD-302 in instant report relative to Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON and TAYLOR HUGHES were conducted relative to the extortion aspects of the "Black Manifesto" in accordance with Bureau instructions, Cincinnati file 9-2339.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source:	Location:
[redacted]	
[redacted]	

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 6/27/69

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158
Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CONFIDENTIAL

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, membership, headquarters, meetings and funds set forth as furnished by confidential source who also supplied activities information concerning JAMES FORMAN while in Cincinnati, and with another source, described National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan. Interviews of Cincinnati SNCC members set forth with local organizational contacts with Black Nationalist out of state leaders and meetings data.

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DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

On June 13, 1969, [redacted] advised the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC was as follows and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Adviser:	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director:	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser:	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer:	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark St., Apt. C (No telephone)
Secretary:	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124
Treasurer & Fund Raising:	Vacant

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, [redacted] stated she was in the process of moving her residence to Columbus, Ohio, and will, as a result, be removed in the near future from the Cincinnati SNCC membership rolls.

Source also advised that Cincinnati SNCC no longer has a Cincinnati Field Representative, a position formerly held by WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, now located in New York City in the position of Temporary Office Manager of the New York SNCC Headquarters and additionally, the present total membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members.

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On June 13, 1969, [redacted] stated the Headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

This source stated Cincinnati SNCC holds weekly Sunday meetings at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

On June 13, 1969, and June 23, 1969, [redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area to date, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP Chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati.

Further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix of this report.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted] advised on May 1, 1969, that the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) was held in Detroit, Michigan, from April 25 - 27, 1969. This conference was attended by persons from all over the United States.

MILTON HENRY, head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was the first speaker at the conference on April 26, 1969. He had seven personal bodyguards with him but they did not have any visible firearms. HENRY's main topic was that the RNA was demanding five southern states in the United States to be established as a Black country. He stated the RNA believes the Blacks are entitled to this land as they have worked for the whites and have developed the land. He stated the RNA would attempt to get these five states politically, but if this fails, they will take it with force of arms. He noted that the whites killed to get this land and now the Blacks can kill the whites to get it.

A characterization of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is contained in the appendix of this report.

Detroit, Michigan SNCC leader DAN ALDRIDGE, was the second speaker and he also spoke in favor of the RNA plan as set forth by MILTON HENRY. He stated the RNA will have its own army to defend their country composed of the five southern states they intend to get. He indicated the land will be used as cooperative farms rather than as personally owned farms under the Capitalist system.

CI 100-14158

After ALDRIDGE's speech, MILTON HENRY and ALDRIDGE held a caucus on the military aspects of the RNA. The caucus concluded that the RNA desired to develop a group of Blacks in each area of the country and train them in self defense and how to use all types of weapons. They are to be trained to the point where they would be willing to fight and die for the RNA. It was concluded at the caucus that the RNA might have to fight to get this land. The persons who attended the caucus were instructed to contact the local heads of the RNA Consulates for additional information and instructions.

At the same time the RNA was having its caucus, SNCC was having a caucus with National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN leading it. It was announced that a Black Manifesto had been prepared by SNCC and the caucus was to plan the strategy to get it passed in the General Assembly.

JULIAN BOND was the third speaker of the day and he spoke on what the South was doing in trying to get land for the Blacks. He stated all of their efforts were non-violent. He talked about his problems in getting elected to the State Legislature and the problems he had in getting seated. The tenor of his speech was to gain more rights for the Blacks under the law.

JAMES FORMAN started speaking at 6:30 p.m. and he pushed for the adoption of the Black Manifesto, which, in essence, demanded the sum of 500 million dollars from white religious institutions as reparations for the Black people for the wrongs to them committed by the white people.

The RNA group opposed the adoption of the Black Manifesto and fought SNCC all through the meeting. The SNCC led forces had the most support and the Manifesto was adopted by the General Assembly at this time.

The conference schedule was not followed as a big fight over the Black Manifesto broke out. The people split into general caucuses in the auditorium to discuss whether the Manifesto should be adopted or not. The RNA led the fight against the adoption of the Manifesto.

Most of FORMAN's SNCC members were not at the conference on April 27, 1969. They apparently thought the adoption of the Manifesto had been completed so they had remained in their motel. FORMAN called them all back to the conference.

The General Assembly was called back at 1:00 p.m. and the Midwest District offered a proposal to delete the sections of the Manifesto about forcibly entering the churches and seizing property.

FORMAN's SNCC group defeated this motion.

The Southern and Western Districts also opposed the Manifesto but FORMAN's group defeated all the opposition. The Southern District noted that the provisions of the Manifesto had already been violated as the group had not forced their way into any churches on April 27, 1969.

The fight over the Manifesto raged on. A motion was made from the floor to adjourn the meeting when FORMAN jumped up to the stage and was heard to say that the Manifesto could not be changed as it was already approved. The rest of the conference was one big argument and the conference broke without any further action being taken.

This same source advised that UBCO is an "umbrella" organization which covers the activities of all Black organizations in Cincinnati. Its purpose is to promote operational unity between Afro-American organizations and to eliminate all forms of oppression and racism from the community.

CONCERNING THE NBEDC

[redacted] on April 29, 1969 and April 30, 1969, supplied substantially the same information as [redacted] above, and additionally furnished the following general data.

[redacted] stated he had learned several of the persons who attended the conference from Cincinnati, Ohio, area were Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES and his brother, SNCC member TAYLOR HUGHES, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, MARVIN GENTRY, Director of Orientation of the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) (Poverty Program) and another CEP employee, KEITH EDMONDSON, all of whom drove to the conference in the 1967 black Oldsmobile of GEORGE HUGHES, with the exception of PACE, who drove his own 1966 Chevrolet sedan.

The source stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, traveled to and returned from the conference by plane, accompanied by HIRAM CRAWFORD, also a Director of CEP in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, and additionally the source stated BOB GENTRY and WILLIAM "BABE" WEST, representatives of UBCO, above, were present at the conference, but their manner of travel is unknown.

[redacted] stated the conference generally adhered to the agenda for same; that there were approximately 700 persons present on April 26, 1969, but because of the dissension and friction created between the leaders of the RNA and SNCC, above, the conference attendance on April 27, 1969, dropped to about 250, and the conference concluded about 2:30 PM on that date.

[redacted] also stated that some criticism was directed at National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, for not making certain that representatives from all of the Black Nationalist organizations in the United States had been contacted and invited to the conference, such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) and source opined there were no BPP speakers at the conference.

The source stated National SNCC leader PHIL HUTCHINGS did indicate there were several BPP members from Detroit, Michigan, in attendance, but they were not referred to by name.

On May 1, 1969, [redacted] further stated that a second conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, from approximately 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., in McGregor Hall at Wayne State University, which was attended by approximately 75 persons and conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and three others, unknown from Detroit, Michigan, relative to the Black Revolutionary Labor Union Movement, and in a panel-type manner.

[REDACTED] stated the purpose of the meeting was of a general or informational type to advise those present of the preliminary efforts already being made to establish Black labor unions throughout the United States.

The source stated FORMAN indicated literature would be sent out, and contacts will be made in all of the major cities relative to this program, and additionally, organizers who are receiving instructions or training, place and identities unknown, will, in the near future travel to the various cities and establish contact for implementation of the program.

FORMAN indicated that no specific activity was to be initiated at this time by those in attendance at the conference, but they should await further instructions and/or direct contact from one of the organizers or leaders of the program.

FORMAN stated it is the intention to commence the union activity in all of the major industries in every community, and indicated that two, one-day "wildcat strikes" had already successfully been staged recently by Negro employees at the Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit, Michigan.

The source stated he had also learned that the names of Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES and Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, were submitted as the persons for future contact in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area relative to the "black union" program.

On May 1, 1969, [REDACTED] additionally stated he had learned a third conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, in the nature of a SNCC Staff meeting, from about 7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., which was attended by approximately 30 persons in room 404 of the hotel, name unknown, but located across the street from Wayne State University Auditorium, which was again conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN.

The source stated some of those in attendance were unknown, but among those present from the National SNCC New York Office were PHIL HUTCHINGS, IRVING DAVIS, FRED MEELY, JIMMY LYTLE, FRANCIS BEAL, and WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, who was then the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative.

CI 100-14158

Also present were SNCC leaders DAN ALDRIDGE from Detroit, Michigan; "Brother" CROOK, TONY ORANGE, and SANDRA SCOTT from Los Angeles and "Brother" SCROOGE from New Orleans, Louisiana.

The source stated FORMAN indicated the general purpose of the meeting was to encourage the local SNCC organizations to implement and pursue the promulgation of the "Black Manifesto" at every opportunity.

FORMAN instructed everyone present to initiate and maintain frequent contact with the National SNCC Headquarters in New York City, and stated that the strength of the SNCC organization was again on the increase.

FORMAN added that the following SNCC leaders who had voluntarily left the SNCC organization because of policy conflicts, or who had been expelled had returned and were presently working for SNCC in New York City:

COURTLAND COX, MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZ

CHARLIE COBBS,

IVANHOE DONALDSON, and further that

WILLIE RICKS,

CLEVELAND SELLERS and

RALPH FEATHERSTONE were again working for SNCC, but in other parts of the United States, not specifically indicated.

On June 12, 1969 [redacted] stated JAMES FORMAN arrived at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 10:15 a.m., June 11, 1969, where he was met by local militants, MARVIN GENTRY, spokesman for the local Black Manifesto group, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES, and a "Security Guard" of four persons led by a local Republic of New Africa (RNA) member, KENNETH ROBINSON.

[redacted] stated the above individuals went directly to the Rockdale Temple, above, center of Black Nationalist activities, in the Cincinnati area, where Forman held a press conference at 11:00 AM.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," issue of June 12, 1969, page 62, carried an article titled, "Forman Reveals Hike In Demands On Church," which stated as follows:

> "Most white church groups have agreed that they should give financial help to poor blacks for reparation payments, but none has agreed to give it to the National Black Economic Development Conference, James Forman, director, said here Wednesday.
>
> "'The legitimacy of the program demands is no longer in question, it's a question of how to respond,' Forman said.
>
> "Forman headed the conference which drafted the Black Manifesto about a month ago demanding $500 million from white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. He said the demands have now been raised to $3 billion.
>
> "The new demands include larger contributions to black schools and churches that are affiliated with white groups. He said they are demanding $700 million from the American Baptist Association and $800 million from the Methodist Church.

"'Throughout the country most Christians have accepted the new thrust generated by the program demands of the manifesto, but they have not produced funds or services to demonstrate that they are willing to fight their racism,' Forman said.

"'The churches must begin from this day forward to negotiate directly with the NBEDC.' Any attempt to make funds available in response to the demands through any other group is a violation of the demands, he said.

"Forman said the church no longer is just a religious body, but a major financial institution.

"'The Church makes large investments and these investments make money at the expense of the labors of black people. Even white church members realize that they have been tricked by the churches.

"'The church has to be dealt with as a financial institution because that's where it derives a great deal of its revenue,' he said.

"He said any attempts by white church leaders to destroy the work of NBEDC by accusing its members of extortion and conspiracy will force the group to escalate its attack on the church.

"He declined to comment on what tactics will be used to force the churches to respond to the demands, but mentioned striking against church headquarters as one method.

"Forman spoke at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Aves., Avondale, Wednesday night. He said he planned to confer with local members of NBEDC about future strategy."

The source stated that from about 1:00 to 3:30 PM, Forman discussed the Black Manifesto at the Rockdale Temple with about 50 persons in an informal manner relative to the history and necessity for the Black Manifesto.

The source stated Forman thereafter joined a group of about 12 persons, including Marvin Gentry, at the Smorgasborg Restaurant, Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, and then returned to the Rockdale Temple for a scheduled dinner from about 5:00 to 7:00 PM attended by about 120 persons, the majority of which were Negro civic, business, professional and religious leaders. Forman at that time referred to the need to establish a black "skills bank," which Forman described as one professional or technician such as a photographer, merely teaching several of his or her friends in his or her particular skill without the schedules or expenses associated with training institutions, and Forman indicated he desired such a program to be instituted on a nationwide basis by the black man.

The source stated that from about 8:45 to 10:45 PM, Forman spoke to an audience of about 500 persons at the Rockdale Temple concerning the basic ideas of the Black Manifesto to the effect that religious institutions today are corrupt and basically money making organizations on whom the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto were logically and reasonably made.

[redacted] stated a short informal period subsequently took place with about 20 persons, in the form of questions and answers and the signing of autographs, until about 1:30 AM at which time Forman went to the residence of Marvin Gentry, 849 East Mitchell Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Forman subsequently returned to the Rockdale Temple from about 8:00 PM to 1:30 AM where he held a meeting or class with about 22 local militants, the majority of whom had had some experience in contacting churches in the Cincinnati area for the purposes of reading or presenting the Black Manifesto to the congregations.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, also learned that included among the above group was Mel Jackson, the spokesman or leader of the Black Manifesto group in the Dayton, Ohio area, and John Taylor, an RNA leader also from that area.

[redacted] stated Forman advised the group that he was instituting a policy change with regard to the Black Manifesto, and was acting upon a suggestion offered by John Taylor, above, to the effect that they will no longer physically disrupt religious services since the congregations actually have little to do with the operation or finances of the church, and will instead attempt to influence the leaders of the various church groups through meetings and conferences.

This source also stated Forman indicated the RNA had expressed considerable opposition to the entire concept and operation of the Black Manifesto, and that Forman stated he desired to make some sort of peaceful settlement with the RNA.

[redacted] additionally stated that Forman indicated peaceful sit-ins at the various religious headquarters may also be utilized to implement the new approach, and further that it was Forman's intentions to have several of the church headquarters issue statements against the U. S. Government and FBI conducting an investigation concerning the Black Manifesto from the standpoint of extortion.

[redacted] also told those present that they were under no obligation to discuss any of their activities at any time if approached for interview by the FBI.

[redacted] further advised he learned James Forman was to depart from Cincinnati at 11:20 AM, June 13, 1969, via American Airlines Flight 240, to arrive in New York City at 12:50 PM.

INTERVIEWS OF CINCINNATI SNCC MEMBERSHIP

FD-302 (Rev. [illegible])

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 6/16/69

LEROY COSTEN, 2700 Gilbert Avenue, was interviewed with the following results:

After being advised as to the identity of the interviewing Agents, COSTEN stated that he did not want to discuss any matter with the FBI and ordered the interviewing Agents to leave the premises.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio File # CI 100-14158

by SAS [redacted] and [redacted] /bha Date dictated 6/11/69

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date June 20, 1969

1

On June 10, 1969, an attempt was made by SAs of the FBI, [redacted] and [redacted] to locate TAYLOR HUGHES for interview at 3468 Millvale Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, without success; however, on June 11, 1969, TAYLOR HUGHES telephonically contacted the Cincinnati Office of the FBI, and advised SA [redacted] he would say nothing to the FBI concerning his activities and would not be interviewed.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio File # CI 100-14158

by SA [redacted] jms Date dictated 6/16/69

APPENDIX

CI 100-14158

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

1

APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts

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for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establish t of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion ich is to be financed through an income tax impo on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, s al exec ive officers have presented the Republic's c entials a an offer to negotiate for reparations to the ted States ecretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he ed a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The ." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.

APPENDIX

CI 100-14158

NATION OF ISLAM

A source advised on May 3, 1968, that the Nation of Islam (NOI) is an all-Negro organization originating in Detroit, Michigan, in the early 1930's. Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the NOI and self-styled "Messenger of Allah" in that he claims Allah (God) selected him to lead the so-called Negro out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation within the United States. Headquarters of the NOI is located at Muhammad's Temple (or Mosque) Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Muhammad teaches there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred as "devils" in the United States; and that the white race, ecause of it ploitation of the so-called Negro, will be estroyed by in an approaching "War of Armageddon," a war between God a he devil.

Offic s and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused comply with provisions of the Selective Service Act, stating at they respect laws of the United States as long as they not conflict with the laws of the NOI, but do not believe th overnment should force them to participate in wars from which they have nothing to gain.

In the late 1950's, Muhammad, acting on legal advice, tempered NOI teachings against the white man and the goverment to avoid possible prosecution; however, basic tenets remain the same. He de-emphasized religious teachings in the NOI and emphasized economic benefits derived by so-called Negroes who join the NOI. Muhammad believed this would create more interest in his programs and, of course, new followers.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

1 ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-263 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
June 27, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-14158

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	10/9/69	6/3/69 - 9/30/69

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: dms

CHARACTER OF CASE: [redacted] RM - SNCC

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/27/69, at Cincinnati.

9/22/69
CC to WFO for info re Blk Ex. Group Recruiting of Black Panther Party members
See pages 15-18 re activities of Garrett Cushins

\- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: CC 806 — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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2 - Atlanta (RM)

(Copies cont'd COVER PAGE B)

100-439190-10-87 REC-41

100-439190-10-82 REC 55

OCT 13 1969

EX-106 EX-105

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: Crim RAO ATT: ; FRS (att: Paul Wright) ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU ; ACSI, SEC SER 10 ST
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 10/31/69
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: R/S
By	BY:

Notations

RACIAL INT SECTN

70 NOV 17 1969

289

COVER PAGE

COPIES - CONTINUED:

1 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
4 - Cincinnati (3 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682-BNM)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identity of [redacted] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source	Location
[redacted]	

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1-Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2-Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: CINCINNATI
Date: October 9, 1969

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158
Bureau File #: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Synopsis: Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, headquarters, meetings, funds, and including arrest and acquittal of SNCC member, GARRELL WINSTEAD, for bank robbery set forth [redacted] Further information to be noted regarding participation in out of state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups.

\- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, currently named the Student National Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On September 17 and 22, 1969, [redacted] furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Adviser:	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director:	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser:	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer:	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark Street, Apartment #C (No telephone)
Secretary:	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 281-3124
Treasurer and Fund Raising:	Vacant

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, [redacted] stated that CARR, who recently was making preparations to move her residence to Columbus, Ohio, cancelled her plans because of some complications with regard to living facilities and presently intends to remain at her residence above.

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On September 22, 1969, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, telephone number 861-1988.

[redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, and participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC leader, JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

On September 16 and 22, 1969 [redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the BPP is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on August 30, 1969, Cincinnati SNCC member, GARRELL THOMAS WINSTEAD, was arrested

by SAs of the FBI for robbery of the Linn Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, Branch of the Provident Bank of $2,087.00 on March 22, 1968, when disguised as a woman in wig, blouse, stretch pants, and lipstick.

WINSTEAD was arrested at his place of employment, General Electric Company, Blue Ash, Ohio, trial was commenced September 15, 1969, however, on September 25, 1969, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] stated that the SNCC staff meeting actually commenced about 11:00 AM, June 16, 1969, at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City with about 42 SNCC leaders present including the above persons and the following additional individuals:

Brother Crook and Sandra Scott	- Los Angeles
Dan Aldridge	- Accompanied by three others, unknown, Detroit, Michigan
Muhammed Kenyatta and 2 others, unknown	- Brooklyn, New York
Sam Petty	- formerly leader of the Black Liberators in St Louis, Missouri; now traveling with the National SNCC Leader James Forman in the capacity of bodyguard

[redacted] stated the staff meeting was instituted by Phil Hutchings who spoke generally on those individuals present who would be eligible to vote on the matters subsequently to be decided, which was followed by area reports which consisted of nothing but generalized information which strongly indicated none of the areas had accomplished or were involved in anything of significance.

[redacted] stated a financial report thereafter followed which was handled by New York leaders Irving Davis and Jimmy Lytle who stated that National SNCC was in effect bankrupt and $10,000 in debt. They stated additionally that money that was to have been obtained from the sale of James Forman's book, "Sammy Young, Jr.", was to have been included

in the National SNCC Treasury but only two SNCC chapters, one of which was Cincinnati which sent $52.00, and the other chapter unknown, with the result the $3,000 which was to have collected for the book was not received by National SNCC increasing the total debt to approximately $13,000. The source stated the group from Texas, about 11, led by Ernest McMillan, who did not appear to be in accord with the dissatisfaction of the Texas group expressed their opinion that National SNCC should provide a salary or pay expenses to active groups such as those in Texas, but they received the response that even in the National SNCC office, the leaders were required to meet their own expenses and it did not seem that the suggestion by the Texas group was at all possible to adopt. The source stated that Irving Davis thereafter talked for about 30 minutes concerning SNCC International Affairs and indicated that he had tentative plans for about 15 foreign trips for the present summer to be made by persons to be selected from different areas throughout the United States. Davis did not specify the particular countries with the exception of Algeria but did indicate the trips were tentative and for purpose of observing activities in the various revolutionary countries.

Davis further stated that Muhammed Kenyatta, above, of Brooklyn, New York, had just returned from a trip to Cuba but Davis did not refer to the dates, purposes, or results of the travel.

[redacted] stated that about 1:00 PM on June 16, 1969 most of the group present were surprised by the above Texas group of 11 plus four including William Herman Payne, H. Rap Brown, "Duke", and another individual believed from the Selma, Alabama area called "Theopolis", described as age 23, 5 feet 7, [illegible] pounds, dark complexion, small Afro haircut with goatee, all of whom stated that as of that time they were, by force if necessary, taking over control of SNCC and intended to change the name to the "Black Revolutionary Action Party" to be led by H. Rap Brown as acting chairman.

[redacted] advised the group stated they were doing so because SNCC has not been doing anything of significance and had had no major program since 1966. Source stated James Forman appeared at the meeting at approximately 4:30 PM at which time he learned of the stated plans of the new group and openly stated that because of same he would resign from SNCC. Source stated it appeared Forman was completely surprised by the event and the actions of the Texas group who additionally stated they desired to return the National Headquarters from New York City to Atlanta, Georgia. The Texas group also expressed dissatisfaction with everything concerning the Black Manifesto and indicated that the SNCC central committee had not even been consulted prior to Forman's launching the Black Manifesto, in Detroit, Michigan during April, 1969 and further that the Texas group had only learned of the Black Manifesto through the subsequent newspaper publicity relative to same.

[redacted] stated that on Tuesday, June 17, 1969, the meeting commenced about 10:30 AM and there were some efforts made to create a program for the new organization including an organizer's school to be instituted in Atlanta, Georgia for the generalized purpose of "organizing people around their needs: but to include stronger revolutionary ideas without further details.

[redacted] stated a temporary central committee was established with H. Rap Brown as chairman and the meeting was thereafter adjourned, which when re-convened, disbanded the newly appointed central committee because H. Rap Brown stated he was disgusted with everything that had happened and was leaving the meeting.

[redacted] stated a motion was thereafter made and adopted that SNCC would continue to operate for another month with a SNCC staff meeting tentatively to be held in Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969 at which time a definite decision would be made whether to abolish SNCC as an organization or to re-organize totally as the above new organization, Black Revolutionary Action Party.

[redacted] stated the SNCC staff meeting was concluded about 6:00 PM, Tuesday, June 17, 1969. The source stated at about noon on June 18, 1969 most of the group who had been in attendance at the annual meeting returned to 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, but nothing of significance thereafter occurred on that day.

[redacted] stated that on Thursday, June 19, 1969, about 9:00 AM, about seven persons led by New York SNCC leader Fred Meely temporarily took control of a group of church offices believed to be Methodist, at 287 Park Avenue, New York City, which was supposedly run by a religious leader or leaders who had expressed public opposition to the ideas of the Black Manifesto. The source stated he had learned there was no violence or trouble associated with the incident, that the SNCC group themselves left the Methodist offices about 3:00 PM, and those who had originally occupied the space regained control of same.

On August 26 and 27, 1969, [redacted] advised he had learned that LEROY COSTON and GEORGE HUGHES did depart Cincinnati, Ohio, on Augsut 20, 1969, and went to Paschal's Hotel for the conference, but during their stay in Atlanta resided at the residence of A. B. SPELLMAN, above, 942 Fair Street. The source stated the conference for which COSTON and HUGHES had been summoned to Atlanta was held at Paschal's Hotel in Room 417, and lasted from 8:00 p.m., August 20, 1969, until about 4:00 p.m., August 23, 1969. The source stated the conference was attended by approximately 25 persons and was conducted by one JIMMY GARRETT, from Washington, D. C., who was described as having recently returned

87p15

from the African country of Ghana; a loyal follower of the former national SNCC leader, Stokely Carmichael, who is also presently in the country of Ghana.

[redacted] stated many of the persons present at the meeting or conference were unknown and left and reappeared several times, but it is believed those who were unknown were attendees at the Afro American Educators Conference, also then in progress at Paschal's Hotel. The source stated that the following persons, all of whom were present and/or former SNCC leaders and supporters of Stokely Carmichael, were in attendance at the meeting:

Cleveland Sellers
Willie Ricks
Stanley Wise
Ralph Featherstone
Howard Fuller
Robert Brown
Ivanhoe Donaldson
William Herman Payne
Bob Smith
Donald Stone
Leroy Coston
George Hughes.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] stated some of the above individuals, as followers of Stokely Carmichael, additionally associated themselves with the BPP as did Carmichael, such as Robert Brown, above, a Chicago leader of the BPP, but they may not now be associated with that organization.

[redacted] stated that several of the group in attendance at the meeting had sometime previously originated and succeeded in the idea of the creation of a Malcolm X University, which it was learned was to be opened for business on October 20, 1969, at Durham, North Carolina, but the details concerning the establishment of same were not provided or learned. It was indicated, however, that an underlying purpose of the above school was to develop a cadre of young militants and be a training school for revolutionary purposes.

Further information concerning Malcolm X is located in the characterizations of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc. (OAAU) and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), which are contained in the Appendix hereto.

[redacted] learned that the above group had given no indications of meeting again in the future, and the group itself was given no name as an organization, but it was suggested that Cleveland Sellers may recontact various persons who were present and in attendance, unnamed, in the future, but the purpose of such a contact was not indicated. The source also stated that both Coston and Hughes felt that the idea for the above meeting or conference must have originated with Stokely Carmichael, but that the objectives appeared somewhat ridiculous since there appeared to be little planning, coordination, or details actually provided to those who it appeared had been summoned to carry them out.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

It should be further noted that on September 29 and 30, 1969, [redacted] stated that Cincinnati SNCC, in contact with IRVING DAVIS, above, in New York City on September 26, 1969, learned that in addition to the Cincinnati leaders, almost all of the SNCC leaders around the country had contacted National SNCC in New York City to advise they would not attend the meetings in New York City on September 25 and 26, 1969, and would hold their travel in abeyance until the National SNCC Staff Meeting, to be held about October 4, 1969, also in New York City.

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On June 3, 1969 [redacted] stated LEROY COSTON's father, who lives in the Madisonville area of Cincinnati, has terminal cancer with about six to 12 months or less life expectancy, and COSTON has been spending considerable time with his father for that reason and additionally, because COSTON and his wife are having considerable domestic difficulties.

On June 13, 1969, and July 25, 1969 [redacted] stated LEROY COSTON had done nothing in furtherance of organizing or establishing a BPP Chapter in the City of Cincinnati.

On June 25 and 30, 1969 [redacted] stated SNCC officers, MC KINLEY PACE and GEORGE HUGHES, were on the Steering Committee of the local "Black Manifesto" group.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Also Known As Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

1

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

1 ORGANIZATION OF [illegible] UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm [illegible] founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI) [illegible] announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant [illegible] action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-[illegible] Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Au[illegible]room, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published [illegible] of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting [illegible] that it shall include "all" people of African descent [illegible] Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters [illegible] African continent. It is patterned after the "letter [illegible]" of the Organization of African Unity established ([illegible] Heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks [illegible] Malcolm X at this meeting indicate [illegible] that the aim of the OAAU [illegible] to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is [illegible] "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking [illegible] the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil [illegible] movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to pro[illegible] themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will spons[illegible] [illegible] for Negroes in education, politics, culture, e[illegible] and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated [illegible] February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the [illegible] Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a [illegible] [illegible] that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate [illegible] with the Department of State, State of New York, and henceforth the organization's true name [illegible] Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, [illegible] advised that the president and head of the OAAU [illegible] Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who [illegible] Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the [illegible] [illegible] that the headquarters of the OAAU is [illegible] West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the [illegible] of Ella Collins.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

2

where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. 100-14158

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-3-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CINCINNATI	NEW YORK	1/14/70	10/1/69 - 1/12/70	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		par
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM - SNCC		

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/9/69, at Cincinnati.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED NONE						ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
1 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
(Copies continued Cover Page B)

10 - 92
REC-19
EX-117

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY:	RAO ATT: ACSI, SEC SER, OSI	ISD, RAO ATT:	IDIU, 54-DOC, JAS-AVO: Paul Collins
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW:	1/26/70		
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:			
By				

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18 MAR 1970

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(3 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682) (BNM)

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of [redacted] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cincinnati
Date: 1/14/70

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current data regarding Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members, headquarters, meetings, and funds set forth as furnished by [redacted] Further information to be noted regarding participation in out-of-state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups in New York, Tennessee, and Georgia.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly named the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On January 7, 1970, [redacted] furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Advisor	LEROY COSTON 5345 Tompkins Avenue Building A Apartment 9; No telephone
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood Avenue Apartment 17 Telephone 221-3766 (unlisted)
Military Advisor	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky Telephone 431-5111
Security Officer	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark Street Apartment C Telephone 241-6589 (unlisted)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR In process of moving locally from 2225 Highland Avenue to new residence address, not yet [illegible]
Treasurer and Fund Raising	[illegible]

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On January 7, 1970, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets.

[redacted] stated that service on the SNCC telephone 861-1988 was discontinued about October 15, 1969, and that all organization telephone calls are made from and to the residence telephones of the SNCC leadership.

[redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 PM, unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC Leader JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

FUTURE MEMBERSHIP DATA

With reference to the present status of the Cincinnati SNCC organization as a whole, [redacted] stated that the leadership has indicated intentions of contacting all of the individuals personally in the near future who are considered official SNCC members as of the last general membership meeting about June 1, 1969.

[redacted] opined the leadership would probably encounter some problems in contacting some of the membership by reason of local residence moves, change of telephone numbers, change of employment and/or work shifts, or temporary absences from activities and the Cincinnati area, due to recent enrollment or attendance at college.

[redacted] stated that subsequent to personal contact of the members, the leadership contemplates a complete revision of the membership lists, by deletion where necessary, and thereafter sufficient recruitment to make a total of fifteen members.

CI 100-14156

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On November 4, 1969, December 18, 1969, and January 12, 1970, [redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Advisor, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on July 14, 1969, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, above, was arrested for disorderly conduct, on the parking lot of the Rockdale Temple, above, by an officer of the Cincinnati Police Department [redacted]

On January 12, 1970, [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that PACE received four continuances relative to trial; however, on November 5, 1969, PACE was found guilty and fined $5.00 for costs of court by Judge RUPERT DOAN.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS, AND ACTIVITIES

APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

A second source advised that H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

APPENDIX

CI 100-14158

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

1

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Servi ," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

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"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

X

APPENDIX

1 ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicate that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

X

1

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	NEW YORK	6/4/70	1/15/70 - 5/28/70

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	par
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RM - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Reports of SA [redacted] dated 10/9/69 and 1/14/70, at Cincinnati

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the information of the Bureau, there has been no operating SNCC organization effective as such in the Cincinnati area since about 6/1/69. For the purpose of brevity and clarity, only the summary of significant data from the LHM's submitted re the participation in SNCC National activities by individuals has been set forth in this report,

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUITTALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1-New Orleans (Info) (RM)
2-New York (RM)
1-Savannah (Info) (RM)
4-Cincinnati (3-100-14158) (1-157-2682) (BNM)

10-116 REC 54

REC 27

14 JUN 8 1970

Dissemination Record of Attached Report — Notations
Agency
Request Recd.
Date Fwd.
How Fwd.
By

56 JUL 20

RACIAL INT. SECT.

since it is believed more complete details should be more appropriately reported in the overall activities of National SNCC organization.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of [redacted] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

It should be further noted that [redacted] has opined that it is unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize in the near future. The source stated that any Cincinnati SNCC activities will probably be based on individual contacts from National SNCC leaders for the purpose of accomplishing specific tasks or assignments as opposed to a group or organization participation.

Due to the lack of involvement of other local militants, and the frequent and extended periods [redacted] furnished data, no local dissemination has been made for further reasons of security.

INFORMANTS:

Identiti of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cincinnati
Date: 6/4/70

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158 Bureau File No.: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: Current data reflects Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members inactive as operating group except for members contacted individually by National leaders. [redacted] furnished data regarding participation by individual local SNCC members in out-of-state conferences, and SNCC activities in New York, Georgia, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. Results of interview of SNCC Secretary set forth with data re recent arrest of local Security Officer.

\- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

STATUS OF LOCAL SNCC ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

On May 21, and 22, 1970 [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated on a group basis since about June 1, 1969, due largely to an apathy created by the dissension, frequent leadership changes, and lack of coordination among the National SNCC leadership.

[redacted] stated that at the present time it appears unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize as an effective active group unless a strong leader capable of unifying and stimulating the various chapters should appear, including Cincinnati.

[redacted] stated there is still some interest in the Cincinnati area in the SNCC organization, but for the past year, Cincinnati SNCC activities have been limited to participation in National SNCC projects on an individual basis by a few of the local leaders and/or members as a result of personal contact from National SNCC leaders.

[redacted] stated the Cincinnati SNCC leadership about March, 1970, indicated an intention to call for a general membership meeting in accordance with National SNCC instructions, but subsequently postponed, and then discontinued the suggestion.

[redacted] stated the following individuals are still considered the leadership of Cincinnati SNCC; however, most are to all intents and purposes inactive or dormant except as hereinafter indicated:

Educational Advisor	LEROY [illegible] 5345 Tompkins Avenue Building A Apartment 3; No Telephone
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 31[illegible] [illegible]wood Avenue Apartment 17 Telephone 221-3768 (unlisted)

Military Advisor	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky Telephone 431-5111
Security Officer	McKINLEY PACE (See below) 652 Clark Street Apartment [illegible] Telephone 241-[illegible]89 (unlisted)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR - See interview below

HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On May 21, 1970, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC are still available in the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, but have not been used for meeting purposes as indicated above.

LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW

Secretary — SANDRA LEE CARR

On February 12, 1970, SANDRA LEE CARR was interviewed at her residence, 5087 Kingsley Drive, Apartment B, Cincinnati, Ohio, at which time CARR stated, in essence, that she first became involved in racial activities in Cincinnati because she had a sincere feeling that she wanted to do something to help the situation of Negro people in Cincinnati.

She said that she joined the Cincinnati SNCC organization because she felt there was an opportunity to do something constructive for the Black people in Cincinnati. She stated that she had been secretary of the Cincinnati SNCC Organization, however, since May of 1969, she has not participated in any SNCC activities or any other racial activities. She said that the reason for

this, is that she has felt that the programs of the various local racial organizations have not fulfilled any of the needs of the community and to this date there has been no constructive programs implemented. She said that she had been contacted by GEORGE HUGHES, the SNCC Program Director, who asked her to become active again; however, she refused.

CARR stated that she is in no way a militant and does not have any animosity toward white people. She says that she accepts any individual on his face value.

CARR emphasized that she is against the use of violence as a means of getting anything for Black people. She believes that black and white people can learn to live together. She said that a great deal of progress has been made in the past few years. She feels that education is the key to the problems. Black people must concentrate on education which will result in an economic change for the Black people.

CARR said that the various black organizations should concentrate on helping the black communities to help themselves. She said voter education is also important and believes that blacks should really learn about all the candidates before casting their ballot.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On March 16, 1970, [redacted] advised that a group of about 25 persons, all black and mostly juvenile, congregated at the corner of Rockdale and Reading Roads, Cincinnati, shortly after noon on that date. These individuals were at a statue of Abraham Lincoln and flag pole located on the corner of the intersection near Samuel Ach Junior High School. They carried signs which accused Lincoln of being the "first white capitalist to suck black peoples blood" and signs calling for power to "all black people" and "all oppressed people." One sign said, "Off Pigs" and one indicated in "memory of William Herman Payne."

During the demonstration, red paint was poured on the Lincoln statue and an American flag [illegible] from the flag pole in the vicinity of the statue.

The Cincinnati Police Department responded to the scene and arrested two adults, one of whom was MC KINLEY PACE, and four juveniles. During the arrests, Sergeant JAMES DALEY, Lieutenant CARL LEIGHT and Patrolman DAVE D'ERMINIS received minor injuries. They were subsequently treated at Cincinnati General Hospital for cuts and scratches and released to duty.

PACE was charged with Assault on a Policeman, Malicious Destruction of Property, Disorderly Conduct, and Resisting Arrest.

[redacted] advised that once the arrests were accomplished, no further violence occurred. He stated that MC KINLEY PACE, who started the incident, is not liked in the ghetto area and the general feeling in the ghetto is that PACE started this demonstration on his own. Bystanders took no side either for or against PACE or either for or against the officers making the arrests.

On May 25, 1970 [redacted] advised that PACE had received a continuance on March 17, 1970, and was scheduled for trial by jury May 26, 1970.

RECENT PAST TO PRESENT PARTICIPATION BY
CINCINNATI SNCC IN CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

learned there was to be a memorial service Sunday night, March 15, 1970, at the Macedonia Baptist Church in Covington, Kentucky from 9:00 to 10:00 PM.

Concerning the memorial service itself, [redacted] stated the speakers included JAMES FORMAN, TOMMY PORTER, JOHN PAYNE, and MARVIN GENTRY, the latter of whom read the larger of the two above leaflets to those in attendance, and the smaller of the above two leaflets was distributed.

[redacted] stated the only other additional militant to arrive for the above service was Nashville, Tennessee, militant, MICKEY BOOTH, who returned to Nashville on Tuesday, March 17, 1970.

On April 13, 1970 [redacted] advised he had learned Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES had traveled to New York City on April 11, 1970, to attend a National SNCC "Secretariat" Conference at the residence of SNCC "Secretariat" Chairman FRAN BEALS, Queens, New York.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

1

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

A second source advised that H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Cincinnati, Ohio
June 4, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title	STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTER - SNCC
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 6 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 8 &9

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 8 of 19 sections

FD-263 (Rev. 3-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CLEVELAND	ATLANTA	10/25/65	10/13-20/65	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		SA [redacted]		mln; drm
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - C		

16812

REFERENCES
100-439190 91

Report of SA [redacted] dated 3/20/64, at Atlanta.

Bureau letter, dated 5/5/65. 100-439190-201
4

\- P* -

CC TO:
REQ. REC'D 3-17
MAR 27 1968
ANS.
BY:

LEAD

CLEVELAND

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

100-439190-11-4

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (~~100-349190~~) (RM)
1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md. (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Cleveland (100-26449)

REC- 39

EX-113

9 OCT 26 1965

Notations

INT. SEC.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	ICC RAO(180)	CRO/ONI, OSI	ACSI (Army)	
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	11/8/65		11/5/65	
How Fwd.	RCS		RCS	
By	RFB: cl.		RFB: cl.	

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

66 NOV 10 1965

CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-26449-77 [redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant Report, Page 100-26449-117
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

Characterization of PHILIP PASSEN and RICHARD PEREZ

[redacted]	[redacted]

Characterization of TED COHEN

[redacted]	[redacted]

CV 100-26449

Informants Cont'd:

Source	Location
[redacted] Characterization of ART EVANS	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	
[redacted] Characterization of DON GUREWITZ and MICHAEL DAVIS	
[redacted] Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	
[redacted] Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	
[redacted] Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	

CV 100-26449

Informants Cont'd:

Source		Location
[redacted]	Characterization of RUTH LENCL	
[redacted]	Characterization of MICHAEL ZAGARELL and SIDNEY PECK	
[redacted]	Characterization of EUGENE NADLER	
[redacted]	Characterization of DAVID K. COHEN	
[redacted]	Characterization of RICHARD PEREZ	

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

Indices of the Cleveland Division contain no information relating to Dr. SAMUEL GOROVITZ, Philosophy Department, Western Reserve University, or ELLEN ANDORS, Secretary, Friends of SNCC, Cleveland. No subversive information regarding ROY GINSBURG.

This report is classified confi[redacted]tial because information from [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED [illegible] JUSTICE

FE[illegible] [illegible] ATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md. (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pa(RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CLEVELAND

Date: October 25, 1965

Field Office File #: 100-26449 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating the Cleveland Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC or that SNCC is a specific target for infiltration by the CP or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of SNCC.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on May 12, 1965 ROY GINSBURG had been successful in setting up a Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organization at Western Reserve University (WRU), Cleveland, Ohio. It was stated this organization is planning to have an active participation in activities and will not just make donations of cash. It was stated SNCC is planning to charter a bus to transport individuals to Erie, Pennsylvania, where they will picket the Hammermill Paper Company because of its plans for expansion in Selma, Alabama.

Source: [redacted]

This source advised on July 21, 1965 SNCC Headquarters is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Source went on to report SNCC plans to hold a Chinese auction at 2460 Buckhurst Road, Beachwood, Ohio, on July 25, 1965.

Source: [redacted]

This source on August 20, 1965 made available a leaflet which announced a SNCC meeting which was to be held that date. The leaflet indicated the SNCC Office was located at Apartment #6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Source: [redacted]

A characterization of DCA appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [redacted]

This source reported on October 14, 1965 Cleveland Friends of SNCC, more commonly referred to by students at WRU and Case Institute of Technology (CIT) as just SNCC, has its headquarters at Apartment #6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS

Source: [redacted]

This source on May 5, 1965 made available information regarding the protest demonstration at the Hammermill Paper Products Company, Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965. This information indicated that SNCC would participate in the demonstration and that persons wishing to be connected with the demonstration would be transported by chartered bus from Cleveland to Erie, Pennsylvania. Persons interested were instructed to contact PHIL PASSEN at Pierce House, WRU, Cleveland, Ohio.

[redacted] advised on June 30, 1965 he heard on June 3, 1965 PHILIP PASSEN was a new member of the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (CBYSA). PASSEN was observed at an open forum sponsored by the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) on June 27, 1965.

A characterization of the CBYSA and CBSWP appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: The Reserve Tribune May 20, 1965

Source, which is a student newspaper of WRU, carried a letter to the editor from ROY GINSBURG, Adelbert College, WRU, Cleveland, Ohio. In this letter GINSBURG indicated he is Chairman of SNCC.

Source: [redacted]

[redacted] d

[redacted] advised on June 29, 1965 that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Spring, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[redacted] on January 14, 1963 identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

[redacted] advised on February 20, 1964 that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

[redacted] advised on February 10, 1965 that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist movement.

CV 100-26449

Source: The Cleveland Press
June 21, 1965

This source carried an article which indicated that PHILIP PASSEN, a student at WRU, is President of SNCC.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on August 3, 1965 ROY GINSBURG, RICHARD (DICK) PEREZ and PHIL PASSEN appeared on radio program "Contact" at Radio Station WKYC, Cleveland, Ohio, on July 9, 1965. The announcer of the program identified PEREZ as Chairman of SNCC.

Source described program "Contact" as an audience participation type program where members of the listening audience call in questions for the guests who are appearing on the program after they have made an initial statement regarding the topic to be discussed on the program. Source went to point out that HARV MORGAN is an employee of Radio Station WKYC and is the announcer for the "Contact" program.

[redacted] on May 25, 1965 advised RICHARD PEREZ was dismissed from CIT because of too many absences from class. Source stated PEREZ is from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and is the son of Lieutenant Colonel GUILLERMO A. PEREZ, United States Air Force, stationed at Pease Air Force Base, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

[redacted] advised on June 4, 1965 PEREZ is a member of the CBYSA.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on October 14, 1965 SNCC is officially approved as a WRU campus organization. He stated the officers are as follows:

Chairman	-	ROY GINSBURG
Secretary	-	ELLEN ANDORS
Faculty Advisor	-	Dr. SAMUEL GOROVITZ, Philosophy Department

Source: The Case Tech
October 15, 1965

Source, which indicates it is published every week except during holiday and examination periods by the students of CIT, carried a letter to the editor from GERALD S. KIRSHENBAUM, President of CIT Senate. This letter indicated that as of May, 1965, ROY GINSBURG was Chairman of SNCC.

IV. COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY INTEREST OR INFLUENCE IN SNCC ACTIVITIES

Source: [redacted]

A characterization of SCEF appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [redacted]

MICHAEL McCARTHY

Source:

The above information was corroborated by
on April 20, 1965.

Source:

[redacted] and [redacted] corroborated the above information on April 22, 1965, April 20, 1965, and April 27, 1965, respectively.

Source: [redacted]

A characterization of the Kent Chapter, YSA, appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on May 13, 1965 a demonstration protesting United States actions in the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam was held in front of the Federal Building, Cleveland, Ohio, on May 8, 1965. This demonstration was sponsored by the Cleveland and Kent Branches of YSA, SDS, and SNCC. During this demonstration, ROY GINSBURG made the announcement there would be a demonstration in Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965 and a bus had been chartered to transport individuals who wish to participate. GINSBURG stated a large company in Erie was in the process of building a plant in Selma, Alabama, and since this company practiced segregation at the Erie plant, some people think this practice would be continued in Alabama. GINSBURG announced that civil disobedience during this demonstration would be left up to the individual, but that lawyers had already been hired to defend those who decided to disobey the law.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on May 19, 1965 a meeting of the CBSWP

was held at 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, on [redacted] During this meeting, it was announced some of those present had participated in the demonstration at the Hammermill Paper Company in Erie, Pennsylvania, over the past weekend. This demonstration was sponsored by SNCC according to the individuals who had attended from the CBSWP.

The above information was corroborated by [redacted] and [redacted] on May 19, 1965 and May 25, 1965, respectively.

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 13, 1965

Source contained the following letter to the editor:

"I Wonder?

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"I note with interest that members of the SDS as well as other students are forming a campus Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Despite the term 'non-violent' in its name, SNCC is one of the most militant of the civil rights groups in the country. The northern chapters are usually controlled by such politically left-wing students as members of young socialist groups and their fronts. The first interest in the Cleveland chapter was taken by a member of the Young Socialists Alliance (YSA), for example.

"I wonder for what reason this group is being formed on campus. Both CORE and the NAACP are working very hard to correct Cleveland's civil wrongs. Of course, both of these existing groups have members who are more morally than politically oriented. If the students working towards establishing SNCC are interested in civil rights rather than in creating some new militant political action, why must they overlook the existing civil rights groups and start their own?

"Ted Schwarz
Adelbert"

CV 100-26449

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 20, 1965

Source contained the following letters to the editor:

"Snicker

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"Mr. Ted Schwarz in his letter to last week's Tribune criticizes the Western Reserve Chapter of Cleveland Friends of SNCC on completely false grounds. First, Mr. Schwarz is mistaken about the distinction between 'militant,' and 'non-violent.' SNCC is one of the most militant civil rights groups. However, militant refers to the attitude of SNCC concerning civil rights. SNCC is militant in that it demands equal rights for Negroes without compromise 'Non-violence,' however, is a description of physical actions, rather than mental attitude. SNCC has never become violent in any of its protests. It is completely non-violent, but it is militant. I hope the distinction is clear now.

"The claim that Friends of SNCC are controlled by socialist 'fronts' is ridiculous. The best proof of this statement is the falsity of Mr. Schwarz's claim that 'the first interest in the Cleveland chapter was taken by a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.' When Cleveland FOS was formed last summer, I took 'the first interest.' When it was reformed this spring, I again took 'the first interest.' I have not been, and I am not now a member of the YSA. At this time we have no members who are members of the YSA. We have no arguments with the YSA, but our memberships are completely autonomous.

"Mr. Schwarz wonders why a Friends of SNCC is being formed rather than having the interested parties join CORE or the NAACP. There are two reasons: first, neither the NAACP or CORE work on the Cleveland campuses. If we can form an effective organization on the WRU campus, then we can be of great help to

"Cleveland's chapters of CORE and the NAACP in their civil rights protests; secondly, SNCC programs need publicity and support in the North. For example, this summer's civil rights activity in Washington, D.C., Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama needs volunteers and support. By publicizing these activities we can provide the needed support - both financial and moral.

"Roy Ginsburg
Chairman
Cleveland Friends of SNCC
Adelbert College"

"Why SNCC?

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"In answer to the criticisms I received concerning

"my letter on the formation of SNCC, I am still wondering why it is being formed. SNCC supporters from Reserve were willing to picket the Hammermill Company in an attempt to help an economic boycott of the state of Alabama, the outcome of which many civil rights leaders now feel may be detrimental to the southern civil rights movement. However, these same students somehow failed to participate in the annual Hough area clean-up on the past few weekends. The Hough clean-up is designed to show that people outside the area do care, and that by cleaning up the streets, the people can have a better place in which to live. There was no civil disobedience involved; just the work entailed in picking up trash and placing it in a container. However, the people of Hough are walking their streets with a little more self-respect and the city government is more willing to listen to tenant complaints of slum lord violations because the people made an effort to clean-up their homes.

"Secondly, in answer to those who have told me that the SNCC chapter is helping the program of SNCC in the South, I would like to know what program. John Lewis, SNCC chairman, was quoted in the April 10, 1965, issue of the New Republic as saying: 'We want the people to tell us what we can do. We'll do anything they tell us.'

"Finally, I repeat my question of why SNCC? Both CORE and the NAACP are active in Cleveland and in need of help. If the students forming SNCC are only concerned with civil rights and not politics as well, why must SNCC be formed.

"Ted Schwarz
Adelbert"

Source: The Plain Dealer
July 25, 1965

Source carried an article captioned, "Heights Man Aiding Voter Drive in South." This article disclosed that

B. APPROX. 1943

MICHAEL S. DAVIS, age 22, and a friend, DON GUREWITZ, are spending the summer in voter registration projects in Jackson, Mississippi. DAVIS is from 3294 Silsby Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and is working in Jackson as a representative of SNCC. In a letter to his parents and his friends at SNCC Headquarters, DAVIS wrote that he has been called "white trash" almost every day by the people on the street. He wrote, "Hardly a day goes by without a report of some violence from some part of the state." The article indicated DON GUREWITZ is from Silver Spring, Maryland, and is a freshman at WRU. It pointed out that in a telephone interview with GUREWITZ' mother, she indicated her son is in Mississippi "undoing the things which we parents should have undone a long time ago." The mothers of both DAVIS and GUREWITZ stated they were proud of their sons because they have "dedicated themselves to a nation which will be free of its most dreaded disease - segregation."

Miss
Ohio
DC
MY

Source:

Source:

Source:

[redacted]

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on August 31, 1965 a meeting between DCA, SDS, SNCC and other organizations was held at DCA Headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio, on August 25, 1965. The purpose of this meeting was to determine how the organizations could work together on problems of common interest. A SNCC representative in attendance at this meeting spoke of working on a newspaper which is to be sold all over Cleveland and which will cover the news that does not ordinarily appear in the regular newspapers. This news would include such topics as police brutality and news of the war in Viet Nam. A representative of DCA raised the question of joint action of working in the community. The SNCC representatives did not think this would work as the students have not yet reached that level. One of the individuals pointed out the students have enough trouble attempting to organize on campus issues.

[redacted] corroborated the above information on August 26, 1965.

[redacted] corroborated the above information on August 30, 1965, but added the SNCC representative stated their organization is mainly campus oriented and that their program would begin at WRU when school opened. He pointed out they intend to present a number of programs and do campaigning for members of the freshmen class. Source stated the speaker did not outline the program which SNCC plans to take up.

Source: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] has on several occasions identified TED COHEN as a CP member who is in Cleveland, Ohio to organize the DCA.

Source: [redacted]

[redacted]

Source: [redacted]

[redacted]

Source: [redacted]

[redacted]

V. SOURCE OF FUNDS

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 6, 1965

This source carried an article which indicated ROY GINSBURG had stated that last summer SNCC had collected $150.00. GINSBURG went on to state SNCC had been inactive during the winter but recently some students at WRU had decided to re-activate the chapter.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on July 11, 1965 he attended a beer party at SNCC Headquarters on July 10, 1965, which was advertised as a fund-raising affair. The admission to this affair was $1.00 per person, but there was no announcement as to how much money was collected.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on July 27, 1965 SNCC sponsored a Chinese auction at 2460 Buckhurst Road, Beachwood, Ohio, on

July 25, 1965. Source learned that approximately 17 persons were in attendance at this meeting but that many more had been invited as they had paid $90.00 for the mailing to advertise the auction. One of the persons at this meeting stated the money collected by SNCC is being sent to the South. Source was unable to determine how much money was realized from the auction but stated the committee had a bank money bag filled with rolls of coins.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on August 3, 1965, radio program "Contact" on WKYC Radio, on the evening of June 9, 1965, concerned the topic "Cracks in the System." The guests on the program were Professor EUGENE NADLER, Psychology Department, Case Institute of Technology (CIT), and Professor DAVID COHEN, History Department, CIT. At the beginning of the program, NADLER made the following statement: "Many of the problems the United States faces of social and economic instability and of war are produced by the economic and political system of capitalism." COHEN stated, "some of those cracks are related to poverty, unemployment, racism, and war. These are not accidents or isolated incidents. They are products of the American way of life."

During the program COHEN commented that SNCC is viewed as being an irresponsible organization and, therefore, does get as much publicity as certain other organizations.

[redacted] advised on April 26, 1955, that EUGENE NADLER joined the Communist Party (CP) in Cleveland, Ohio, about April, 1955.

[redacted] advised on October 2, 1964, DAVID COHEN is Assistant Professor of History at CIT. Source advised COHEN has been very active in the civil rights movement in Cleveland, and was then serving as First Vice Chairman of the Cleveland Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). COHEN has been active in various pickets and demonstrations involving CORE, and on April 7, 1964, was among a group of persons arrested by the Cleveland Police Department for interfering with construction at a school construction site. Source stated COHEN has described himself as a "socialist" in that he believes in government ownership of the basic means of production and government welfare policies.

> Source pointed out, however, COHEN has expressed strong opposition to socialistic groups which embody a revolutionary concept, such as the CP and SWP. Source went on to point out COHEN was one of the CORE leaders who was most instrumental in removing SWP members and sympathizers from official positions in CORE.

Source: [redacted]

Source on August 3, 1965, stated that radio program "Contact" for July 9, 1965, concerned the topic, "What Can You Do With a Summer?" Source said ROY GINSBURG, DICK PEREZ, and PHIL PASSEN appeared as guests on the program. Pertinent portions of the verbatim transcript of the program is set forth below:

MORGAN: And our "Contact" subject for this evening at 241-5637, "What Can You Do With A Summer."

(GINSBURG): SNCC is the most important civil rights group in the South.

MORGAN: That's the voice of ROY GINSBURG of Western Reserve University.

(PEREZ): SNCC concentrates mainly on political organizing.

MORGAN: And DICK PEREZ, the Chairman of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC.

(PASSEN): The purpose of SNCC is to eliminate the disease of racial discrimination which exists in Cleveland and throughout the country regardless of such petty concerns as length of hair and clothing.

MORGAN: And another member of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, PHIL PASSEN.

MORGAN: At 241-5637 our subject tonight, "What Can You Do With A Summer." Well, apparently last week-end some students, although I hasten to add not all students and not all of them were students, at Russell Point and at Geneva-on-the-Lake, they found something to do with their summer. We'll find that there is a wide range of things that students can find to do in the summertime.

Well, members of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, referred to as SNCC, S N I C K oftentimes in the paper, make a plea for fellow college students to do something very worthwhile they say with their spare time.

At 241-5637 we'll take your comments and your questions for my guests a little later on. Right now, once again, from Western Reserve, Mr. ROY GINSBURG.

GINSBURG: SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, shortened SNCC, or pronounced SNICK, is the principal civil rights organization in the South. SNCC was formed in April, 1960, at a general conference of sit-in leaders held in Raleigh, North Carolina. To quote from the SNCC publication, "You Can Help." The original purpose of SNCC was to circulate information about the South white protest and to promote joint activities by the protest groups that made up the co-ordinating committee. SNCC employed an executive secretary, set up an Atlanta Office, issued a newspaper, and served as a clearinghouse for information about the sit-ins. The co-ordinating committee met regularly to exchange information and plan joint protests -- and plan joint protests.

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In August, 1961, SNCC decided to change its tactics and set up voter registration and direct action projects with offices and permanently placed staff in various areas of the Black Belt. For example, Central Alabama, Mississippi, Southwest Georgia, Southern Virginia, Eastern Shore, North Carolina, and Central Georgia.

GINSBURG: (cont'd.)

As of Fall, 1963, SNCC had initiated or participated in 54 local projects in 13 states.

As of January, 1964, it had 125 field secretaries throughout the North -- throughout the South, 12 office workers in Atlanta, an executive secretary and a chairman, for a total of 139 people.

The SNCC field secretary is the individual who does the actual organizing and voter registration work in a particular community. SNCC only goes into a community at the invitation of its Negro leaders. The average age of staff is 22, and 80 per cent are Negroes.

There are also Northern Friends of SNCC groups who do most of the fund raising. In 1964 the estimated budget was $350,000. The SNCC field secretary receives $9.64 a week.

Also in the Fall of 1963, SNCC joined the Congress of Racial Equality, CORE; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the SCLC; and the NAACP to set up the Council of Federated Organizations. COFO as most of us know, which is an abbreviation for the Council of Federated Organizations, worked in Mississippi last summer, brought in 900 white volunteers, uh, and produced the by now famous Mississippi Summer Project. At the end of summer 200 volunteers stayed down in Mississippi and the Mississippi Freedom Project began.

Meanwhile SNCC still worked in all the other areas I mentioned earlier and kept its projects going in that area. During the intervening months SNCC has been active throughout the South. And in Mississippi it set up the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which DICK will talk about in a moment, and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union which is a union of people who -- cotton pickers, drivers, uh, this kind of thing so they can get the minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and they are getting far below that now.

SNCC has, in the South, been very active; it's been the principal organization that works with the grass roots, that works with the community.

GINSBURG: (cont'd.) SNCC does not have members. They are not the kind of organization who is asked for so much money a year you can be a member. The only people who work with SNCC are people who do work full time or part time during the summer. SNCC is, and I feel, the principal civil rights organization in the South.

MORGAN: Fine. We'll have a chance for your questions after we hear from my other two guests. And we'll hear from the next one in just a moment.

MORGAN: "What Can You Do With A Summer." Here's another member of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, Mr DICK PEREZ.

PEREZ: SNCC is doing a great deal this year and this summer in the South. They're concentrating mainly in three areas in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. SNCC has found that the most effective way to deal with the problem of racial discrimination is political organizing, helping the disinfranchised Negro in the South to gain the political power that he is denied through being unable to register to vote, through not being offered a proper candidate, through being intimidated with violence and economic pressures.

SNCC is mainly working in this area then, political organizing. It has been participating in the Washington lobby of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which is a party composed entirely of Negroes in Mississippi who feel that the Congressmen from the State of Mississippi do not adequately represent that state because they were elected without the votes of a vast majority of the population there, that is the Negroes. So they have taken it upon themselves to form another party and to state that they more adequately represent the state of Mississippi and that this other party should -- the present Congressmen should be, well so to say, withdrawn from the Congress and free elections should be held when all people are registered. SNCC has

PEREZ: (cont'd.) worked with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on this project in the Washington lobby. Uh, this terminated about two weeks ago, I believe.

Also SNCC is working in Arkansas. They have about 50 to 100 volunteers doing political organizing in 31 Arkansas counties. In Alabama, there are also about 35 SNCC workers organizing 10 counties. Here the access -- uh, the accent is on economic as well as political. The, uh, same in Southwest Georgia. This is where SNCC originally started out. They have an economic program down there quite similar to that of the Peace Corps overseas.

SNCC is also working in Mississippi with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. As ROY stated, there are -- these farm laborers receiving salaries of 23, 33, 43 cents an hour, uh, and being denied under the minimum wage. And this work, uh, the Freedom Labor Union is to correct this, to put political pressure so that these people will receive the salary they are justly entitled to. SNCC has been organizing also in Mississippi, economically and politically, and this is its main task throughout the country, the political and economical organizing.

MORGAN: With our third guest in the "Contact" studio, another member of Cleveland Friends of SNCC, PHIL PASSEN.

PASSEN: As ROY said, the primary fund raising arm of SNCC are -- is the Friends of SNCC groups in the North. Right now, for example, SNCC is $33,000 in debt with absolutely nothing in the bank. Recently, well a week ago, we got a call from the Atlanta office asking -- begging for as much in the way of financial support that we could send them. Cleveland Friends of SNCC has actually been operating about three - three and a half months now. We are a recognized organization, uh, on Western Reserve University's campus.

PASSEN: (cont'd.)

Primarily now we, uh, consist of white college students. Uh, this is -- well, this has happened for several reasons. First of all, we've been primarily concerned, as I said, with fund raising, uh, and we haven't really had a chance to get into the ghetto areas and to try to draw support, uh, from there. This will be done in the near future. We also -- we've, of course -- Reserve's campus and Case's campus are predominantly white and the Negroes there are basically middle class in orientation and have more to lose by participating in activities, such as SNCC, than they have to gain, they feel. As I said, we will be moving, uh, into the ghettos soon, but our primary, uh, functions to date have been fund raising. We do things, such as holding Chinese auctions in the white community, as holding beer parties, uh, in friends' apartments. Uh, we have participated in -- in demonstrations.

We participated in a demonstration in protest of the Vietnam war because this is as much a part of -- of SNCC's activities as anything else mainly because I feel, and most of the people in SNCC do feel, that the social, uh, a situation which has caused the war in Vietnam is very closely linked to the social situation which has caused racial discrimination. We participated also in the Hammermill demonstration in Erie, Pennsylvania. Hammermill is a large paper --paper company who were planning on moving a very expensive plant into -- into Selma, Alabama. As part of the general economic boycott of Alabama, we demonstrated to urge the board of directors of Hammermill to refrain from moving into Selma until definite strides were made in the area of -- of ending segregation and discrimination in Alabama. I feel that our demonstration was not a success. The president of the company said that he would go down and talk to the Registrar of Dallas County and Sheriff CLARK, et cetera. This is not what I was asking for because this really won't accomplish anything. What we would like to see done, of course, is have Hammermill refrain from moving into Selma.

PASSEN: (cont'd.)

We're in -- we will be moving into Cleveland projects very soon because, of course, Cleveland has tremendous racial problems, uh, ranging from housing to de facto segregation in the schools to, uh, income levels, et cetera. The city itself has done very little to alleviate these problems. For example, I have an article here that I really would like to read just because I think it's -- it's an indication of the city's attitude and lack of understanding and real concern for the problems in the Hough Area, the city's largest ghetto. Uh, the article says, and it was in one of -- yesterday's paper -- one of the major dailies here:

It may cost as much as $8,000 a unit to rehabilitate the worst vacant and vandalized properties in the Hough Area. Recently acquired by the city as demonstration projects, the two homes will be rehabilitated to show area property owners what can be done to upgrade their neighborhoods. Although recommended improvements appear plush to the casual observer, Urban Renewal Director JAMES M. LISTER indicated they may become the standard for future rehabilitation. Included in the cost of rehabilitation, which may run as high as $16,000 for each of these two-family homes, are: built-in kitchens with stove and refrigerator, Formica topped counters, vinyl floor coverings, garbage disposals and gas fired incinerators. Floors not tile covered will be sanded and varnished, new woodwork would be installed throughout, walls plastered and painted, and new plumbing and electrical wiring, furnaces and bathroom fixtures installed. The outside would be painted, aluminum screens and storm windows installed, with new gutters, downspouts and roofs. The driveway between the two homes would be ripped out and a new asphalt drive installed, with a center divider of redwood fencing. Car ports would be constructed between paved patios at the rear of the homes and sodded and landscaped private areas at the rear of the lot. Present plans even call for reactivating the sprinkler system for the lawn at 1801 East 93rd

PASSEN: (cont'd.)

Street. These are not luxury items, LISTER explained. We think the planned rehabilitation of these two homes might set the standard for the neighborhood.

Now please tell me how residents of this neighborhood are going to get $8,000 to $16,000 to rehabilitate homes. We also in Cleveland, this summer, may be -- probably will be supporting the campaign of CARL STOKES for Mayor. So there is much to be done in Cleveland, and Cleveland Friends of SNCC intends to do their best to see that the disease of racial segregation in Cleveland is eliminated.

MORGAN:

This is HARV MORGAN - Contact. "What Can You Do With A Summer." Before we get to your calls at 241-5637, I wondered about some comments. A couple of things first. What do you think of these descriptions of, uh, people, and you've read the descriptions yourself in the various articles that describe, uh, members of SNCC, but not members of SNCC alone, that describe a great number of younger college students, or just young college students not younger, who are involved in sit-ins and demonstrations of all kinds -- words usually go something like misfits, malcontents, lacking inner worth, troublemakers, blase, overconfident to the point of being snide. You've read this sort of thing. Do you think there is anything to it?

PASSEN:

Well certainly we're malcontent. Because there is much to be malcontent about, uh, in this society. I think too that we're, uh, what was the word you used?

MORGAN:

Misfits?

PASSEN:

Inter -- inner strength or something like ---

MORGAN:

---values.

PASSEN: Inner values. Well, I don't think we're lacking inner values. But I certainly think we're lacking uh, inner rest or inter--inner satisfaction. Because there's nothing that I can see to really be satisfied about in this -- this society. Uh, we're doing something, actually we're involved in a revolution in this society. And if revolutionaries are misfits and I'd -- and they probably are, because I'm not fit to live in this society as it -- it exists now.

MORGAN: Well, do you think this society, as it exists now in 1965, is an improvement over the society that existed in this same geographical location --- the whole country in 1945, or 1935, or 1925. Do you think we improved any?

GINSBURG: Without a doubt this society is better. But this society -- American society has a long way to grow.

MORGAN: Well, were there malcontents, then, uh, to this degree in 1945 (?). We had them. We had them. But did we have them to the degree we hear about now, do you think?

PEREZ: No. You don't have the malcontents -- you had them to the degree, but they weren't known to each other and they were kind of off in a corner by themselves. And it's just recently that students, in particular, have gotten together and started voicing their malcontent and have gotten together in groups where you can see them. And now people say, well all of a sudden everyone is malcontented. It's not true. The fact is they've always been there; it's just now that they're realizing they can come out and they can do something about it rather than just sit in a corner and be malcontent.

GINSBURG: For example, I think, uh -- the thing is that it is a sign of growth in American society. That people are engaged, uh, in these kind of protest demonstrations, marches, et cetera, et cetera. I mean also the fact that, uh -- it was my impression until three or four years ago that what -- you know, the standard question goes around what can an individual do. Why one person can't do nothing was the standard answer. But the point is that that there are 250 people who are changing an entire state. For example, in Mississippi we're changing the mores, the structure of society in that state.

MORGAN: Who are those people?

GINSBURG: SNCC. The SNCC staffers in ---

MORGAN: --- MARTIN LUTHER KING, and CORE, and JAMES FARMER had nothing to do with it?

GINSBURG: Well MARTIN -- the SCLC, MARTIN LUTHER KING's organization, has never operated in Mississippi in a -- any great detail except for donating money, and that wasn't very much, to COFO which was predominantly SNCC. CORE provided workers for the fourth district in Mississippi. And SNCC provided workers for the first, second, third and fifth districts in Mississippi.

MORGAN: Well, I meant more in relationship to could what has happened in Mississippi have been done without the larger framework constructed by the other, uh, civil rights organizations.

GINSBURG: What do you mean by the larger framework?

MORGAN: By the national picture that MARTIN LUTHER KING, as a dynamic leader has -- has established in, uh, the mind of the public, uh, that the work that CORE has done on the national level.

PEREZ: Well, it didn't seem to have changed Mississippi until SNCC went into Mississippi and started to work.

MORGAN: But then you had a framework within which to work. Uh, you could point outwardly, couldn't you, to improved conditions in other states?

GINSBURG: No, not really.

MORGAN: You couldn't?

GINSBURG: Not in Mississippi. Because Mississippi ---

MORGAN: ---Mississippi is surrounded by this framework I'm speaking of. Other states, namely.

GINSBURG: Yeah, but Mississippi, as the title of SILVER's book said, Mississippi is a closed society literally. Uh, they don't even trust cars that have Georgia license plates. Mississippi is a complete and different society from, uh, any other state.

MORGAN: But also, as pointed out by that same book, uh, a very changing society even though a closed society that, uh, as Mr. SILVER pointed out, that members of this society are beginning at least to want to change even if they cannot afford economically and from a lack of -- of courage to change.

GINSBURG: Yeah. I think Mississippi is changing. I mean this is rather apparent. But I think that individuals, and I'm speaking about SNCC, uh, had -- did the initiating --- Of course, without the Federal Government, without the news media, without other civil rights organizations, nothing could have been done. But the point is that these -- that SNCC first went into Mississippi and got the changing about that way. And if SNCC and COFO, which are practically synonymous, had not been in Mississippi, uh, there -- there would be no change.

MORGAN: One other question before we take that first call at 241-5637. I think this must be asked in view of the fact that you mentioned that you wer going to campaign for CARL STOKES, uh, for mayor. Now we're not going to get into the, uh, various candidates for mayor here on the program. But since Mr. STOKES is the only Negro running, is this -- is he being supported because he is a Negro or is he being supported because of the five established candidates he is the best one in your mind.

PASSEN-: Well, he's -- we're definitely not supporting him because he's a Negro. We'd never support anybody just because he was a Negro. Uh, part of SNCC's philosophy is the organization of independent political action for Negroes. For instance, the MFDP. Uh, also the various Freedom Now Parties have -- have SNCC's support. Uh, STOKES says he is running as an independent. Uh, and this ---

MORGAN: So I believe does MC ALLISTER.

MALE CALLER: Uh, yes. I have a pamphlet here. It was a speech by O. B. PORTERFIELD (phonetic), a minister in Montgomery, Alabama. It's the Cleveland Avenue Church of Christ, 4214 Cleveland Avenue, Montgomery, and this speech was made over a television station in Montgomery. Of course, we didn't see it here. However, he claims that

MALE CALLER: (cont'd.) all sorts of crimes went on in the Montgomery and Selma Marches; people were arrested for indecent exposure, fornication, and so on. And he claims that he was there in person and he says that the ministers -- isn't it the rankest type hypocrisy for ministers to say that we are preaching spiritual things and instead they are parading up and down the street with agitators, law breakers, et cetera, trying to obtain material goods. At any rate, uh, anyone that wants may obtain this speech for nothing by writing to the church in Alabama. And the question I have of Mr. PASSEN. Uh, in 1928 an American Communist, uh, named JOSEPH POGANNIE (phonetic), and he has a few other aliases, namely JOHN PEPPER, he wrote a 16-page pamphlet entitled "American Negro Problems," in which he and his boss STALIN established the long-range Communist program in fermenting and using the Negro revolutionary movement. And there is almost nothing written, preached or done under the civil rights slogan today that is not in accordance with the planning and instructions laid down by this Communist 40 years ago.

MORGAN: Could you substantiate, sir, the relationship between Mr. PEPPER and Mr. STALIN?

MALE CALLER: Yes, Mr. PEPPER was also known as JOSEPH POGANNIE (phonetic); he was born in Hungary; ---

MORGAN: But perhaps I'm misinformed, this doesn't mean much to me. I mean how do we know that you say -- that this was, uh ---

MALE CALLER: Well, this pamphlet -- he was -- it's a -- he's a known Communist. He wrote this in 1928. He also wrote many other pamphlets -- Communist pamphlets. He's a well-known Communist. He was -- uh, led the uprising in Hungary. He was known there as JOSEPH POGANNIE (phonetic). Later he was JOSEPH SCHWARTZ (phonetic). Later in the American Communist Party he was JOSEPH LANG (phonetic), but he's most widely remembered by his American pen name of JOHN PEPPER.

MORGAN: All right then. Your question for Mr. PASSEN?

MALE CALLER: Well, I have a couple of questions for him. First of all, uh, how does he like being in jail in Selma, Washington, and Erie? Second question is since all of these things being done under the label of civil rights were laid down by a Communist nearly 40 years ago, uh, we want to wake up, or we should think that the civil rights people would wake up and to realize the evil forces and evil purposes behind this pretense of humanitarianism.

MORGAN: Is that a question, sir?

MALE CALLER: Yes.

MORGAN: Okay.

MALE CALLER: In other words, are they going to wake up and realize that there is evil forces behind it and trying to use it and that a lot of the things going on were laid down in 1928 by the Communists?

PASSEN: Well, first of all, uh, as far as being in jail in these three places, uh, I felt I didn't -- well I didn't enjoy being in jail, but I felt I was in jail, uh, as a result of a very just cause and a very just action on my part. I was demonstrating peacefully, which is a right guaranteed by the United States Constitution. Uh, and if law officials in these various places feel that they have a right to throw me in jail, well this is -- this is to be expected. Uh, but ---

MORGAN: Why did they?

PASSEN: Why did they throw me in jail? Well, in Washington, uh, I was in jail for a Vietnam demonstration I was sitting in at the White House. In Erie, I was in the Hammermill demonstration. And I wasn't in jail in Selma.

MORGAN: But if this was a peaceful demonstration -- did they have a hook of the law to hang this on?

PASSEN: Well yeah. They can -- in -- in Washington, of course, we were blocking Federal property. Uh, this was what they used. In ---

MORGAN: So you then were interfering with the right of someone else to move about freely, weren't you?

PASSEN: Well, but what I was doing while interfering with a very minor right of someone else, I was working for a very major right of an entire race of people in this country. So I feel, uh, that I was completely justified in what I was doing.

As far as the allegation that the civil rights -- movement is Communist inspired, led and directed, uh, well a basic -- a basic plank in the -- in the general platform of socialist groups, uh, is equality - complete equality. Uh, the feeling is, uh, that when there is no competition, uh, for jobs, uh, the white workers will not have a need to, uh, to discriminate and fear the Negro. Also, KARL MARX once wrote that, uh, white labor cannot be freed until black slaves are emancipated or some -- something like that. Uh, this was not a -- a -- the movement itself is not Communist led, directed, instigated or anything like that. It just happens to be in line with basic ideals of socialist parties.

MALE CALLER: Do you think from your experience in demonstrations, such as the one in Geneva, Ohio, quicker police action could have prevented a lot of damage and unnecessary injuries?

MORGAN: Well, these gentlemen were not connected at all with the one in Geneva. I merely mentioned the Geneva, uh, earlier, saying that this is as far as most people are concerned, and I'll have to include myself among them, was of a kind of a wasted, uh, kind of expenditure of energy. But let's briefly deal with the question. Yes - anyone.

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GINSBURG: Yeah. First of all, uh, none of us were involved in Geneva. And I think we'd all agree that the results of the demonstration, or the what -- the rioting in Geneva, was a complete and total waste.

I also, uh, would like to mention on thing concerning the previous question which I think needs answering on one point. When people say that Communist goals -- this is a Communist goal and therefore that it is a wrong goal, let me propose the following. Every goal that the Communists are for are not wrong goals. For example, the Communists want to feed their own people. The Communist countries, for example Russia, would like to provide adequate housing. We would surely all agree that adequate housing, proper food, proper clothing is, uh, a general humanitarian goal in every country, no matter what kind of government it's under. Just because the Communists happen to be for the goal of civil rights -- for civil rights, does not mean at all that civil rights is part of the Communist conspiracy. It just means that the two different types of governments, uh, feel that one goal -- the same goal in their own countries are correct.

MORGAN: Let's deal with this because I'm sure it's a question that will be repeated and repeated. And I think we have other areas to explore tonight other than the, uh, Communist connections. So let's once and for all deal with it for a moment.

Now, are you merely saying then that there's merely a philosophic connection -- that just because our goals might be the same, some of the Communist goals and some of the civil rights goals or the SNCC goals, this is not necessarily a direct tie-in. Right so far.

PASSEN: Exactly.

GINSBURG: Right.

PEREZ: Right.

MORGAN: All right. But can we not go beyond that and say, maybe not necessarily so but what about factually so. Deal with the charges. The charges are that, uh, SNCC for example, is tainted by, uh, Communist connections through this Southern Educational -- what is it, the BRADEN -- CARL -- ED BRADEN's organization, that has been called a number of times -- the BRADENs have before the House Un-American Activities Committee for whatever this is worth. Uh, it's been charged that the Lawyers Guild, I believe, is, uh, leftist. It's been charged that other organizations that are connected with SNCC, and that SNCC does not as a part of their requirement, uh, feel that it is incumbent upon them to go out and investigate the politics of everyone involved. So can we safely assume that there might very probably be Communists in SNCC?

PEREZ: Yeah you can -- you can assume that. Sure, because SNCC -- the only criteria for working for SNCC is that you are willing to do a good job, you're willing to work hard. And you're willing to accomplish SNCC's goals -- political organizing, economic organizing, to eliminate this racial discrimination in the country. We don't care if you're a Communist, a John Bircher, or what. Just as long as you do the job that SNCC laid out. And we don't ---

MORGAN: All right then. Are your goals just within SNCC more important than the goals, say of the United States, if a ---

PEREZ: Well, what are the goals of the United States? Assuming the goals of the United States are the ones set down in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Amendments of the Constitution, then the goals of SNCC are strictly derived, in a strict deductive sense, from the founding of the United States.

MORGAN: Well, you know what I'm asking.

PEREZ: No, I don't.

MORGAN: You know what I'm asking.

GINSBURG: No, I don't.

MORGAN: As well as I do. Uh, I am asking since you are not interested in whether or not a member is a Communist, is it not important to know -- to know whether he is a Communist inasmuch as ---

GINSBURG: Why?

MORGAN: Just because -- well on the -- from looking at it from the view of someone who opposes you. We are, as a matter of national policy this gentleman would say, against Communists. So -- if you accept a Communist into your organization are you not doing something detrimental then, according to this view, to the United States?

PEREZ: That would be just, uh -- actually another form of discrimination. I don't see why SNCC should eliminate Communists if they can do the job and accomplish the goals we've set forth. The United States, I think, quite persecutes Communists today.

MORGAN: But as a matter of national policy, they are against Communists, right.

PEREZ: Yes, as a matter of national policy they are. But SNCC, as a matter of policy, is not. And this is one place where SNCC, I think, you'll find contradicts with the United States.

MORGAN: Is in conflict with the United States Government.

GINSBURG: No.

FASSEN: Why?

GINSBURG: Let me reiterate the position. If a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to socialism; if a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to Communism, there's a distinction between the two, I think, we'll all admit. If a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to right-wing movements for his own personal reasons, SNCC as an organization doesn't care. The point is that SNCC wants to get people in whose basic belief is in human equality, human worth, forgetting their own personal political beliefs. If they believe in this, then that's enough quality -- enough criteria - sufficient criteria for having them work in SNCC towards civil rights.

MORGAN: All right. I wanted to make sure that the air was cleared on this -- this whole thing. Because this is an area we could spend a whole program -- on. Are you satisfied that your position is clear now, if not -- anything else to say on it.

GINSBURG: Yeah, I'd like PHIL to answer the initial charge that was made because he was on the March -- or he was in Selma, uh, concerning alleged sexual deviations and practices, uh, and this kind of thing.

PASSEN: Well, I saw none of this. Uh, there were certain instances which point to, I think the extreme doubtfulness of -- of this sort of thing. First of all, there was circulated on the final day of the March -- in Montgomery there was a flyer which said, everybody come to tent number 9 at the civil rights march camp site every night for MARTIN LUTHER KING's own girlie review, uh, and be treated to the favors of the girls afterwards. Uh, there was no such thing on the March at the camp site every night. But everybody I talked to in Montgomery believed that there was and never questioned the origin of this flyer for a minute.

MORGAN: What was the origin of this flyer, do you know?

PASSEN: I don't know. But I would tend to believe that it was, uh, printed by a white -- right wing group, such as the White Citizens Council or something like that.

MORGAN: Well, weren't these charges pretty well dispelled in Congress?

FEMALE CALLER: I realize that you've answered part of this question, but I'd like to ask it the way I had originally started. Isn't it true that SNCC is heavily infiltrated by Communists, and I specifically call attention to the March 18, 1965, Congressional Record where it is documented by Senator EASTLAND. And then I've got another question---

MORGAN: Uh, don't you agree that Senator EASTLAND speaks from rather a unique position?

FEMALE CALLER: He happens to be Chairman of the Senate Internal Security ---

MORGAN: ---he also happens to be the Senator from Mississippi, doesn't he?

FEMALE CALLER: Well, uh, if you ---

MORGAN: ---which might have something to do with it down there.

FEMALE CALLER: If you're going to look at things that way you have to look at an over-all picture of some of the people that are involved with, uh ---

MORGAN: ---but you have to look at it that way because politically if he's going to, uh, remain a political figure in that state, he must, uh, take a certain predictable position.

FEMALE CALLER: Uh, there have been a lot of other gentlemen, like Senator UTT (phonetic) that have, uh, put things in the Congressional Record. You can find many, many instances of this. The other thing is I'd like to know why Western Reserve seems to be staffed by so many left-wing professors.

MORGAN: Maybe it's a hot bed, is it?

FEMALE CALLER: Well it would appear to be that way. I'm personally very ashamed of Western Reserve.

MORGAN: You are? Well, let's find out. ROY.

GINSBURG: I think that Western Reserve is an up and coming university. I think that the professors involved have got a -- a good perspective on American society, on politics. They spent many years studying it. They've had to write a thesis on various subjects. They're people who are involved; who just read books and don't read allegations presented by Senator EASTLAND, who owns a plantation in Mississippi, and who pays his Negro workers 65 cents a day. Uh, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee is a committee, uh, which is known to be anti-civil rights. And which has used every means possible, including these broad, ridiculous terms of Communist which have no meaning when you ask people what they mean by a Communist, would they define to be a Communist, what they think a Communist is. And I'm sure Senator EASTLAND really doesn't have a good idea -- I've got a strong doubt that he's ever read any Marxist-Leninist works, for example, and really knows what a Communist is. Uh, as far as Western Reserve University, uh, as I mentioned before, the campus is becoming alive; people are reading on the campus in terms of students, and the faculty -- I think we would all agree are

GINSBURG: (cont'd.) generally the people who [illegible] read the most, who know most about their particular area. And I think it is [illegible] to follow their lead.

FEMALE CALLER: Well, I don't know what all the Federal grants are but, uh, this is just one of the things. Let me ask Mr. GINSBURG something else. He made a statement about this meeting in Atlanta when they first -- these 250 people originally started this SNCC group. Uh, it was brought out there that one-third of those present at this conference wore beards. And some of those who wore beards were directly connected with the CASTRO movement and were symbolic of that movement. And several of the beard wearers declared that they would [illegible] shave until the revolution was successful.

MORGAN: What Revolution? CASTRO'S?

FEMALE CALLER: Well, I guess the revolution they're planning in the United States. That may sound a little silly but, uh ---

MORGAN: All right. Let's let's find out.

GINSBURG: Uh, that's a completely and totally and utterly ridiculous charge. Last summer I knew and now know about three-quarters of the STICK'S -- SNCC's staff and about half of the volunteers. Last summer in the staff that went down to Mississippi, out of 1100 people there were two gentlemen who wore beards. And two out of 1100 is a long way from 550, which you claim 50 per cent. Also, uh, you got your facts wrong in that SNCC, uh, was not initiated by 250 people. It was initiated by 13. and none of them wore beards.

PEREZ: I think the matter of wearing beards in the South is entirely irrelevant. Because a person wears a

PEREZ: (cont'd.) beard this naturally [illegible] him (1) a follower of CASTRO, (2) a Communist. Uh, this whole concept of, uh, the way a person dresses or looks [illegible] with a political party, it's -- it's -- I can't -- I don't see any basis for it at all.

MALE CALLER: Yes. I'd like to have Mr. PASSEN's comments on a sworn affidavit by CARL FRESHAN (phonetic), who was a counterspy for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1947 to 1960. Uh, Mr. FRESHAN (phonetic) said that he attended meetings of Communists at the home of Mr. ED BECK (phonetic) who is now a secretary of the NAACP and a member of the Congress on Racial Equality - CORE. He also said, I further swear and attest that at each and every one of the aforementioned meetings the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING was always set forth as the individual to whom Communists should look and rally around in the Communist struggle in many racial issues. I hereby also state that MARTIN LUTHER KING has either been a member of or willingly (or wittingly ?) has accepted support from over 60 Communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which give aid to or espouse Communist causes.

MORGAN: And when was this testimony taken, sir?

MALE CALLER: This is an affidavit that was given before GEORGE E. _____, a Notary Public on September 28, 1963.

MORGAN: Any knowledge of this now?

PASSEN: No. I have, uh, no knowledge of this. Except that in Alabama, uh, there are pictures -- books --billboards throughout the state of MARTIN LUTHER KING at a -- attending a class at a school called Highlander Folk School. Uh, this --well, if you've heard of PETE SEEGER, who happens to be a very well-known folk singer, uh, he is very active in this -- in this school and it's just a school for, you know, studying American folklore and probably most of the

PASSEN: (cont'd.) people are leftist minded. But the sign, you know, read MARTIN LUTHER KING is a Communist. And this is at a Communist institution. Uh, ---

MALE CALLER: Oh excuse me. It was closed by the state of Tennessee for being a subversive Communist institution.

PASSEN: Tennessee is in the South.

MALE CALLER: Well, yes, I know that. So what's wrong with that. So was GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PASSEN: Well, uh, I -- I don't think that GEORGE WASHINGTON did very much for the cause of civil rights either. Uh, I would like to say that just because the goals in this particular area of revolutionary socialists agree with goals of SNCC, and the socialists work with SNCC and other civil rights groups, uh, this does not mean that when the civil rights groups feel that they have accomplished as much as they can -- have -- as much as they can accomplish that they -- they will join with these revolutionary socialists and, uh, work for the revolution. It just means that they are willing to work with them now because these people are working for the same goals that SNCC is working for.

MALE CALLER: Yes. I'd like to point out that J. EDGAR HOOVER has said. Time itself has shown that the Communist Party is not interested in the welfare of the Negro but only in using him as a tool to advance Party interests. [illegible], uh, you may think that you are going to use the help of some of the Communists, you don't care what they are when you accept their help, but they'll wind up using these people. And that's what I'm afraid of with so many Communists being in the civil rights movement or having their hands in there in one way or another.

MALE CALLER: (cont'd.)

However, I'd lik[illegible] go [illegible] to another subject. You mentioned H[illegible] A[illegible] and urban renewal. Well, Hough A[illegible] [illegible] a slum because the City of C[illegible] [illegible] millions taking people's homes from them in another urban renewal area, tearing down the houses, and not replacing them with better homes, and those people had to go somewhere. They jammed into the Hough area and caused it to be a slum and then the city comes along and says, oh my God look what we have, another slum, which they caused. Now I'd like to point out that the Sioux Indians of South Dakota decided they wanted better homes to live in. They sold bond[illegible], built single-family homes, which they rented to members of their tribe for $50 a month. That's low rent. They're re[illegible] the money raised by the sale of bonds locally without taking any Federal taxpayers' money. In Cleveland, Chief [illegible] has obtained millions of dollars of taxpayers' money from the Big Chief in Washington under the Urban Renewal Program, has confiscated land belonging to many people, displaced thousands more people who moved into the Hough area, creating more slums. And I don't know of any homes or apartments renting for $50 per month in Chief [illegible]'s reservation. The Sioux Indians are way ahead of our supposedly civilized all powerful centralized government in Washington. Perhaps we should give the country back to the Sioux and let them teach us how to run it.

PEREZ:

Well, I think you've got a valid point there. Uh, there has been a great big boondoggle and a big mess with this urban renewal and I think it -- it's just on the basis that our government really doesn't understand what these people want. As [illegible] read in an article earlier, these people don't need [illegible] [illegible] garbage disposals, gas incinerators. What they need is a house free from roaches, with a working toilet with hot and cold running water, with a roof that

PEREZ: (cont'd.) doesn't leak. And when the city wakes up to this fact and realizes the people's needs are more basic than [illegible] fancy luxuries, then you'll start solving your problem of urban renewal.

GINSBURG: Sir, I would like to invite you personally, and I think on behalf of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, to work with us in our Cleveland programs. And I think your ideas are very good.

FEMALE CALLER: Yes. I have a statement and also a question. Uh, in regard to the Hough area there. I was raised in this area and I have noticed the [illegible] change since these people came into this ar[illegible] It is really a disgrace, and HARV MORGAN I dare you to create a motorcade of buses of people to go through this area and see what damage these -- people have done. There are bars on the windows, windows ripped out, doors taken off. It is worse than the state of Arkansas where they have no doors or windows, and the pigs run in and out of the houses on stilts.

MORGAN: Why do you think this happens. Uh, I don't think anyone is denying a great deal of what you are saying ---

FEMALE CALLER: Believe me, this has happened through the people that have come in there. ---

MORGAN: It's because they're Negroes, is that it?

FEMALE CALLER: No property -- no property owner could begin to keep up with it. It's a total disgrace. ---

MORGAN: Is it because these people are Negroes that they did this?

FEMALE CALLER: I don't know what kind of people they are. I was brought up on the farm when I was a child, and believe me I've fed the swine, and I've fed the cows, and I've fed the chickens. And I have never seen any animals destroy like these people have done.

MORGAN: All right. Any comments on this.

PASSEN: Madam, first of all I would like you to -- well you cannot -- I would like to tell you that you cannot imagine the psychological, uh, reaction, the depression, the -- the, uh, tendency -- the inevitable tendency to just give up when you've existed in a society which does not give you the opportunity to get a job that most people can get; to get an education that most people can get; to -- to live where most people can live. This -- I cannot myself, uh, imagine really the psychological reactions that would develop. I've read as much as I can on it -- on this sort of thing by Negro authors. Uh, you -- the attitude that develops is one of, well we're not going to get anywhere, there's no use in trying. Uh, and it's an inevitable attitude. We're trying to change the societal conditions which bring on this attitude.

MORGAN: Before we take the next call, let's delve into this subject we're using, for a moment, "What Can You Do With A Summer." Actually I think you've indicated, uh, DICK and ROY and PHIL, what you think you can do with a summer. What you are indeed doing with a summer. But with you it's not just a summer, is it?

PEREZ: No. That's right. I feel, and I think SNCC feels as a whole, that they don't want anyone to say, well for this summer I'm going to devote it for someone else. We like everyone for just a small portion of every day and in his every-day practices to devote it to something else,

PEREZ: (cont'd.) to strive for Negro freedom, to strive for equal rights for all. It's just not a summer deal. It's not a summer one shot deal. In other words, I went down to Mississippi this summer I'm absolved. I never have to work again. We at SNCC -- I work full time, PHIL works full time, ROY does. We feel strongly enough. We don't ask everyone to do this. All we ask is that every day that everyone do something rather than just spending the summer and calling it quits. So actually this is more than what to do with a summer, it's something to base your life on.

MORGAN: I wonder as far as SNCC is concerned, now as I understand it, uh, correct me where I go a[illegible]y here, but from the interview that ROBERT PE[illegible] WARREN had with, uh, one of the directors of, uh, SNCC. Is it BOB MOSES?

GINSBURG: Yeah. He interviewed BOB MOSES who was in charge of the, uh, the Mississippi Summer Project, who was the Executive Secretary of COFO, and with STOKELY CARMICHAEL (phonetic), who is and was in charge of the Second Congressional District in Mississippi.

MORGAN: I think that an important point was made there that it is the endeavor -- and was he speaking for the entire organization SNCC, when he said that it's his aim to be -- uh, to get rid of the conditions of being a victim, to get rid of this condition without becoming an executioner. That therefore you're aiming for this -- this middle ground. Because as is often the case, the slave becomes the master, the oppressed becomes the oppressor. Is this an over-all aim then of SNCC?

PEREZ: Yes, definitely.

MORGAN: And where is this rooted? In what kind of psychological thinking?

GINSBURG: It's rooted in the basic concept of SNCC, of a participatory democracy. Not where any one individual lords it over any other individuals, or anyone is the boss and the other people are the workers or what have you. Uh, where each individual is equal and can work. Not so that the Negro in the South and North in America becomes the boss, so to speak, and control the strings in every way. But just so that the Negro can move into the mainstream of American life, he can have the same opportunities, the same chances that white people do in America.

MORGAN: All right. There is a word called involved. Now why should this involve you, for example, PHIL?

PASSEN: Well, I think it should involve everybody. Uh, because it's -- it is just as impossible to me to imagine someone who lives in a society and who sees people oppressed and discriminated against and in a sense spat upon all the time, uh, to -- for a person who lives in this sort of a society not to be concerned, not to be -- to be involved. We are all human beings and it just seems obvious to me that we should all work, uh, for the uplifting of -- of fellow human beings.

MORGAN: All right. We just have time for a couple of quick calls. Let's have your please. Go ahead. You're in "Contact."

MALE CALLER: Thank you. Uh, one thing. Uh, Mr. PASSEN mentioned awhile ago, uh, the relevance of Vietnam to the Negro question. And I'd like to know how this ties in. Also, uh, in relation to Western Reserve -- in relation to the fellow who called a number of minutes ago. Reserve is hardly, and I'm in a position of some knowledge as a student there, a hot bed of leftists.

MORGAN: Boy, I'm glad we disposed of that. What about the first part?

PASSEN: Uh ---

MORGAN: What's the relationship to Vietnam?

PASSEN: Well, it's basically, uh, at least in my philosophy, it's basically the, uh, business interests of the country who are pursuing, uh, the war in Vietnam and who, uh, are encouraging its development, uh, to protect United States business interests abroad.

Uh, likewise it's -- it's the business interests and the power structure, uh, that feels, uh, that they will have an advantage if -- if Negroes, uh, are a victim -- are someone, you know, to, uh, victimize. Uh, it's -- it's also, I think, a general, uh, lack of concern by the American people, uh, for real democratic concepts. Uh, the war in Vietnam is, uh, is a sham if we consider it a democratic -- you know, a war to preserve democracy because it's destroying democracy, it's working against the basic principles of democracy. Just as, uh, the Negro situation in America is in direct opposition to concepts of democracy.

MORGAN: And we have no concern, uh, in our intervention in Vietnam in the freedom of the Vietnamese people or the preservation of their society from Communism. Ours is purely then a selfish interest, one of our own gain?

PASSEN: Definitely. I think so because the majority -- well, for what it's worth, President EISENHOWER said, and most people who aren't in the Army who have been in Vietnam, said that the majority of the Vietnamese, uh, are in support of the Vietcong movement. And we are directly stifling, uh, a movement which has the support of the majority of the people.

MORGAN: Well, I believe as far as EISENHOWER is concerned said that, that condition would have existed in 1954.

PASSEN: Fifty-six.

MORGAN: Well, back then, some years ago anyway, which may or may not -- you may or may not agree with that same position today. Well, our position is that we have time for just one quick call. Let's have yours. Go ahead. You're in "Contact."

MALE CALLER: Uh, gentlemen, I couldn't agree with you mo[illegible] this evening. And I first have a statement a[illegible] a question. I'll get into this. Last summer -- last semester I and a few exchange students worked on the East Side of Cleveland with a -- mortgage firm, and we were generally just painting and cleaning up and attaching screen doors and affixing screen windows throughout the whole area. And we were treated rather kindly and the people mostly accepted these. And uh, like I say, we were treated very nicely. But the thing that I could not understand is the general lack and lack of consideration as to this problem of rats and roaches, which we could not understand. The people themselves are faced with this problem but yet they are not interested in, shall we say, preserving a lot of their perishables in containers that would not admit rats to these containers, such as flour and things like this. It's rather just strewn throughout haphazardly. Now I was just wondering if there could be, uh -- we've talked about this -- some type of program instituted and what are the chances of this being followed up as far as pest control. I mean, let's face it, rats just don't come into a house to watch television. If there's nothing to eat ---

PEREZ: Yeah. This is a good point, and I invite you to work with us. We -- we feel strongly about this too. And the reason that it's allowed to go on in a community like this is a person is brought up in an environment. He's always had rats in the

PEREZ: (cont'd.) house. And until you show him that you can better him, until you show him that he needn't have rats in the house, he's going to let them stay. I mean, he's always known it. So it's up to, uh, to us and to other people to show him, uh, you know, to get rid of these rats. And I invite you to work with us on this project.

MORGAN: Speaking of pests, we have a pest here. His name is KEN COURTWRIGHT and he insists that he has some news coming along at this time. In just a moment you'll hear KEN COURTWRIGHT with the news on WKYC Radio, Cleveland, Ohio. My thanks so much tonight to ROY GINSBURG, DICK PEREZ and PHIL PASSEN, all of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, for joining me on "What Can You Do With A Summer" on "Contact" this evening.

* * *

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild appears in the Appendix hereto.

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the CP, testified before the Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court on December 11 and 13, 1954. This testimony was in connection with a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, and AHEARN identified BRADEN and his wife, ANNE, as having been known to her to be members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951 to shortly before the time of her testimony.

Source:

A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) appears in the Appendix hereto. A characterization of DONALD FREEMAN is included in the RAM characterization.

Source:

Source on September 20, 1965, made available the September 16, 1965 issue of "The Alternative", which is self-described as a publication of the YSA. This publication contained a list of questions and answers, one of which read as follows:

"Do you feel the future is as dim for SNCC as for MFDP?" The answer read: "No ----- The leadership of SNCC is made up of hardened vets. These vets were intimidated by the FBI and shot at by night riders long before the federal

"government thought of trying to pay them off. Most of the field workers came into the movement aw radicals of one variety or another. They had their worst suspicions of the federal government confirmed." The publication also indicated it would co-sponsor a beer party with SNCC at Apartment 6, 2123 Stearns Road, on September 18, 1965.

Source: "The Case Tech"
October 15, 1965

Source carried an article entitled, "SNCC Prints 'The Drummer'". According to this article, "The Drummer" is a bi-weekly paper aimed at the poor people of the Negro and white ghettos in Cleveland. The paper had no editor as such, and uses its entire staff for editorial decisions. Its purpose is to inform the people of the things that are play down in the general press or just fail to get reported. The paper was started by Cleveland Friends of SNCC, and is completely handled by a staff of interested people from all segments of society in Cleveland. Other organizations, such as SDS, assist with its circulation.

100-26449

(1)

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (and Appendixes), revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., cited National Lawyers Guild as follows:

"Cited as a Communist front.

"(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

"'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are * * * the National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

"(Internal Security Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, page 91.)"

A P P E N D I X

(1) TOO-26449

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, now residing in Duba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he now publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana.

This source in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely nonwhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from an RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford, now of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

A P P E N D I X

100-26449

(2)

This source stated in May, 1965, there has been no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM but that headquarters have been with Freeman since he has played such a dominant role in the leadership of and has directed the policies and activities of the organization.

Within recent months, according to the second source, dissension within RAM has become evident and some dissatisfaction with Freeman's leadership has arisen. So far as is known, however, he remains the titular leader of RAM.

To date, according to the second source in May, 1965, RAM has organized units and membership in several of the larger cities in the United States east of the Mississippi River and the organization is currently active in attempting to recruit new members and expand its sphere of influence.

APPENDIX

100-26449

(1)

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communist.

APPENDIX

W00-26449

(1)

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source advised on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the Founding Convention for the new youth organization was held during the period of June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E. B. DuBois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

A P P E N D I X

100-26449
(2)

The constitution further states this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or, if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source advised in April, 1965, the headquarters of the organization continues to be located at 1953½ McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Both sources have advised that at the Founding Convention two officers were elected: Philip Chapin Davis - President; Carl Ellenger Bloice - Publications Chairman.

A third source advised on October 26, 1962, Philip Davis attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source advised that Carl Bloice, reporter for the "People's World," was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX

(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA) CLEVELAND, OHIO

A source, on June 9, 1965, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and it is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as the majority of its members are members of the SWP. Source related that its activities are aimed toward youth on college campuses and that it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

100-26449

(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
KENT, OHIO

A source, on June 3, 1965, reported that the Kent, Ohio, Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, the membership of this branch are not members of the SWP, but do attend functions sponsored by the SWP. Its activities are aimed toward obtaining membership on college campuses and it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

FEDERA . BUREAU OF INV_STIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CLEVELAND	ATLANTA	5-11-66	4/21/66 - 5/10/66	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		SA [redacted]		amk
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - C		

REFERENCES

Report of SA [redacted] 10-25-65, at Cleveland.
Report of SA [redacted] 2-4-66, at Atlanta.

- P* -

Copy to: CV
Copy to: AT
Date: 5/20/66
By: RES/ce
Remarks: Page 2, 1st R under heading III Officers, 4th line the name RAY s/b ROY.

LEADS

CLEVELAND DIVISION

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO:

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	Instant Report

APPROVED: [initials] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

(5) - Bureau (100-349190)(RM)
1 - G-2 Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Cleveland (100-26449)

100-439190-11-6

REC-139

11 MAY 13 1966

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.
Request Recd.	REQ. REC'D:
Date Fwd.	DATE FWD.: 5/25/66
How Fwd.	HOW FWD.: RS
By	BY: RES/ce

Notations

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

INT. SEC.

55 MAY 31 1966

INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	
[redacted]	
	Characterization of PHILIP PASSEN
[redacted]	
	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
[redacted]	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
[redacted]	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
[redacted]	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Characterization of RON LUCAS

INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE		LOCATION
[redacted]	Characterization of PHIL BART	
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]		[redacted]
	Characterization of TED COHEN	
[redacted]	Characterization of PAUL LODICO	
	Characterization of DAN ROSENSHINE	
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of SIDNEY PECK	

INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is ~~being classified~~ "CONFIDENTIAL" because information from [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

U ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cleveland
Date: 5-11-66

Field Office File #: 100-26449 Bureau File #: 100-349190 43

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continues to be located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio. PHILIP PASSEN identified as President of Cleveland chapter of SNCC; ROY GINSBURG and DON GUREWITZ identified as officers of Cleveland chapter of SNCC. Association of SNCC members with representatives of W.E.B. Du Bois Club of America, Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party set forth. Activities of SNCC members in connection with meetings and demonstrations of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam set forth. Officers of SNCC chapter at Kent State University identified.

- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group I
Exluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating that the Cleveland chapter of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC or if SNCC is a specific target for infiltration by the CP or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of SNCC.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on May 6, 1966, that SNCC continues to maintain its headquarters at Apartment 6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on May 6, 1966, that PHILIP PASSEN is the President of the Western Reserve University chapter of SNCC. Source stated that the other officers of this chapter are ROY GINSBURG and DON GUREWITZ.

SUBJECT ORGANIZATION [redacted] advised on June 30, 1965, that he heard on June 3, 1965, that PHILIP PASSEN was a member of the Cleveland branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (CBYSA). PASSEN was observed at an open forum sponsored by the Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) on June 27, 1965. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A characterization of CBYSA and CBSWP appears in the appendix section of this report.

[redacted] advised on June 29, 1965, that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Springs, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[redacted] on January 14, 1963, identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

[redacted] advised on February 20, 1964, that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

[redacted] advised on February 10, 1965, that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist Movement.

IV. CP AND SWP INTEREST OR INFLUENCE IN SNCC ACTIVITIES

[redacted] advised on October 16, 1965, that on September 25, 1965, the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) sponsored a demonstration on Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio, to protest United States policy in Viet Nam. In addition to DCA members, several members of SNCC were observed participating in the demonstration.

A characterization of DCA appears in the appendix section of this report.

[redacted] advised on October 11, 1965, that on October 1, 1965, a farewell party was held at the DCA Clubhouse, Cleveland, Ohio, for RON LUCAS who was leaving for Indonesia. Source stated that SNCC members were present at this party. It was announced at the party that PHIL BART would not be at this farewell because he had another meeting to go to that night.

[redacted] advised on November 26, 1965, that RON LUCAS was at that time a member of the CP Youth Club in Cleveland.

[redacted] advised on November 9, 1965, that on October 12, 1965, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at the Unitarian Society, 8143 Euclid Avenue. Representatives of the YSA, SDS, SNCC, and DCA were present. Plans were made for a discussion and workshop on October 15, 1965. A vigil was planned for the night of October 15, 1965, at the Cleveland Public Square and a demonstration was planned for October 16, 1965. Plans were also made to go to the Draft Board induction center and pass out leaflets telling the draftees how to legally get out of the draft.

[redacted] advised on October 28, 1965, that on October 19, 1965, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at SNCC headquarters on Stearns Road. DON GUREWITZ and other SNCC members were present and also members of the DCA, YSA, and SWP. The lack of police protection for demonstrators was deplored. Incidents were related to explain this lack of police protection.

[redacted] on October 20, 1965, furnished an announcement of an open forum to be held on October 24, 1965, and which was to be sponsored by the CBSWP. This announcement stated that a panel discussion entitled "Young Radicals View Social Change" was to be held on October 24, 1965. It announced other groups would be represented as follows:

TED COHEN, DCA

DON GUREWITZ, Cleveland SNCC

PAUL LODICO, YSA

DICK MAGIDOFF, SDS

[redacted] advised on May 2, 1966, that PAUL LODICO is currently a member of the SWP, in Cleveland.

[redacted] advised on October 25, 1965, that on October 24, 1965, an open forum sponsored by the SWP was held at 5927 Euclid Avenue. The topic of discussion was "Young Radicals View Social Change." Among the members of the panel were TED COHEN of the DCA, DON GUREWITZ of SNCC and PAUL LODICO of YSA.

The panelists all agreed that the antiwar demonstrations are one expression of revolution against the JOHNSON regime expansion of the brutal war in Viet Nam. The panelists advocated the creation of an independant political organization to organize and lead a social revolution. They also stated that young radicals are the leaders and organizers of the antiwar protest movements. They are trying to get enough people to follow them so that they can organize a revolution to have a social change. They also stated that they would not settle for partial gains and concessions but would fight for them or take them and utilize them to fight for more fundamental changes. They also

stated that equality for the Negro people is not possible under the social system present in the United States today.

advised on November 4, 1965, that on October 30, 1965, an area conference of members of the DCA was held in Cleveland, Ohio. DCA members from Ohio State University, Wayne State University and Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh were present. YSA members and members of SNCC were also present. Workshops on community organizing and peace were held.

[redacted] advised on December 17, 1965, that a meeting of the Viet Nam Day Committee was held at the Church of the Covenant, 11205 Euclid Avenue. PHIL PASSEN of SNCC acted as chairman. A vote was taken on inviting high school students to unite with the Viet Nam Day Committee. Some of the members and students were against the proposal but it was passed by a majority vote.

DANNY ROSENSHINE announced that efforts were being made to try to get YSA, DCA, SDS, SWP, CORE, SNCC, and other groups to join the Viet Nam Day Committee so that there can be one massive organization.

> [redacted] advised on May 2, 1966, that DANNY ROSENSHINE is a current member of the SWP in Cleveland and is chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the antiwar movement.

[redacted] advised on February 9, 1966, that on February 7, 1966, a demonstration sponsored by the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam took place at the Cleveland Public Hall. Source advised that members of the DCA, YSA, and SNCC participated in the demonstration.

[redacted] advised on February 28, 1966, that on February 22, 1966, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at the Church of the Covenant, 11205 Euclid Avenue. DON GUREWITZ of SNCC acted as chairman of the meeting. He gave a talk on the Viet Nam lobby which was followed by a question and answer period.

V. OFFICERS OF SNCC CHAPTER AT KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

[redacted] advised on February 9, 1966, that the following individuals are the officers of SNCC chapter at Kent State University:

MEMBERS OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

President: HAROLD ROGERS
Birth Date: 2-25-42
Home Address: 16315 Stockbridge Road, Cleveland, Ohio

Vice-President: ROBERT BRESNAHAN
Birth Date: 5-25-43
Home Address: 2505 Olbntangy Drive, Akron, Ohio

Secretary: FRANCES WEISS
Birth Data: 3-24-45
Home Address: North Plane Road, Great Barrington, Massachusetts

Treasurer: PERRY M. ARENZ
Birth Date: 8-18-44
Home Address: 745 West River, Elyria, Ohio

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the Young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

APPENDIX

(1)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
CLEVELAND BRANCH

A source in April, 1943, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was organized about 1938 or 1939, and was affiliated with the National SWP and followed its policies and directives.

A second source, on June 14, 1965, advised that the Cleveland Branch SWP, with approximately sixteen members, is affiliated with the National SWP, and is currently active in Cleveland and Akron, Ohio.

APPENDIX

(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
CLEVELAND, OHIO

A source, on June 9, 1965, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and it is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as the majority of its members are members of the SWP. Source related that its activities are aimed toward youth on college campuses and that it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

May 11, 1966

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland, Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-204 (Rev. 9-17-55)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CLEVELAND	ATLANTA	12/7/66	11/21/66 - 12/2/66

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	[redacted]	jky
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS-C	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [redacted] dated 5/11/66, at Cleveland.
Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/26/66, at Atlanta.

100-439190-564

- P* -

LEAD

CLEVELAND DIVISION

At Cleveland, Ohio

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - G-2 Headquarters, 2nd U.S. Army, Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
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1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Cleveland (100-26449)

100-439190-11-7

DEC 8 1966

REC-71

EX-115

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., ISD, CRD, BAO, State
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 12/21/66
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: R/S
By	BY:

62 DEC 22 1966

Notations

INFORMANTS

SOURCE		LOCATION
		100-26449-181
		Instant report
	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	
	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	
	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	
	Characterization of DON GUREWITZ	
		2295
	Characterization of ERIC REINTHALER	167 154 176
	Characterization of JESSE THOMAS	

CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

SOURCE		LOCATION
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]		[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of SIDNEY PECK	
[redacted]		100-26449-193
[redacted]		[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local Intelligence Agencies for their information.

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

- C* -
COVER PAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
1 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CLEVELAND
Date: 12/7/66

Field Office File #: 100-26449 Bureau File #: 100-349190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, located at 2123 Stearns Road. Meetings held irregularly at Student Union Building, Western Reserve University. DON GUREWITZ and BEN BROWN reported to be SNCC co-chairmen. Other SNCC leaders' identities set forth. Cleveland Chapter of SNCC reportedly not connected with National SNCC organization. SNCC association with DCA, CP and SWP set forth. SNCC activities protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam reported. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National SNCC Chairman, made appearance in Cleveland, August, 1966, and advocated disobedience to Selective Service laws and spoke in favor of rioting and violence.

- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on June 17, 1966, that SNCC has received the approval of the authorities at Western Reserve University (WRU) to hold meetings at the Student Union Building, Thwing Hall, on the WRU campus. The source advised that SNCC does not meet regularly but when it meets it is at this location on Monday nights.

[redacted] advised on November 30, 1966, that on November 10, 1966, he learned that SNCC continues to maintain a headquarters in an apartment at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on June 17, 1966, that the Co-Chairmen of SNCC are DON GUREWITZ and BEN BROWN. Source advised that DON GUREWITZ is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and BEN BROWN is a student at Case Institute of Technology. Concerning BROWN, the source also advised that he teaches in a tutorial project in the Hough area of Cleveland. BROWN also was in Mississippi during Easter, 1966, in connection with a voter registration campaign.

A characterization of YSA appears in the Appendix of this report.

DON GUREWITZ: OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on 6/29/65, that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Springs, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[redacted] on 1/14/63, identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

[redacted] advised on 2/20/64, that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

[redacted] advised on 2/10/65, that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist Movement.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on November 30, 1966, that he learned on November 10, 1966, that CYNTHIA HIRSCH, LYNN HANDELMAN, MARY BETH GORALNIK, aka Nancy Case, and BRIAN SCANLON, all WRU students, were leaders of SNCC at the University but the source did not know what their official titles, if any, were.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF SNCC

[redacted] advised on June 1, 1966, that on May 20, 1966, he attended a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) meeting held at Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. In connection with this meeting he heard ERIC REINTHALER, in discussing SNCC, state that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is now the head of SNCC and a member of the Black Panther Party. REINTHALER stated that SNCC, in general, is very disappointed in President JOHNSON's lukewarm action in connection with the fight for Negro equality. He stated that he expects that SNCC will make some demands on "Society" in areas such as police brutality, political action and similar fields.

[redacted] advised on 5/6/66, that ERIC REINTHALER is an organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland.

C. P. MEMBER

The SWP is an organization designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted] advised on 6/7/66, that JESSE THOMAS was present at the Ohio CP State Convention held at Cleveland, Ohio, on 6/4-5/66, and during this convention THOMAS was elected as a member of the CP State Committee and a delegate to the CPUSA National Convention to be held in New York City in June, 1966.

The Cleveland Press, October 19, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "True Story of Black Power is SNCC Goal Here":

"A small, enthusiastic civil rights group at Western Reserve University will stick with SNCC.

"B ack power and all.

"SNCC is the nickname of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee which has come into increasing controversey and is reported to be losing white support. The students at Western Reserve call themselves the Friends of SNCC.

"They have been active on the WRU campus for more than a year, mostly raising funds for the civil rights efforts of SNCC in the South.

"Last year they also sent 20 students to Mississippi and Louisiana for the voter registration drive. And they sent books and clothing to Negro school children.

"But it's been a long hot summer, with riots in the big city slums, the emergence of Stokely Carmichael and black power as a force in SNCC. It's the frank and brutal talk of violence in the drive for Negro rights.

"Has all this changed the minds of the friends of SNCC?

"In interviews with The Press today, the individual members made it clear that they have no intention of running away from their convictions. They insist that black power is misunderstood, that the rights fight is not over.

"Attractive Mary Beth Goralnick, a sophomore sociology student from St. Louis, puts it this way:

"'Basically, I still believe in the ideas of SNCC. My beliefs in freedom for the Negro haven't changed. Of course I don't believe in everything that Stokely Carmichael says. But I think we as students have a very important job to do here in Cleveland - to educate and to try and interpret the movement to the white community.'

"Cynthia Hirsch, also a sophomore, from Scranton, Pa., put it a little differently:

"'There are injustices going on right here in Cleveland, that you never hear about or read about in the newspapers. I think we have to go to the community and try to help in any way we can.'

"Said Brian Scanlon of Tenafly, N.J.: 'I personally think our main job is to tell the people what really happened this summer, in the ghettos and in the South. It is important to present the black power story fairly. I don't think that has been done yet.'

"Nancy Case is a pretty English and political science student from Chicago. She frankly admits that the events of the past summer have changed the role of the workers in the movement.

"'I think our job is to make people aware of what black power is and what it isn't. And I think we have to let people know what the Negro mood really is,' she said.

"'I think one of our functions is to expose these ideas to other students so that they are aware of what the situation really is. You just can't hide from this sort of thing,' said Lynn Handelman, a Chicago sophomore."

V. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA) AND SWP CONNECTIONS WITH SNCC

A characterization of DCA appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] advised on June 29 and July 5, 1966, that a session of the 18th National Convention of the CP was held on June 24, 1966, at New York City. At this session plans were discussed concerning CP Youth Club members in Cleveland approaching SNCC and other organizations to enlist their support for a march on Washington to be held in August.

[redacted] advised on October 27, 1966, that on October 9, 1966, a SWP meeting was held at Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. At this meeting NANCY CASE, as a SNCC spokesman, told the audience that SNCC will include white people in its program which has been misinterpreted. She stated that SNCC is helping Negroes to win equality, jobs, better housing, decent living conditions, good neighborhoods and good schools.

The information reported by [redacted] concerning the SWP meeting held on October 9, 1966, was confirmed by [redacted] on October 10, 1966; [redacted] on October 13, 1966; and [redacted] on October 10, 1966.

VI. SNCC ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH PROTESTING U.S. POLICY CONCERNING VIETNAM

[redacted] advised on August 9, 1966, that on August 6, 1966, the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a rally in the Main Ballroom of the Manger Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the main speaker. CARMICHAEL spoke on the decay of western civilization. He said that the United States

must be brought to its knees. He stated "Any black man who fights for this country is a black mercenary". CARMICHAEL questioned the right of the United States and England to determine when an African or Asian country should be given independence. He stated that it is his belief that every country has the right of self-determination. He criticized reactionary and left wing groups for appealing to the wrong group of people. He proposed that they encourage white youths not to obey the Selective Service System.

The information furnished by [redacted] concerning the rally held on August 6, 1966, was confirmed by [redacted] on August 12, 1966.

[redacted] advised on September 12, 1966, that on September 10, 1966, a conference was held at Newton D. Baker Hall at Western Reserve University. The purpose of this conference was to set a date for demonstrations all over the United States to promote civil rights and to protest against U.S. participation in Vietnam.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

One of the speakers at this conference was WILLIAM HIGGS, a SNCC representative. HIGGS alleged that during the previous week members of the Atlanta Police Department, armed with shotguns and tear gas, brutally crushed a demonstration by Black citizens in Atlanta. He stated that these people were exercising their constitutional rights when they were brutalized. He also stated that several political arrests were made including the arrest of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the Chairman of SNCC. HIGGS revealed that Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY expressed approval of the City of Atlanta's action in a telephone call to the Atlanta Mayor. He said that this action by the Atlanta Police Department paralleled the action of the United States in Vietnam where the U.S. supresses revolution with napalm and then casts the blame for the resultant devestation on those who are attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government. He stated that in a similar manner in Atlanta the culpability for "inciting a riot" is not placed upon the white policeman who pulled the trigger and killed a Negro but upon STOKELY CARMICHAEL who courageously stands for self-determination for the people in Vietnam and for the black people of the United States. HIGGS urged all present to send telegrams to Atlanta Mayor IVAN ALLEN, asking him to release STOKELY CARMICHAEL from jail.

[redacted] advised on October 31, 1966, that on October 30, 1966, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam was held at the Student Union Hall, Western Reserve University. At this meeting final plans were made for the November 5-8, 1966, mobilization for peace in Vietnam. The main speaker was SIDNEY PECK. PECK indicated in his speech that many organizations would participate in the mobilization including the Friends of SNCC.

VII. APPEARANCE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN CLEVELAND

[redacted] advised on August 6, 1966, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which was held on August 5, 1966, at Cory Methodist Church, 1117 East 105th Street, Cleveland, Ohio. According to the source there were approximately 800 people present at the meeting. Source advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated that he has nothing against rioting and burning. He explained "Black Power" as a movement that will smash everything the western civilization has created. He said that Black Power picks up where MALCOLM X left off. CARMICHAEL urged that everything be burned. He stated that the purpose of Black Power is to bring this country to its knees.

He also urged Negroes not to serve in the Armed Forces. He said that Negroes serving in Vietnam are mercenaries. He stated that the white race is the enemy. He made a plea for unity among Negroes, urging that white people not be allowed to spread back unity.

The above information was confirmed by [redacted] on 8/9/66, by [redacted] on 8/9/66, and by [redacted] on 8/10/66.

VIII. NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CONCERNING STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 8, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "SWEENEY Blasts SNCC Leader as Anarchist", as follows:

"U.S. Rep., Robert E. Sweeney, D-at-large, last night condemned Stokley Carmichael as 'an anarchist... puppet leader...an individual masquerading as a supposed civil rights leader.'

"Carmichael is leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). During the weekend he defined 'black power' and called Negro soldiers in Vietnam 'black mercenaries.'

"Speaking to the Catholic War Veterans at a banquet in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church in Lakewood, Sweeney said he felt compelled to offer a rebuttal to Carmichael's statements.

"'Here is an individual (Carmichael) masquerading as a supposed civil rights leader, who is nothing more than an anarchist and an extremist, who...will do more harm to the civil rights crusade than anyone who has appeared on the American scene in this decade, including Gov. George Wallace of Alabama,' Sweeney said.

"'I think it appropriate that veterans organizations in this county unite in their response lest one soldier in Vietnam get the idea that there is any diluting of support on the home front for their sacrifices in the field.'

"Sweeney called Carmichael 'a dangerous American.'

"Sweeney, a candidate in November for attorney general of Ohio, said he will consult U.S. Atty. Gen. Nicholas B. Katzenbach as to whether appropriate 'criminal action might be instituted in the federal courts against Mr. Carmichael.'

"'This weekend, we came to understand what Mr. Carmichael meant by black power,' Sweeney stated, 'and boiling it down to its simplest, it amounts to: let's raise

"havoc in the street and turn America upside down.'

"'If this doesn't constitute the advocacy of the use of force and violence to overthrow the duly constituted government of the United States of America or something close to it, then I miss my guess.'

"Sweeney told the veterans group that every veteran can applaud the efforts of genuine civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins."

IX. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON SNCC IN CLEVELAND NEWSPAPERS

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 25, 1966 edition, contained an editorial captioned "Irresponsible Voice". This editorial commented as follows:

"The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee's denunciation of the White House conference on Civil Rights comes with bad grace at a time when honest efforts are being made to find tangible solutions to pressing national problems.

"Careful planning over a period of many weeks has gone into the conference scheduled for next month to attack the big problems of housing, jobs and schools in America's Negro ghettos.

"Many groups with a sincere dedication to the task of achieving equality and a better lot for their less fortunate brothers will be represented at the conference. Many important voices will be heard.

"In its statement on non-participation, SNCC recklessly pre-judged the conference in declaring that President JOHNSON and the executive department 'are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black Americans.'

"The SNCC posture that 'we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights in this country when he flagrantly violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam' is ridiculous.

"Any beliefs that SNCC is a responsible voice of dissent and protest in the civil rights struggle should be shattered by this outburst."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 18, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "City Facing More Riots, Negroes Say". This article stated as follows:

"Cleveland faces more race riots and the action will not be confined to the predominently Negro neighborhoods. Civil rights legislation and moves toward integration will not help.

"This was the gist of speeches by two Negro leaders yesterday at a meeting of the Friends of SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) in the Student Union of Western Reserve University. About 60 persons attended.

"The speakers were Henry Austan, a Bogalusa, La., official of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, and Lewis G. Robinson, director of the now closed JFK House.

"Austan was here to appeal for money in a national fund-raising drive for the Deacons. He speaks at Baldwin-Wallace College Thursday and at Oberlin College Friday. Robinson attacked Councilman Leo A. Jackson, D-24, on the issue of black power.

"Austan said Negro neighborhoods are like 'smoldering volcanos that will explode. When they do, even Shaker Heights will not be safe.'

"Attacking non-violent civil rights leaders, Austan said: 'George Washington didn't march singing 'We Shall Overcome'. The Alamo was not a non-violent protest.'

"On integration, Austan said: 'Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny are equally improbable.' On military service, he said: 'If it's rational to go to Vietnam to defend Vietnamese democracy, it is also rational to stay home and protect my own people.'

"On the war in Vietnam Austan said: 'There's no Viet Cong in the ghetto exploiting me, and there's no Viet Cong on the police force and in the power structure.'

"He said the problem is not black power but white power. He defined white power as '400 years of economic intimidation and violence' against Negroes.

"Robinson said that while he planned to attack Jackson vigorously, he decided against it because Jackson was a victim of the 'system'.

"He said that the Negro community does not want integration. It wants freedom, equality and brotherhood.

"Robinson said the community 'needs more places like the JFK House'. He charged the owner who sold the JFK House building to the city lied when he said no one wanted to buy it.

"'We offered to buy it for $6,000 last year and $2,000 this year', Robinson said."

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

1 CV-100-26449

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

Cleveland, Ohio
December 7, 1966

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland, Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CLEVELAND	ATLANTA	6/23/67	5/22/67 - 6/13/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	jsj
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [redacted] 12/7/66, at Cleveland.

- P* -

LEADS

CLEVELAND:

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

0-7 to Cleveland 6/30/67 p.3 form 2 L3 change to to by (DCA) characterization missing; BU ... corrected PTB/AH

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED CWB SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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100-439190-11-8

JUN 19 1967

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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How Fwd.	HOW FORW: NIS
By	BY: ATR

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100 922 ?D

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CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	This report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
Characterization of DAN ROSENSHINE	
[redacted]	[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: CLEVELAND, OHIO
Date: 6/15/67

Field Office File #: (100-26449)
Bureau File #: (100-439190)

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC organization in Cleveland, presently does not have local headquarters. Cleveland SNCC organization reportedly inactive and shows no signs of militancy at this time. SNCC organization mentioned at SWP meetings and the meeting of WILPF.

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on June 1, 1967, that SNCC has no known headquarters at this time. He stated that he has heard that SNCC does have permission to use the Student Union Building on the Western Reserve University (WRU) campus.

III. OFFICERS

[REDACTED] advised on June 1, 1967, that he knows of only one SNCC representative in Cleveland at this time. He identified him as RANDALL MURRAY, 1539 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio. Source did not know what official capacity, if any, that RANDALL MURRAY has in SNCC.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF THE SNCC

[REDACTED] advised on May 2, 1967, that the SNCC organization in the Cleveland area is supposedly a campus group at WRU. Source advised that to his knowledge SNCC is completely inactive at this time and shows no signs of militancy in the Cleveland area.

V. CONNECTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) AND THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF)

The SWP has been designated by the U.S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

WILPF is a self described international womens peace organization having as its purpose the attainment of world peace through international disarmament.

advised on May 2, 1966, that ROSENSHINE is a current member of the SWP in Cleveland and is Chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the anti-war movement.

A characterization of the DCA appears in the appendix section.

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA
CLEVELAND CHAPTER (DCA-CC)

A source on August 30, 1965, advised that on August 12, 1965, the Cleveland Chapter of the DCA was issued a charter by the National Organization and it was approved by five members signing the charter.

This same source advised on May 4, 1966, that all of the current principal officers of the DCA-CC were members of the Communist Party.

1

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

June 15, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	is made to the report of SA [redacted] [redacted], dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
CLEVELAND	ATLANTA	12/26/67	12/1 - 20/67	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		SA [redacted]		vms
		CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C		

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted], 6/15/67, at Cleveland.

\- P* -

LEADS:

CLEVELAND

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

100-439190-11-11

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2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Cleveland (100-26449)

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location in File
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of RON LUCAS, CONNIE BART.
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted] 100-26449-248
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-26449-248

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified "Confidential" because information furnished by [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cleveland
Date: 12/26/67

Field Office File #: 100-26449 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC organization in Cleveland presently does not have local headquarters. Individuals purportedly connected with SNCC activity in Cleveland have been unsuccessful in organizing Cleveland Chapter of SNCC. Cleveland SNCC organization reportedly inactive at this time. Meeting held at local high school to organize SNCC chapter on 9/20/67 was completely unsuccessful. Articles and editorials critical of SNCC advocacy of violence appearing in local newspapers set forth.

\- P* -

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[redacted] advised on December 20, 1967, that SNCC has no local headquarters in the Cleveland area at this time.

III. OFFICERS

[redacted]

[redacted]

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) appears in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] advised on December 20, 1967, that it is his observation that ALEX WEATHERS lists his name on local anti-Vietnam literature as a SNCC representative. He stated that WEATHERS has done nothing to organize SNCC in the Cleveland area nor is he involved in any activities with SNCC.

Concerning TOM HURT, [redacted] advised that he has been active in the draft resistance movement but has not had any connection with SNCC activities in the Cleveland area.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF SNCC

[redacted] advised on December 20, 1967, that SNCC at this time is completely inactive in Cleveland and there is no indication that it will become militant in the Cleveland area. There is no indication that active SNCC Chapters are being formed at local colleges or high schools.

V. LOCAL ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH SNCC

[redacted] advised on September 20, 1967, that a meeting to organize a SNCC chapter in Cleveland was held on this date in a field behind Glenville High School. RON LUCAS was the Master of Ceremonies and there were two other speakers. Source stated that there was much heckling and ridiculing from the audience, which consisted mainly of students from Glenville High School. The speeches were in no way invitations to violence, and there were no inflammatory remarks. RON LUCAS made the comment that no active SNCC chapter presently exists in Cleveland and that the purpose of the meeting was to get one organized. According to the source, the meeting was a complete failure as far as getting recruits for SNCC was concerned.

[redacted] confirmed the information above on September 20, 1967.

[redacted] advised on October 4, 1967, that on September 23, 1967, an anti-Vietnam war rally was held at Western Reserve University (WRU). Among the speakers was one JOHN WILSON who was introduced as a National spokesman for SNCC. In his speech, WILSON espoused violence and stated that where violence was used in the racial disturbances some gaines were made. He predicted that more violence and riots will occur if black people are not given more human rights. At one point in his speech, WILSON threatened to punch a previous speaker who had referred to Negroes as "boys." WILSON also stated that he did not advocate any of the "isms" like socialism or Communism to solve the problems in this country. He did not state what his solution was.

The above information was confirmed by [redacted] on September 26, 1967.

[redacted]

VI. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES CONCERNING SNCC APPEARING IN LOCAL PAPERS

The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" June 22, 1967, edition contained an editorial captioned, "Violence From The 'Non-Violent'". This editorial condemned SNCC for its open advocacy of violence in Negro communities throughout the country. It stated that wild, wreckless, statements by RALPH FEATHERSTONE, SNCC National Program Director, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC Former National Chairman, do deep harm to the cause of civil rights and racial justice. It stated that if SNCC is to return to the ranks of sane and responsible organizations which work effectively to advance the cause of civil rights and racial justice, its members must not play follow-the-leader with those of the CARMICHAEL - FEATHERSTONE brand.

The Cleveland "Press" July 29, 1967, edition contained an article captioned, "MINSHALL Asks Treason Charge for CARMICHAEL." This article stated that Republican Congressman WILLIAM MINSHALL of Cleveland demanded that STOKELY CARMICHAEL be arrested for treason if he returns to the United States. He stated that he was "shocked and dismayed" at statements of SNCC leaders who have advocated more violent Negro uprisings in United States cities.

Referring to CARMICHAEL, MINSHALL stated, "It is reprehensible to me and to every loyal American of every race, creed and color that this character can openly advocate—from the Communist bastion in this hemisphere, CASTRO's Havana—rebellion in our country."

The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" August 16, 1967, edition contained an editorial captioned, "SNCC, KKK, MAO." This editorial stated that SNCC is now in the category with white supremacist bodies, American Nazis and Moscow and Peking Communists. The editorial stated that SNCC was being put in this category because of its attack on Zionism, Israel and, "Those Jews in the little Jew shops in the Negro ghettos." It stated that SNCC's new line splits it as far from reality as Red China's jumble-headed cultural revolutionists now chanting sayings of MAO from the deck of their freighter in the habor of Genoa, Italy, while refusing to leave that port on port officials' orders.

The Cleveland "Press" October 27, 1967, edition contained an article captioned, "Non-violent SNCC Called No Longer Non-violent." This article stated that Rabbi ARTHUR J. LELYVELD, long active in the civil rights movement, stated that "SNCC is no longer student nor non-violent nor coordinating." It stated that SNCC is not any longer the organization it was when it participated in Negro rights efforts in the South in 1964.

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 1-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

Cleveland, Ohio
December 26, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland, Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 7 of 19 sections

FD-263 (Rev 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
DALLAS	ATLANTA	2/29/68	8/28/67 - 2/23/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	wvm
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68.
Dallas airtel to Bureau dated 2/16/68.

\- P -

LEADS

HOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, EL PASO - INFORMATION

One copy given to each of above due to inter-related investigation of SNCC. Leads have previously been furnished these offices concerning pending Texas Black Youth Conference (TBYC) at Dallas, Texas, in March, 1968.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. 1. Through informants and established sources, continue to follow general SNCC activities.

2. Maintain contact with racial sources to obtain information regarding location of TBYC in Dallas, financial backing for conference, housing for attendees, and identities

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:
- 9- Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- 2- 112th MIG, Dallas (RM)
- 1- NISO, New Orleans (RM)
- 1- OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)
- 2- Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
- 1- El Paso (100-5952)(Info)(RM)
- 1- Houston (100-10390)(Info)(RM)
- 1- San Antonio (157-269)(Info)(RM)
- 2- Dallas (100-10996)

100-439190-1287 REC 55
100-439190-12 6X6
4 MAR 4 1968
EX-108

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY	ACSI	OSI	SEC. SERV. ISD
REQUEST RECD.	CRD	Crim	IDIU
DATE FWD.	3/19/68		
HOW FWD.	R/S		
BY	RJB	/dkf	

NOTATIONS
RACIAL INT. SECT.
a-7 to DA, 3/19/68

57 MAR 27 1968

of SNCC officials who will attend TBYC.

3. Furnish Dallas, Texas, PD identities of all rabble rousers furnished to Dallas by outlying offices.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	Instant report, pages 2 & 8 to SA [redacted] 100-11486-4
[redacted]	[redacted] 1176; 1186; 1177; 1199
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report, pages 8-10,18 to SA [redacted] 100-11486-4
[redacted]	100-11463-13
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-11444-2
[redacted]	100-11444-2

DL 100-10996

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-11444-60
[redacted]	Instant report, page 20 to SA [redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

The following is set out regarding individuals mentioned in details of report:

This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] which could result in disclosure, which would be prejudicial to the security of the Nation.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 2- 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1- NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1- OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 2/29/68

Field Office File No.: 100-10996 Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P -

DETAILS:

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (see appendix for characterization) in Dallas, Texas, is located at the residence of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, 2803

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.

South Boulevard, Apartment 4.

[redacted], February 13, 1968)

Eddie
Ernest

LEADERSHIP

2503 S. Blvd. Apt. #4
Dallas, Texas)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, has on numerous occasions identified himself as the Dallas SNCC representative and has used the title of SNCC Field Secretary. MC MILLAN was born on October 6, 1944, at Dallas, Texas and attended the University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas, during the period February, 1965 to March, 1967, as a pre-law student. He is not known to be employed at the present time.

[redacted], January 23, 1968 and February 13, 1968)

An article appeared in the October 10, 1967, issue of "The Dallas Morning News," a daily Dallas, Texas, newspaper, on page 12 referred to MC MILLAN as a "Field Secretary for SNCC." According to the article, MC MILLAN had recently been active with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (see appendix for characterization) group in Dallas and in passing out literature pointing out things a person can do to avoid being drafted. This article also referred to MC MILLAN as "a 23 year old Negro and an avowed member of SNCC."

(The Dallas Morning News, October 10, 1967)

Form DD-1584, which is part of the record of the U.S. Army, Fort Holabird, Maryland, dated June 16, 1967, contained certain background information regarding MC MILLAN. Included in data regarding former employers was the statement that MC MILLAN was employed by SNCC, 960 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, from January, 1964, to August, 1965.

DL 100-10998

Records of the 112th Military Intelligence Group, Dallas, Texas, reflect that MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, was interviewed under oath by representatives of that organization on June 12, 1967, regarding statements made on his Armed Forces Security Questionnaire (DD Form 98) and Statement of Personal History (DD Form 398), at which time MC MILLAN advised he was a member of an organization listed in Section II of Armed Forces Security Questionnaire but refused to identify the organization. MC MILLAN also stated he had been "loosely" connected with the Industrial Workers of the World and the Young Communist League from the latter part of 1963 to the early part of 1966, in the southern and eastern sections of the United States. MC MILLAN stated he attended meetings of these organizations approximately once a month and assisted in the distribution of their leaflets. MC MILLAN refused to give any details concerning the organizations, their locations, their membership strength, their leadership, or connections with other organizations in the United States. MC MILLAN stated he had joined the organization cited in Section II, DD Form 98, approximately four months previously and had paid an initial fee of $2 for membership; however, he had not attended any meetings as yet, had made no contributions of money or service, and had not subscribed to any publication.

The Industrial Workers of the World and the Young Communist League have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted]

[redacted] January 10, 1968) David Wade Chambers

"The Dallas Times Herald," a newspaper published daily in Dallas, Texas, on October 6, 1967, printed an article entitled "Anti-draft Move Grabs Spotlight," by BILL SLOAN, Staff Writer. It reflects WADE CHAMBERS on the previous day had found himself at the center of a controversy over the Southern Methodist University (SMU) SDS chapter. It stated CHAMBERS, a graduate of Oklahoma University and Harvard University, came to SMU during the previous semester and was promptly recruited by SDS members at SMU as their faculty sponsor. Texas

CHAMBERS defended SDS both nationally and locally and upheld the part played by its members in Dallas Anti-Draft Movement although he denied the SMU chapter itself was involved. CHAMBERS admitted that SDS "looks as much to the leftwing philosophy as to the right," but he said the organization believes the "outmoded, useless and reactionary" portions of each must be discarded. CHAMBERS further was quoted as stating he did not know of a single Marxist in the literal sense in the SMU chapter although the article noted that the previous day's article had quoted CHAMBERS as stating there were Marxists in the Dallas SDS group. He characterized the SMU group of SDS as "just a small group of concerned students" numbering about 15.

("Dallas Times Herald," October 6, 1967)

"The Dallas Morning News," a Dallas, Texas, daily newspaper, on October 14, 1967, published an article entitled "SDS Unit Asks Reinstatement." The article quoted SDS Sponsor DR. WADE CHAMBERS as stating he had been "sorry to learn of the students desires to dissolve the campus chapter," and expected SDS to stay at SMU whether as a new or as a continued chapter. The article further quoted DR. CHAMBERS, a member of the Natinal SDS, as having issued a statement expressing support for SDS, the Draft Information Center, and the Draft Resistance Movement, which he stressed as being three separate groups. The article stated DR. CHAMBERS planned to step down as faculty sponsor in the near future because of a busy fall schedule.

("Dallas Morning News," October 14, 1967)

[redacted]

[redacted] January 8, 1968)

DL [illegible]

MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH who is believed to have been expelled from Bishop College, Dallas, Texas, due to his belligerent attitude toward the school administration, has been acting as an assistant to ERNIE MC MILLAN. LEACH is a Negro male, age 23, whose permanent residence has been indicated as 2400 Mc Dougal Street, Detroit, Michigan. B. Approx. 1945

[redacted] February 13, 1968)

LAFAYETTE LOCKE, Negro male, age 33, who lived with ERNEST MC MILLAN at his apartment at 2803 South Boulevard, Dallas, from January 4, 1968, to February 2, 1968, is considered MC MILLAN's bodyguard. LOCKE was released on parole from Leavenworth Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, on January 4, 1968, after serving a term of three years and eight months of a six year sentence for selling and transporting heroin. He is on parole until May 30, 1969. LOCKE moved to 1817 Fourth Avenue, Apartment 101, in Dallas on February 2, 1968. B. Approx. 1935

[redacted] February 13, 1968)

Some Negro boys and girls and a few individuals of Latin-American extraction, have been observed in the proximity of ERNIE MC MILLAN's apartment.

[redacted] January 23, 1968)

[redacted] November 21, 1967)

GRETCHEN ELIZABETH MILNE is a member of the Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam. She has participated in numerous vigils held at Dealey Plaza throughout 1967.

[redacted] October 21, 1967, January 20, 1968)

GRETCHEN MILNE resides at 6315 Palo Pinto Avenue, Dallas, Texas, and is not presently employed. She formerly held the position of Assistant Professor at Bishop College, a predominantly Negro college, located in Dallas, Texas.

[redacted] February 13, 1968)

PUBLICATIONS

SNCC has no local publication in the Dallas, Texas, area. Mimeographed handbills indicating their organization as "Dallas SNCC," have been circulated in the South Dallas, Texas, area. These handbills have urged resistance to the draft and the uniting of Negroes in Dallas so that they may be able to control their own communities.

[redacted] February 13, 1968)

On December 15, 1967, a mimeographed leaflet was distributed at the intersection of Forest and Oakland Streets, Dallas, Texas, by an unknown Negro male. It was indicated that this leaflet had been printed by MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, or by his assistant WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH. The leaflet reads as follows:

"Brothers and Sisters,

"For over 400 years Black people have been struggling for freedom in the United States. Today we find that we are still enslaved. From the days of Nat Turner who led a revolt against the slave masters, until Malcolm X who led a revolt of Black awareness, we have struggled.

"We have struggled and we are still not free. We are not free because we are powerless and we are powerless because we are black. We are not concerned with intergration because our problem is the problem of survival. We are not concerned with dining at the Sheraton Hotel when we cannot put enough food for our families on our own tables. We are not worried about sleeping at a Holiday Inn when our own housing is bad and the rent outrageous. We don't look forward to holding big executive positions when they won't hire us, it is for a two bit job.

"We can't effect changes because we have no officials who are responsible to our needs. Our voting districts are divided in such a way as to never show our true voting strength. If they do respond to our needs it is done adversely: like the Mayor designating public parks for National Guardsmen in case of 'riots', instead of trying to solve the problem of poor housing, public housing, police brutality and unemployment the city 'fathers' react to the probability of 'riots'.

"What we do want is power. The power to make decisions that affect our lives from day to day. That is, the power to get rid of the cracker cop in our neighborhood_ The power to control the housing in which we live_ The power to get rid of racist congressmen and city councilmen. In short we want the power to control our own communities.

"Once we do this we will be able to build up our neighborhood schools to a higher standard. We can maintain the money that usually leaves the community in the hands of white store owners and businessmen who exploit us daily (selling rotten meat at high prices). And we will be able to elect men who are responsible to us and our needs, and not to the white power structure. To do this we need unity among ourselves and organization. It is time we demand our freedom, are you ready to move toward liberation? Talk with your friends, dicsuss this leaflet and let's begin to get together. We have been divided by petty differences too long. Its time to get together so we can take care of plenty business...
PLENTY BUSINESS!!!

"Call or contact-- Dallas SNCC
2803 S. Blvd #4
HA 8-9449"

[redacted] December 18, 1967)

FUNDS

[redacted] November 17, 1967)

The Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam (DCPSV), previously known as the Dallas Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Dallas

Committee to End the President's War, came into existence in Dallas on September 28, 1966. It opposes United States involvement in Vietnam and holds weekly silent peace vigils in Dallas. No known current members of the CP or other basic revolutionary groups are known to have participated in or exercised influence in this organization.

[redacted] October 12, 1966, April 3, 1967, September 19, 1967, and December 27, 1967)

On January 16, 1968, [redacted] furnished a mimeographed form which had been obtained from MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, in Dallas. This form is set out as follows:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

DALLAS CHAPTER
2803 South Blvd. #4
Dallas, Texas 75210

____

____

____

____

Attention:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has dedicated itself to bringing justice and democracy to all oppressed people, here and abroad. SNCC works on a grass-root level. Its field workers help to organize Southern Negro communities for voter registration, jobs, homes, schools, etc. We in SNCC understand that there is a role that each and every one of us must play, whether it be economically, politically or socially. We also understand that everybody can't (for their own personal and individual reasons) shout BLACK POWER, but you too, can contribute, by supporting our efforts toward the liberation of black people. We are asking you to become one of thousands who support SNCC workers on a subsistance wage of approximately $20.00 per week, which is not much but enough to keep us operating toward black business matters.

YOUR PLEDGE OF 3½ CENTS A DAY, OR $1.00 A MONTH, WILL HELP PROVIDE THE BARE NECESSITIES.

If you can make a larger pledge, please do. EVERY PENNY COUNTS Won't you fill out the pledge form below and return it with your first contribution NOW.

I PLEDGE FOR JUSTICE
I wish to participate in the new program of grass-roots support for SNCC's work I enclose $_________ and pledge to give $_________, or I enclose $ 1.00 and pledge to give $__________ Monthly $_________ or quartely $________ or yearly $____________ to help end racism, economic exploitation, and oppression and create a true democracy.

Name ______________________________
A
Address _____________________________

City ______________ State ___________

Yours in the Struggle,
Ernest McMillan

Please write in yes or no, as whether you wish to be placed on our mailing list.
Mailing list: ____________.

DL 100-10996

ACTIVITIES

On August 27, 1967, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, attended a meeting of the Nation of Islam (NOI) (see appendix for characterization) at the Mosque, South and Flora Streets, Dallas, Texas. At this meeting MC MILLAN gave a short speech indicating that he was an assistant to H. RAP BROWN. MC MILLAN also claimed that he had been born and raised in Dallas, Texas, and that he was opening a new office at 4312 Oakland Street, Dallas, Texas, with a purpose to educate the Negro on how to stay out of the U.S. Army. During his short speech, MC MILLAN made the statement "Dallas needs a jolt."

[redacted] August 28, 1967)

At the meeting of the NOI on August 27, 1967, MC MILLAN, during his speech, stated that he was a member of an organization and gave the initials SNCC. MC MILLAN stated this organization has an office at 4312 Oakland Street and that one of the purposes of his group is to explain to the Negro male how he can legally dodge being drafted. MC MILLAN stated that one method used was for a Negro male to refuse to register for the draft until he is absolutely forced to do so.

[redacted] August 28, 1967)

MC MILLAN has been active in an office located at 4312 Oakland Street, Room 202, Dallas, and the front door of this office has the following organizations listed:

> "SDS, Dallas SNCC, Dallas Organizing Committee, Texas Draft Resistance League, Movement for a Democratic Society."

[redacted] August 28, 1967)

[redacted] September 13, 1967)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN attended a meeting of the NOI in Dallas, Texas, on August 27, 1967, however he has not been observed at any subsequent NOI meetings in the Dallas - Fort Worth, Texas, area.

[redacted] January 19, 1968)

On August 31, 1967, mimeographed leaflets entitled "Resist the Draft" were being distributed in the area of 4312 South Oakland Avenue, Room 202, Dallas, Texas. MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN on that date identified himself as being with the "Movement for a Democratic Society" at the above address. The contents of this leaflet is as follows:

"RESIST THE DRAFT!

"Let's stop Johnson, L.T.V. and Bell Helicopter from using our lives to fatten their wallets!

"We need to free ourselves at home, not to enslave others overseas!

"If you don't want to go, you don't have to: there are legal steps you can take to get out of the draft.

"There are people who will help.

"There are things you can do.

"Go by the office of the Movement for a Democratic Society at 4312 South Oakland Ave. for free counselling service.

"It's not too late! Act now!

"Movement for a Democratic Society sponsored by:

"Dallas Draft Resistance Committee
Dallas Organizing Committee
S.D.S. Regional Office
Dallas S.N.C.C.
Texas Draft Resistance Program

"phone HA 1-4930

"SPECIAL OFFICE HOURS 'TIL 10 PM"

* * * * * * * * * *

"Most men facing the draft are unaware of their rights priveleges and moreover how these can aid in their particular moment of need. These rights do exist and it is possible that they can be exercised in a manner that will be beneficial to the individual who confronts the draft situation as being a hopeless one. The situation is not hopeless: there are things a person can do to protect his future!

"With the passage of the new Selective Service Act many loopholes have been created that provide many legal alternatives for the draftee.

"To provide a counselling and information center for this area the Movement for a Democratic Society has set up headquarters at 4312 S. Oakland Ave., where free counselling to individuals of draft age is offered daily. Come by or call HA 1-4930."

[redacted], August 31, 1967)

[redacted] September 19, 1967)

[redacted] October 19, 1967)

November 13, 1967)

A public meeting was held to discuss "Black Power" at the "Peace and Freedom House," 4915 Swiss Avenue, Dallas, which is the residence of WADE CHAMBERS. Twentyfive persons were in attendance, five of which were Negroes who were Black Power advocates. Spokesman for the Negro groups was a Negro approximately 18 years of age named WILLIAM LEACH. LEACH advocated bombing and burning buildings and the destruction of property. He stated if the whites lived in rat-infested ghettoes and were exploited, they too would want to fight and destroy, more so, if they were not a part of the American community.

LAFAYETTE LOCKE, a Negro and an ex-convict, at this meeting said that Black Power advocates were not interested in diminishing the white population, it was the system they wanted to destroy. He said if the Negroes were totally accepted as

citizens, it would not change anything; the capitalist system had to be destroyed.

[redacted] January 28, 1968)

The January 1 - 15, 1968, edition of the "Notes from the Underground," a bi-weekly newspaper published in Dallas, Texas, in an article on page three, headlined "Black Youth to Meet in Dallas," stated that"ERNIE MC MILLAN, Field Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) revealed to NOTES and this column that following the National Black Youth Conference, which will be held in Chicago the week of December 24, the Texas Black Youth Conference will be held, probably in Dallas, the last of January. He described the TBYC as 'promising to be the greatest effort in Texas so far in implimenting the actions of the National Black Power Conference, held in Newark, N.J. last July.' He added that it will 'bring the actions of the upcoming National Black Youth Conference into actions in Texas.'

"MC MILLAN, who works out of the SNCC offices on [illegible] Boulevard in South Dallas, outlined the purposes of the conference as an effort:

"(1) To establish a statewide black communication system that would be tied-in to the national system.

"(2) To create awareness and promote activity in Texas.

"(3) To establish operational unity with inner-city groups.

"(4) To define and present new meaningful alternatives as to how to cast off the oppression as imposed on black and oppressed people.

"He, in quoting the Black Youth Conference Manifesto, said, 'We must begin to institute programs that speak to the needs of Afro-Americans and not programs that are a reaction to white definitions. It is evident that it is in our own interest to develop and propagate a philosophy of blackness as a social, psychological, political, cultural and economic directive.'

"JAMES FOREMAN, CLEVELAND CELLARS, GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE and RALPH FEATHERSTONE, all officers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are expected to be speakers for the Texas conference. There will be workshops, lectures, and plenary secessions. Black students from Texas high schools and colleges and universities will attend.

"This column recently learned of the organization of a Free Texas Theatre, based somewhat on the Free South Theatre that was run by SNCC during the early sixties. It will be a traveling company of black actors, dancers, musicians, poets, etc. that will perform in black communities throughout the state, teaching black history and culture to their audiences. They are in need of any kind of assistance which may be offered. Money is, of course, needed as well as a bus, sets, and people to perform and work. If you want to offer yourself or your assistance, write to the Free Texas Theatre in care of this column."

("Notes from the Underground," January 1 - 15, 1968)

"Notes from the Underground" is a local Dallas, Texas, by-weekly publication which originated on the Southern Methodist University (SMU) campus, Dallas, Texas, in early 1967 and urged membership in Students for a Democratic Society. The publication was banned from the SMU campus in November, 1967. One BRENT LA SALLE STEIN, also known as STONEY BURNS, reportedly was continuing the publication but no longer as a campus newspaper.

[redacted], November 30, 1967)

Contacts throughout the South Dallas, Texas, area indicated there is no evidence of any plans to hold a Texas Black Youth Conference in Dallas in January, 1968.

[redacted] January 15, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted], January 26, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted], February 2, 1968)

[redacted] advised he had been in contact with a confidential informant who he considered as being reliable on February 6, 1968. This individual stated he had received information that LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman of SNCC, Houston, Texas, was in Dallas, Texas, on February 2 - 4, 1968, trying to interest people in "black power."

[redacted] said that his source furnished him a printed handbill which was being passed out in the South Dallas area which announced the following information:

"Announcing the

"T E X A S B L A C K Y O U T H C O N F E R E N C E

March 22-24 (Friday-Sunday)

"Conference includes - workshop discussion groups
- important speakers like Stokely Carmichael
- movies
- parties and parties and parties

"Don't worry about food or housing.

"For more information contact - Dallas SNCC
2803 South Blvd. #4
Dallas, Texas 75215
428-9449 (214)"

On or about February 6, 1968, ERNEST MC MILLAN met with several other individuals including a LAFAYETTE (Last Name Unknown) in Dallas, Texas.

February 9, 1968)

On the weekend of February 10, - 11, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, LAFAYETTE LOCKE, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, SNCC representative from Houston, Texas, and an individual known as "Big Daddy" or "Fat Daddy" from Houston, visited Bishop College in Dallas, Texas, to talk to the students.

February 13, 1968)

February 23, 1968)

APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

On May 12, 1967, a source advised that SNCC made an official announcement of election of national officers for SNCC, which stated that H. Rap Brown is National Chairman, and that the National Headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia.

On May 12, 1967, advised that on that date SNCC had called a press conference at Paschals' Brothers Restaurant on Hunter Street, in Atlanta, Georgia, for the purpose of announcing the results of the Central Committee election of SNCC officers for 1967. During this announcement, SNCC issued a leaflet to all in attendance announcing their policy for the coming year. This announcement was as follows:

"In our staff meeting held during the past week, the organization voted that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a Human Rights Organization, interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Viet Nam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Simbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We shall seek to build a strong nation-wide Black Anti-Draft program and movement to include high school students, along with college students, and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men, who are daily murdered physically, and mentally in this country, to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Viet Nam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of national freedom organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expell the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible

to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objective will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country, and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals."

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist Proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

2

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Dallas, Texas
February 29, 1968

Title	STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Dallas report of Special Agent [redacted] dated February 29, 1968

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] and [redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to determine reliability [redacted]

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
DALLAS	ATLANTA	5/10/68	2/24 - 5/8/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		gcs
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM		

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/29/68.

\- P -

LEADS

HOUSTON and SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION

One copy each is being furnished to the Houston and San Antonio Offices due to the inter-related investigation of SNCC.

JACKSON - INFORMATION

One copy of report is furnished Jackson in view of reference on Page 11 to CARL WATTS of Meridian, Mississippi, being in attendance at Texas Black Youth Conference.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [illegible] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

10 - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
2 - 112th MIG, Dallas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
1 - Houston (100-10390)(Info)(RM)
1 - Jackson (Info)(RM)
1 - Little Rock (Info)(RM)
1 - San Antonio (157-269)(Info)(RM)
~~2 - Dallas (100-10996)~~

12-15 REC-1

6 MAY 15 1968

RACIAL [illegible]

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ISD,	CRD	CRIM	FDIU
Request Recd.	SS	ACSI,	NIC,	OSI
Date Fwd.	5/24/68			
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	[illegible]			

Notations

[illegible]

54 MAY 27 1968

LITTLE ROCK - INFORMATION

One copy of report is furnished Little Rock in view of reference on Page 7 to ELIZABETH ANN MARTIN, Little Rock, Arkansas, being in attendance at a demonstration in front of U.S. Courthouse, Dallas, Texas.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. Will continue to follow general SNCC activities and attempt to determine source of organization's funds through informants and established sources.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Where Located
	Instant report, pages 1,2,3,5 to SA 100-11486-4 100-10996-109,146
	Instant report, pages 2,3,4 to SA 100-10996-138, 146
	100-10996-92
	100-11463-13
	100-10996-148
	100-10996-148
	Instant report, page 5,6 to SA
	100-10996-92; Instant report, page 8 to SA
	100-10996-109; 130; 134; 138

DL 100-10996

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	100-10996-106
[redacted]	Instant report, page 12 to SA [redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] the disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security of the Nation.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2 - 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans, Louisiana (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 5/10/68

Field Office File No.: 100-10996 Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, self-identified Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee representative for Dallas, Texas, maintains his office at his residence located at 2803 South Boulevard, Apt. 4, Dallas. MC MILLAN indicated to be in a poor financial situation [redacted] MC MILLAN led a group of individuals to Pinkston High School, Dallas, to heckle armed forces recruiters at a meeting to be held on 3/6/68. Meeting was cancelled by authorities upon learning of MC MILLAN's plans. MC MILLAN led demonstration in front of U.S. Courthouse, Dallas, in support of H. RAP BROWN, National SNCC leader. SNCC sponsored Texas Black Youth Conference held on 3/22-24/68 with approximately 86 people in attendance. On 4/5/68, MC MILLAN was unsuccessful in urging Bishop College students to take over the college administration building. On 4/25/68, MC MILLAN led a group of 15 Negro youths in a demonstration against GEORGE WALLACE, American Party candidate for President, at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas, where WALLACE was giving a campaign speech.

- P -

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (see Appendix for characterization) in Dallas, Texas, is located at the residence of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, self-identified SNCC representative for Dallas, Texas, 2803 South Boulevard, Apartment 4.

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

LEADERSHIP

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, usually known as ERNIE MC MILLAN, has on numerous occasions identified himself as the Dallas SNCC representative and has also used the title of SNCC Field Secretary.

[redacted], April 25, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II. was arrested by officers of the Dallas, Texas Police Department on February 25, 1968, for using abusive language. At the time of his arrest, he listed his birth as October 6, 1944, Dallas, Texas, residence as 2803 South Boulevard, and showed his occupation as Field Secretary (SNCC).

[redacted] April 26, 1968)

MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, a Negro male, age twentythree, and a student at Bishop College, Dallas, Texas, is a close associate of ERNIE MC MILLAN. LEACH has been observed in attendance at the majority of SNCC demonstrations and meetings in the Dallas area.

[redacted] April 2, 1968)

JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA, a male of Latin American extraction, approximately twentytwo years of age, has been living with ERNIE MC MILLAN at his apartment since December, 1967. They are usually observed together in the South Dallas area and at all SNCC activities.

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

ROBERT L. YOSEF YEDELL, a Negro male, and a freshman student at Bishop College, who resides at the freshman men's dormitory, is considered a sympathizer and follower of ERNIE MC MILLAN.

YEDELL was born on October 16, 1947, at Los Angeles, California and his permanent residence is 970 Mayberry Road, Conshohochen, Pennsylvania.

April 25, 1968)

LAFAYETTE LOCKE has been a close associate of ERNIE MC MILLAN since January, 1968 and is generally considered MC MILLAN's bodyguard.

, April 2, 1968)

LAFAYETTE LOCKE was arrested on April 3, 1968, at Lubbock, Texas, at 1:15 AM by officers of the Lubbock, Texas Police Department at 1014 East 29th Street, following a complaint that a man in that area had a shotgun. LOCKE was taken to the Lubbock Police Department where he was booked on the basis of an outstanding Federal warrant for parole violation resulting from a previous arrest on March 14, 1968 for Burglary and Assault to Murder by the Lubbock, Texas Police Department.

April 3, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA and ROBERT YEDELL were in Lubbock, Texas from April 2 - 4, 1968, in an unsuccessful attempt to assist LAFAYETTE LOCKE.

, April 4, 1968)

JUANDINE HENDERSON and LEROY FOSTER GILLEAD, who attended SNCC organizational meeting in October, 1967 at Dallas, Texas, are no longer at Bishop College and have returned to their homes outside the Dallas, Texas area.

JUANDINE HENDERSON, born April 15, 1947, at Batesville, Mississippi, left Bishop College due to illness in her family. Her mother is Mrs. LEORA MORRIS who resides at [redacted] HENDERSON entered Bishop College in September, 1966 and graduated from Patton Lane High School, Batesville, Mississippi.

LEROY FOSTER GILLEAD, a Negro male, born November 29, 1944 at New York City, New York, was requested to leave Bishop College by the Administration because of disciplinary problems. (not further identified) GILLEAD's permanent residence is [redacted], and his parents are Mr. and Mrs. LEROY FOSTER GILLEAD, SR. GILLEAD was a freshman student who entered Bishop College in September, 1967 after graduating from Haraan High School, New York City, New York.

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

CHARLES ARTHUR JONES, a freshman student at Bishop College who attended the SNCC organizational meeting in October, 1967, has indicated to fellow students that he does not believe in the extreme militant ideas of the SNCC organization.

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

[redacted] November 21, 1967)

"The Dallas Morning News", a Dallas, Texas daily newspaper, on October 14, 1967, published an article entitled "SDS Unit Asks Reinstatement". The article quoted SDS Sponsor DR. WADE CHAMBERS (Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas) as stating he had been "sorry to learn of the students' desires to dissolve the campus chapter", and expected SDS to stay at SMU whether as a new or as a continued chapter. The article further quoted DR. CHAMBERS, a member of the National SDS, as having issued a statement expressing support for SDS, the Draft Information Center, and the Draft Resistance Movement, which he stressed as being three separate groups. The article stated DR. CHAMBERS planned to step down as faculty sponsor in the near future because of a busy fall schedule.

("The Dallas Morning News", October 14, 1967)

GRETCHEN MILNE is a member of the Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam (DCPSV). She has participated in numerous vigils held at Dealey Plaza, Dallas, Texas, through 1967.

[redacted] October 21, 1967,
January 20, 1968)

GRETCHEN MILNE resides at 6315 Palo Pinto Avenue, Dallas, Texas, and is not presently employed. She formerly held the position of Assistant Professor at Bishop College a predominantly Negro institution located in Dallas, Texas.

[redacted] February 13, 1968)

PUBLICATIONS

SNCC distributes mimeographed handbills throughout the South Dallas area to notify residents of various demonstrations and meetings sponsored by the organization, however, it has no specific regular publication in the Dallas area.

[redacted], April 25, 1968)

FUNDS

Exhaustive inquiries throughout the Dallas, Texas area has failed to develop information regarding any bank accounts for SNCC or MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II.

[redacted] April 24, 1968)

ERNIE MC MILLAN, from all appearances, has very little money. [redacted]. Friends loan MC MILLAN their automobiles to use as he has no personal car. Friends have also been seen to bring him food to his apartment and to take out his clothing to be cleaned.

[redacted] April 29, 1968)

[redacted], May 8, 1968)

ACTIVITIES

[redacted], March 6, 1968)

At approximately 4:00 PM, on March 6, 1968, the principal of Pinkston High School, 2200 Dennison Street, Dallas, advised school officials that U.S. Armed Forces recruiting officers had cancelled plans to hold a meeting at the school that evening, due to the possibility of the appearance of pickets and hecklers.

At approximately 7:05 PM, on March 6, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, arrived at Pinkston High School with a Negro female, in a 1967 roadster convertible, bearing 1967 Texas license LCC-71, driven by JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA, owner of the vehicle.

At approximately 7:15 PM, the same evening, LOUIS SOLGANICK and a white female, believed to be LAURA UTRECHT, arrived at the high school in a 1967 Pontiac Firebird, bearing 1968 Texas license KSP 458. SOLGANICK and UTRECHT were two of the participants in an anti-Vietnam war demonstration by the Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam (DCPSV) on December 11, 1967, in front of 912 Commerce Street, Dallas, which building houses the Dallas Selective Service boards.

At 7:25 PM, the same evening, ROBERT WILSON FOLEY, also known as BOB FOLEY, arrived at the high school in a 1963 Buick, four-door sedan, bearing 1967 Texas license KXR 209. FOLEY is believed to be a Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) member (see Appendix for characterization) and is known to have participated in DCPSV vigils in the past.

The above-described individuals stayed around the front of Pinkston High School until approximately 7:55 PM at which time they departed in all three cars in a group and were last observed at McKinney and Fitzhugh Streets in Dallas, a considerable distance away from the school.

[redacted] March 7, 1968)

On March 20, 1968, ERNIE MC MILLAN indicated he planned on holding a peaceful-type demonstration in front of the U.S. Courthouse at Bryan and Pacific Streets, Dallas, Texas, at approximately 1:30 PM on that date. MC MILLAN stated the purpose of the demonstration was to protest the confinement of H. RAP BROWN, National SNCC leader. At approximately noon on March 20, 1968, MC MILLAN made a short speech on the Bishop College campus, Dallas, during which time he stated he would hold the demonstration, as described above, and invited all students to attend.

[redacted] March 20, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II led a demonstration in front of the U.S. Courthouse, Dallas, on March 20, 1968, from approximately 2:15 PM to 2:35 PM. MC MILLAN gave a short speech protesting the confinement of H. RAP BROWN and called for a "Black Revolution", stating "there should be ten Newarks, Detroits, and Watts for each ghetto." MC MILLAN also made the statement that "for each black man killed, ten honkie racist cops would be killed."

Approximately twentytwo individuals were in attendance at this demonstration, some of them carrying signs reading "Death to Racists", "Victory or Death", "Release RAP BROWN", and "Black Power Means Unity".

[redacted] March 20, 1968)

Those who were identified as attending the demonstration besides MC MILLAN included JESSE ARREOLA, JACKIE PHIEFER, a Negro female, believed to be MC MILLAN's present girl friend, and ELIZABETH ANN MARTIN, a white female, from Little Rock, Arkansas.

The following students of Bishop College attended the demonstration:

THOMAS ARTHUR DURHAM, born November 6, 1948, Palestine, Texas; residence 2726 Guadalupe, Corpus Christi

CURTIS LEE FARRIS, born April 13, 1946; residence 220 East 15th Avenue, Corsicana, Texas

DAN EARL JEFFERSON, born April 28, 1947; residence 249 Pearson Avenue, Laurel, Mississippi

CLAUDE P. PELT, born August 29, 1949; residence 1223 West 71st Street, Chicago, Illinois

HELEN MARIE MC NEAL, born May 15, 1948; residence 323 South Drexel Street, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

DEBRA LOIS BROWN, born May 12, 1948; residence 49 St. Nicholas Terrace, No. 21, New York City, New York

ANTONE DUMONT STEVENS, born August 3, 1948; residence 66 South Hanley Avenue, Newark, New Jersey

WILLIAM STOKES, born July 1, 1948; residence Route 1, Box 109, Kiethville, Louisiana

MARILYN ELAINE GRIFFIN, born August 18, 1948; residence 2600 Locust Street, Denver, Colorado

The following active members of SDS in the Dallas area attended the demonstration:

DOUGLAS DUNLAP BAKER
PHILLIP KNOX BROWN
STONEY BURNS, true name BRENT LA SALLE STEIN

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

ERNIE MC MILLAN on March 21, 1968, announced that the Texas Black Youth Conference, sponsored by SNCC would be held as scheduled from March 22 - 24, 1968 at the Bethlehem Center, 4410 Leland Street, Dallas, Texas. MC MILLAN anticipated that approximately 100 - 150 people would be in attendance.

[redacted], March 22, 1968)

Information was received from individuals in attendance at the Texas Black Youth Conference held at the Bethlehem Center, 4410 Leland Street, Dallas, that on March 22, 1968, approximately twentytwo people were in attendance for that evening's meeting.

The discussion centered around riots in Dallas and Houston, Texas and different views were expressed on how they should be handled. One person made a comment that very few gripes really exist in Dallas and that they would have to look for one and exploit it to make people aware that such a problem really existed.

It was stated during the meeting that SNCC was going to have to build from Bishop College students and that the students were going to have to be convinced that inequities existed in order to get them to participate.

LARRY JACKSON, Negro male and SNCC Field Director from Austin, Texas, spoke to the group in a militant vein about the long hot summer coming up and told the group, "You know what you have to do here." A movie was shown which was a historical documentary covering the period from 1955 to 1964 showing the first boycott of buses, school desegregation, and marches held over the United States during that period. The Friday night meeting was broken up when a person identified as JAFFAR, employed as a dietician at Bishop College, stood up and told the entire group that they ought to be in jail.

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, local Field Director for SNCC, did not appear at the conference on Saturday, March 23, 1968, until approximately 7:00 PM, as he became ill and had to be treated by a doctor during the day. As a result, very little was accomplished.

On Saturday night, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Negro male, identified as the Field Director for SNCC, Houston, Texas, spoke about forming "Black Co-ops" where Negroes would band together to build their own businesses, houses, and apartments, thereby gaining economic power. After several other short speeches, the meeting was turned over to discussion groups. It was estimated that approximately thirtyfive people attended the Saturday night meeting.

On Sunday, March 24, 1968, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, ERNIE MC MILLAN, Reverend THOMAS BROWN, Director of Admissions at Bishop College, and MARILYN GRIFFIN, Negro female and student at Bishop College, all spoke to those in attendance at different times. Following these speeches, a general discussion was held. Approximately twentyfive people attended the Sunday session.

The following points were resolved as a result of the three-day meeting, but no formal resolutions were passed:

1) The banding together of black people for economic power.

2) Bring unity to the black race.

3) Research, define, outline, and solve problems facing the black race and above all, bring unity.

4) Organize students for Black Power and gain political, economic, and social strength through peaceful means, if possible, by force if necessary.

5) Dedicate SNCC to the cause of fighting poverty through alignment of all minority groups banded together for this purpose.

6) SNCC does not intend to destroy America but does intend to have a piece of the cake for the black people.

7) Violence is advocated to accomplish "unity of purpose" (violence should be used if necessary to bring about conformity among the Negro people.)

Five persons who indicated they attended the North Central College in Chicago, Illinois, were present at the conference. These students presented information to those in attendance regarding "Operation Bread Basket" in Chicago, which is sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under the direction of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING. The operation deals with Negro merchants donating food for the poor and was reported as being quite successful.

The three-day meeting was generally considered by those in attendance as a failure, due to a lack of planning, disorganization, disunity, lack of research on topics discussed, and the many differences of opinions of the participants.

The following persons were identified as having attended the meeting:

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, Negro male, Dallas Field Director for SNCC

JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA, white male, associate of MC MILLAN

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, Negro male, student at Bishop College

ROBERT L. YOSEF YEDELL, Negro male, student at Bishop College

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Negro male, Field Director, SNCC, Houston, Texas

DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Negro male, SNCC, Houston, Texas

COLLUMN JAFFER, Negro male, Dietician, Bishop College

CHRIS WITHERS, Negro male, student, Bishop College

ARTHUR JACKSON, Negro male, student, Bishop College

MICHAEL DODD, Negro male, student, Bishop College

MARILYN GRIFFIN, Negro female, student, Bishop College

DELOYD PARKER, Negro male, law student, Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas

CARL WATTS, Negro male, Meridian, Mississippi

LARRY JACKSON, Negro male, SNCC Field Director, Austin, Texas

Reverend THOMAS BROWN, Negro male, Director of Admissions, Bishop College

CLAUDE PELT, Negro male, student, Bishop College

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT JACKSON, residence Dallas, Texas

FREEMAN PENAROE (phonetic), Negro male, Dallas, Texas

MARILYN CLARK, Negro female, Dallas, Texas

JACKIE PHIEFER, Negro female, Dallas, Texas

RONALD JOHNSON, Negro male, from Houston, Texas

CAROLYN HASSELL, Negro female, 2107 Oak Dale, Houston, Texas

DONALD SMITH, Negro male, Houston, Texas

CASINO ROYAL (phonetic), Negro male, Bishop College

TRUDY (LAST NAME UNKNOWN), Negro female, from Houston, Texas

DONNA LEWIS, Negro female, Dallas, Texas

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

It was reported that MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, JESUS ARREOLA, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, and DONNA LEWIS were carrying pistols during the Texas Black Youth Conference held at Dallas, Texas.

[redacted], April 24, 1968)

On March 21, 1968, the following individuals left Houston, Texas at 12:15 PM in a black Ford Thunderbird to attend the National Youth Conference held at Dallas, Texas, March 21 through 22, 1968, which was promoted by the SNCC, Dallas Branch:

RUSSELL JONES, Texas Southern University student

ESTHER KING, driver of Thunderbird

DELORES SMITH, Texas Southern University student

JOHN MORRIS, Texas Southern University student

KENNETH SIMPSON, Texas Southern University student

RONALD EVANS, former Texas Southern University student

FLOYD PREVOST, Texas Southern University student

These individuals arrived in Dallas, Texas at approximately 4:30 PM. The group drove through the Bishop College campus and then proceeded to the community center where the conference was in session.

Films were shown entitled, "The Streets of Greenville", "The Negro Mood", and "The History of the Negro". Following the films, the conference broke up into several workshops, in which was discussed "The Negro in the Third World", "Black Power", "The Role of the Militant in the Black Community", and "The War in Vietnam". Following the conference, everyone was dismissed and those from out of town spent the night at the peace hall where about four members of the SDS live.

The second session of the conference on March 22, 1968, got off to a very slow start. No one appeared to be interested in what was going on at the meeting and many of the men played a baseball game outside. Later everyone got together and suggestions and resolutions were made for the conference, however, the group from Houston did not remain for the conclusion of the conference.

[redacted] April 25, 1968)

"Black Youth Conference A Slow Drag

"Last week the local leaders of SNCC were having difficulty finding a place to hold their black youth conference this past weekend, but as things turned out a phone booth would probably have been sufficient. Not even a UPI-sponsored rumor that Stokely Carmichael would be the featured speaker stirred sufficient interest to get the crowds out.

"There was a recorded registration of 86 for the conference and the early morning sessions were empty. The meeting was held in the Bethlehem Center which reported that there were large numbers of FBI and police constantly circling and patroling the area and that there was trouble with the phones. Employees presumed the lines had been tapped.

"Original estimates had been that 400 youth would attend the conference, coming mainly from Texas colleges. When efforts to obtain a hall of this capacity failed local leaders settled for the Center facilities which can accomodate only 150. On two occasions POST TRIBUNE representatives went to the conferences to report on the meetings.

"Saturday morning near noon there were only six present. An atmosphere of aloofness prevailed and the attitude seemed to be that no one wanted to talk to outsiders. Altogether it was a cloak and dagger effect that would do credit to 007 and his cohorts. Perhaps the press members were too readily identifiable by the creased trousers, combed hair and shaven cheeks or these things may have antagonized those attending the conference who looked as though they may have been there an entire week.

"They were certainly not hospitable and no one would even acknowledge there was such a person as Ernie McMillan, local SNCC co-ordinator, in existence when he was asked for by name.

"A return to the conference site Sunday morning found only a bearded Mexican eating donuts and a local artist in attendance. There was definitely nothing happening.

"Later it was reported that the group, being too few in number to satisfactorily transact business, resorted to going into the surrounding neighborhood to teach Negro history to passers-by."

("The Post Tribune", Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, March 28, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II and JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA appeared on the Bishop College campus, Dallas, Texas, on April 5, 1968, at approximately 8:15 PM in anticipation of meeting with the student body. The meeting was not held as the students failed to respond to MC MILLAN's request for a meeting. MC MILLAN and ARREOLA then walked to the school cafeteria where they attempted to arouse the students to go to the Bishop College Administration Building and take over the building as had been previously done at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Those students in the cafeteria failed to respond to MC MILLAN's request, indicating that they would be expelled from the school for bad behavior. MC MILLAN and ARREOLA then left the campus, making a final remark that they were going to try and burn down the Highland Hills Shopping Center which is in the vicinity of the campus.

[redacted] April 5, 1968)

[redacted] advised on April 6, 1968, that the police patrolled the area of the Highland Hills Shopping Center during the night of April 5-6, 1968, and no activities were noted in that area.

At 10:20 PM on April 7, 1968, two unknown Negro males, driving a 1955 or 1956 Chevrolet, shot at CHARLES ANDERSON, a Negro Bishop College student who was walking on Simpson-Stuart Road, in the vicinity of the college. ANDERSON was not injured. Immediately after the shooting occurred, WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, an associate of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, appeared at the scene of the shooting and asked, "What are we going to do about this?"

[redacted] suspect that the two Negroes who shot at ANDERSON were endeavoring to create an incident to be blamed on white persons to create racial tension in the area of Bishop College. No suspects were developed in this shooting [redacted].

[redacted] April 8, 1968)

[redacted] April 8, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II did not appear at Bishop College on the evening of April 8, 1968, or during the early morning hours of April 9, 1968. There was no activity or incidents of any type on the college campus during the above pertinent period.

[redacted] April 9, 1968)

On April 25, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II was observed circulating handbills in various areas of South Dallas and at Bishop College urging a demonstration at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Dallas. This demonstration was to be against GEORGE WALLACE, former Alabama governor and American Party Presidential candidate, who was giving a campaign speech at that hotel at 8:30 PM on April 25, 1968. A copy of the mimeographed handbill circulated by MC MILLAN reads as follows:

"If You Don't Act Who Will

"George Wallace speaks tonight at the Statler-Hilton - 8 PM. This honkey is a murderer of black people and a threat to your life. Now he wants to enlarge his racist program by running for president.

"Is Dallas a city of 'Good Niggers' (as the mayor says) or will we show that we won't set by and let this white wolf run through Dallas. We've had enough of their crap! -- While Dallas opens their door and rolls out the carpet for Wall-ass what will you be doing? Good dumb niggers will stay at home while men will tell him how we feel.

"Come on down with us! If we're not for ourselves who will be for us?"

[redacted], April 25, 1968)

Approximately seven cars left Bishop College for downtown Dallas at 8:00 PM on April 25, 1968. Student occupants indicated they were going to demonstrate against GEORGE WALLACE at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

[redacted], April 25, 1968)

On the evening of April 25, 1968, approximately fifteen Negro youths entered the grand ballroom of the Statler Hilton Hotel where GEORGE WALLACE, former governor of Alabama and American Party candidate for President was giving a campaign speech. Eight of this group carried placards denouncing WALLACE. The youths were permitted to stand in the rear of the ballroom. There was some talk among the white audience concerning the demonstrators, however, no incidents occurred.

Individuals identified as being among the Negro demonstrators were:

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II.
ROBERT L. YEDELL
WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH
ANTONE STEVENS
JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA

At the conclusion of his speech, WALLACE exited the hotel under heavy police escort. MC MILLAN and the other Negro youths accompanying him, were on the sidewalk awaiting WALLACE's departure, however, no outbursts or incidents occurred.

[redacted], April 26, 1968)

APPENDIX

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist Proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Dallas, Texas
May 10, 1968

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
Reference	Dallas report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 10, 1968.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] and [redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to determine reliability. [redacted],

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
[illegible]	ATLANTA	8/2?/68	5/9/68-8/21/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		jas
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM		

REFERENCE: Rep [illegible] SA [redacted] dated 5/[illegible]/68 at Dallas.

- P -

LEADS:

HOUSTON and SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION. One copy each is being [illegible] to the Houston and San Antonio Offices due to the inter-related investigation of SNCC.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. 1. Obtain application information regarding Post Office Boxes 26381 and 2[illegible]3.

2. Will contact [redacted] regarding purchase of ammunition by SNCC members.

3. Will maintain contact with [redacted] sources and racial informants regarding SNCC activities and emphasize organization's attempt to obtain firearms, explosives, and ammunition.

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- [illegible] - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- 2 - MIG, Dallas (RM)
- NISO, New Orleans (RM)
- OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)
- [illegible] - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
- Houston (100-[illegible]390) (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - San Antonio (157-269) (INFO) (RM)
- 2 - Dallas (1[illegible]-10996)

100-439190-12-37

REC-57

12 AUG 26 1968

REC-68

EX 1[illegible]

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

NOTATIONS

RACIAL INT. SECT.

COPIES DESTROYED

146 OCT 30 1970

100-10996

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	Instant report, pages 2,3,4,27 by SA [redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted] 100-10996-221
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-10996-243
[redacted]	100-10996-243
[redacted]	100-10996-249
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-10996-384

INFORMANTS CONTINUED

[redacted]	[redacted] 1273, 1275
[redacted]	100-10996-199
[redacted]	100-10996-214
[redacted]	100-10996-214, 252
[redacted]	100-10996-214
[redacted]	100-10996-248
[redacted]	LA 157-1984-36 DL 100-10996-253
[redacted]	100-10996-228

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by [redacted] disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the

security of the nation.

Investigation of arson at Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas, is being handled separately under investigation entitled, "UNSUB, aka SNCC; Arson [illegible] Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas, 3/17/68; RM", Dallas file 157-[illegible]39. Investigation to date has failed to [illegible] SNCC [illegible] with the fires at the university.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 2-112th MIG, Dallas (RM)
1-NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1-OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 8/22/68

Field Office File No.: 100-10996
Bureau File No.: 100-432190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: [redacted]

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

P

CONFIDENTIAL

.0-10996

DETAILS:

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (see Appendix attached for characterization) activities are centered at 1417 Peabody, the residence of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II self-identified SNCC representative for Dallas, Texas. MC MILLAN has also been known to use the offices of the Urban League of Dallas, 2606 Forest Avenue, Dallas, for his activities.

[redacted] August 19, 1968)

LEADERSHIP

The Post Tribune, a Dallas, Texas weekly Negro newspaper, August 3, 1968 edition, on page [illegible] in a news story headlined, "SNCC Heads Discuss Philosophy" [illegible] MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN as the Dallas Field Secretary for SNCC and [illegible] JOHNSON as Director of Political Activity for the organization.

MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

Those individuals who appear to be closely involved in SNCC activities in the Dallas, Texas area with MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON include MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD, FRED LOUIS [illegible], EDWARD HARRIS, CHARLES [illegible] [illegible] JOHNSON, BERTHA [illegible] POWELL, BOOK[illegible] [illegible].

[redacted] August 19, 1968)

ROBERT L. YOSEF [illegible], former associate of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, returned to his home in [illegible], Pennsylvania when [illegible] College authorities refused to permit him to return as a student due to activities [illegible] to the philosophy of that college.

[redacted] July 29, 1968)

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH and JESUS [illegible] ARREOLA, former associates of ERNEST MC MILLAN, have not been in the Dallas, Texas area since the latter part of May, 1968. LEACH is believed to have returned to his home in Detroit, Michigan and ARREOLA is believed to have returned to the San Antonio, Texas area.

[redacted] August 19, 1968)

LAFAYETTE LOCKE was taken to the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth Kansas on June 27, 1968 for a hearing before the U. S. Board of Paroles to determine if LOCKE should have his Federal parole revoked.

[redacted] Lubbock, Texas; June 27, 1968)

In January, 1968, LAFAYETTE LOCKE was a close associate of ERNIE MC MILLAN and was considered MC MILLAN'S body guard.

[redacted], April 2, 1968)

LAFAYETTE LOCKE was arrested on April 3, 1968 at Lubbock, Texas at 1:15 a.m. by officers of the Lubbock, Texas Police Department at 1014 East 29th Street following a complaint that a man in that area had a shotgun. LOCKE was taken to the Lubbock Police Department where he was booked on the basis of an outstanding Federal warrant for Parole Violation resulting from a previous arrest on March 14, 1968 for Burglary and Assault to Murder by the Lubbock Police Department.

[redacted] April 3, 1968)

Those individuals who appear to be sympathizers of ERNEST MC MILLAN and have been involved in some activities sponsored by SNCC, include the following Dallas Negro residents:

FELECIA SMITH, LOIS ALEXANDER, MICHAEL MORRIS, BONNIE BOY BOWMAN, ROBERT FLOYD ANGLE, ESTHER RUTH HOWARD, LESLIE W. JACOBS, EDWARD HARDGE, ARTICE L. HENDERSON, MARILYN CLARK, DIANNE MEREDITH, LEANDER MANNING, WILLIAM JAMES JOHNSON, and [illegible].

[redacted] August 19, 1968)

PUBLICATIONS

The SNCC organization in Dallas began printing a three-page 8x11 multilith-type "newspaper" entitled "Black [illegible] People - The Press [illegible]" in July, 1968. [illegible] requested

[illegible] copy of the paper.

CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY, under the pseudonym of "KAR'AN UMAR" and EDWARD HARRIS, under the pen name of "BLACK ED", are the two writers for the publication.

The articles in the paper have requested Negro Dallas residents to back ERNEST MC MILLAN and the SNCC organization; urged Negro residents to be proud of their heritage and natural appearance, and to stop trying to change their looks to that of the whites, and has been critical of the Negro newspapers in the Dallas area as they have not cooperated with the SNCC organization.

In addition to The Black Disciple, SNCC prints numerous leaflet handouts regarding particular problems they are attacking at the time.

[redacted] August 19, 1968)

FUNDS

[redacted]

[redacted] May 9, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] July 10, 1968)

FRANK HERNANDEZ, ERNEST MC MILLAN'S attorney, left Dallas for New York City on July 18, 1968, allegedly to receive some funds for the legal defense of MC MILLAN who has charges pending against him for destruction of private property in value over $50, in Dallas.

[redacted] July 18, 1968)

FRANK HERNANDEZ returned from New York City on July 19, 1968 [redacted]

[redacted] July 19, 1968)

[redacted] August 8, 1968)

[redacted] August 8, 1968)

(August 11, 1968)

(August 14, 1968)

When Soul Brother signs are sold by SNCC members, it is indicated to the purchaser that if the sign is displayed and there is violence, the property on which the sign is displayed will not be destroyed, if possible.

(August 14, 1968)

ACTIVITIES

Poor People's Campaign

The following individuals who are known associates of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, [illegible], were listed as passengers on a chartered Greyhound Bus which departed Dallas on May 25, 1968 to arrive in Washington, D. C. on May 26, 1968:

JACKIE [illegible], ROBERT [illegible], [illegible] VELDELL, JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA [illegible], and BERTHA [illegible].

([illegible] May 25, 1968)

The late MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President of the Southern Youth Christian Leadership Conference, publicly announced prior to his death on April 4, 1968, that he would conduct a massive civil disobedience campaign in the nation's capital in the spring of 1968, in an effort to pressure Congress [illegible] passing legislation favorable to the Negro.

On May 28, 1968, ERNEST MC MILLAN stated that he remained in Dallas instead of going to Washington, D. C. on May 25, 1968 to participate in the Poor People's March in Washington, D. C., because someone had to stay home in order to "man the fort".

([illegible] May 29, 1968)

The Black Cultural Center

([illegible] August 21, 1968)

Copies of [illegible] were [illegible] and are set out as follows:

Proposal For a Community Cultural Center

We, the Black people of the South Dallas community area, with the support of the Black organizations of the following colleges, Bishop, SMU, ETS, NTSU, and UTA, find that there is a definate need to increase the recreational and cultural facilities in the above stated community.

Therefore, we have come to the decision that the best solution to this need is to establish a community center in the form of a Liberator School. We think of liberator schools in the sense of the schools created throughout the south and ghettos of the north by national civil rights organizations. The stress in the learning process is creativity and human to human relationship rather than traditional teaching methods. Emphasis will be placed on the following: black history, the arts such as music, painting, writing, and, of course, the fundamental recreational activities. Participants will contribute directly in presenting plays, art and musical shows, and all other activities of the Center. In this way we will attempt to increase the mental and physical potential of the Black youths of the community. We shall also include adult classes offering basic math, English, home and family planning.

We also recognize the gap that exists between the white oriented educational system and the environmental atmosphere of the black community. The educational system has failed to deal realistically with the needs of the ghetto. While the larger society is in the midst of affluence, the ghetto remains in the state of depression. Therefore, an aim of this community center is to instill Black thoughts within the mind of every Black member of the community so that they will be able to form associations relative to their history, present environment, and future.

The tremendous burden of financing this project is beyond our capacity at this time, and, although we realize the importance for total Black direction of this Community Center, we are hopeful of receiving contributions and support from every available source.

In essence we are attempting to answer the cries of despair and frustration by inculcating self-pride and awareness for the Black community through our Community Center.

Send contributions to:

Committee for the Black Cultural Center
2604 S Harwood
Dallas, Texas 75215

ESTIMATED FINANCIAL BUDGET

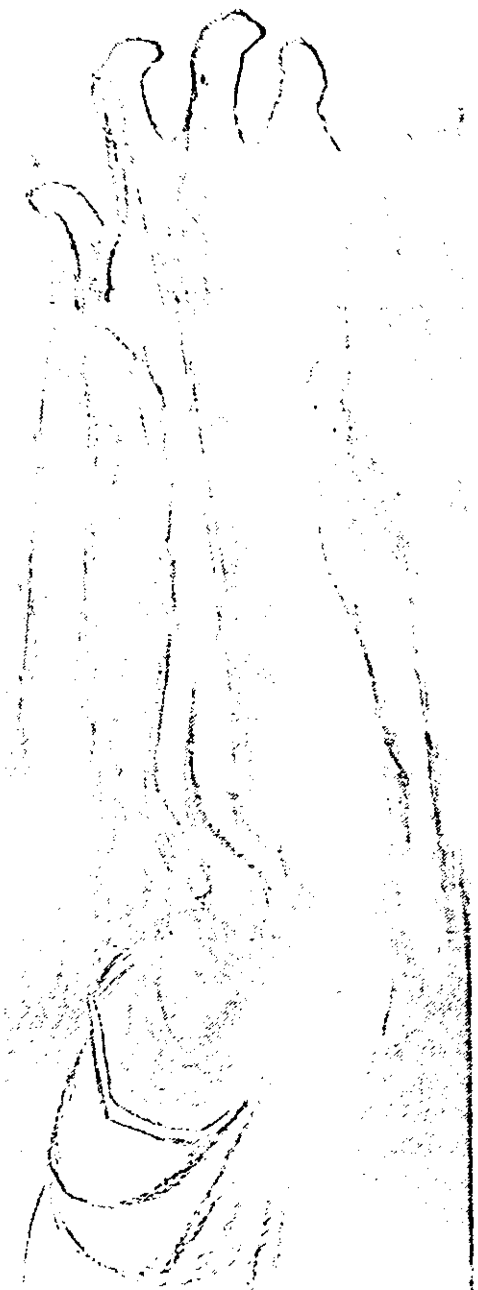
Item	Amount
Cost of Occupancy................................ 1715 Forest Ave.	$ 30,000.00
Utilities..................................	1,800.00
Furniture and fixed assets........................	1,475.00
Education material................................	492.00
Janitorial supplies...............................	100.00
Postage and shipping............................	150.00
Telephone and telegraph.........	480.00
Recreational materials............................	500 00
Library..	3,500.00
TOTAL (For a one-year period)	$38,947.00

* All staff workers are of volunteer service from the community.
** All activities and services of the center are free of charge.

In May, 1968, ERNIE MC MILLAN furnished a brochure entitled, "Does Dallas Need a Freedom School?" which [illegible] the reasons for the establishment of a Liberator School, [illegible] school MC MILLAN is attempting to set up in South Dallas. [illegible] brochure asked that contributions for the school be sent to the Committee for The Black Cultural Center, P. O. Box 381, Dallas, Texas.

[redacted] May 29, 1968)

The above mentioned brochure as furnished by the above source is set out on the following pages as follows:



Do the schools we already have teach Black History?

Do the schools we already have give a sense of Heritage and Pride to your children?

Can you participate directly with your children's classes?

Are the things being taught your children preparing them for their everyday life?

It is not an accident that the answer to these questions is NO!

It is not by accident that Black people **do not** know anything about their past; **for the best way to control and enslave someone is to cut the ties of the past so that the present is confusing and that there is no hope for a future.**

What is happening is that we are being denied a basic human right. The right to know yourself. Because of this we have lost the dignity, faith, and pride in ourselves.

The Liberator School will speak to this need. It will belong and exist for the Black Community. The Liberator School will teach not only Black History, but will have Art Classes, Drama activities, Musical presentations, adult literacy classes and serve as a Cultural Center for the whole comm-

The Committee For Black Cultural Center needs your help to make the Liberator School a reality

Will you help by:

(Check one or more)

Enrolling [ ]

Working [ ]

Teaching [ ]

Financial Donation [ ]

....

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

Age ______________________

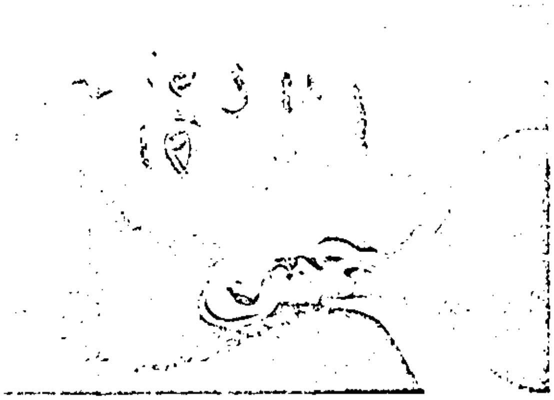
(Age limit 7 - 70 years)

BCC

"If We Are Not For Ourselves Who Can Be For Us?"



DOES DALLAS NEED A FREEDOM SCHOOL?



BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL

AND IT'S SO BEAUTIFUL

TO BE BLACK.

Send Contributions To:

Committee For A Black
Cultural Center

P. O. Box 26381
Dallas, Texas 75226

ERNEST MC MILLAN is holding meetings in the South Dallas area in an attempt to raise funds for a Black Cultural Center which he is proposing in that area of the city. The Center supposedly will emphisize teachings of Negro history, art, music, painting, writing and recreation. Adult classes will include basic mathematics, English, and home and family planning.

[redacted] June 10, 1968)

In the latter part of May, 1968, representatives of SNCC requested a solicitation permit from the City of Dallas at which time an application was filled out indicating that the Committee for a Black Cultural Center, P. O. Box 26381, requested permission to solicit $38,947 by mail, in a canvass of homes, business firms and also through musical benefit programs. The date of the fund raising was given as June 18, 1968, and it was indicated that it would be a recurring solicitation. Principal officers of the committee were listed as MIKE DODD, Chairman, 2604 South Harwood, HA 1-3912; FRED BELL, Co-Chairman, 4611 Garland Avenue, TA 6-4099, BERTHA HOOKS, Secretary, 3919 Sydney, (no phone); YOSEF YELDELL, Treasurer, 2415 Talco, HA 1-3136. Persons directly in charge of conducting the campaign were listed as ERNIE MC MILLAN, 2803 South Boulevard, HA 8-0386, YOSEF YELDELL and FRED BELL. It was stated that records and receipts would be kept by the treasurer and there would be ten volunteer solicitors for the solicitation.

SNCC representatives were advised that their application could not be granted until they received a charter from the State of Texas at Austin, Texas.

[redacted] June 17, 1968)

Black Committee Meeting

"BLACK COMMUNITY MEETING"

"Do you know what we should be doing to help ourselves?
"Do you know what SNICK means?
"Do you know who speaks for you?
"Do you know what Black Power is?
"To you don't know the answers to these questions its time for you to find out. You can find out by attending the mass meeting in the part at 2200 Canada Drive in West Dallas, Sunday, June 23rd at 6:00 p.m.
"This meeting will include everyone from the Black Community. Doctors, teachers, players, kids, housewives, both the employed and unemployed, and our Mexican friends. Discussing plans like boycotts, rent strikes, block voting and other means to a strong community.
"Do not miss this opportunity because if we are not for ourselves who can be for us."

[redacted] June 24, 1968)

On June 23, 1968, a meeting was called by Black Power advocates at a city park in the 2200 block of Canada Drive in West Dallas. Approximately 50 Black Power Negroes were present. Approximately 60 other individuals were present including 20 adults, and 40 children. MATTHEW JOHNSON was the master of ceremonies and JOHNSON explained to the audience why a vigilante committee was needed. He said they had to arouse and alert the community to listen to police calls and to check on the police to see they do not commit acts of brutality. He suggested using cameras to expose lazy cops and cops who are sex perverts, etc. He stated that such a program had done a good job in the Watts area of California. ERNEST MC MILLAN was the second principal speaker and he ridiculed the Negroes for imitating the white people. He also pointed out why the white people were their enemies.

MC MILLAN introduced another speaker from Houston whose first name sounded like WAYMOND (last name unknown) who had been arrested with four others in connection with a death of a police officer who was killed in a riot at Texas Southern University in Houston. This speaker gave details regarding the riot and termed the death of the police officer as "beautiful". He urged Negroes to arm themselves, to fight the "white beasts", and said children should be taught to shoot at least a B-B gun. He was upset because the beasts (the police) had the meeting encircled.

Another speaker believed to be FRED LOUIS BELL, belittled the "Uncle Tom" Negroes and ministers and identified the white man as the black enemy and urged the Negroes to arm themselves.

MATTHEW JOHNSON spoke again saying that the same "red neck" in Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama was the same "red neck" in Vietnam. He said the Negroes were sent out in droves in Vietnam because they could not be killed, hung or linched fast enough in the states.

[redacted], June 24, 1968)

On June 2, 1967, the Houston Chronicle carried an article captioned, "Murder is Charged In Riot at TSU. Police Cleared of Blame by Jury." This article reported a Harris County Grand Jury on June 2, 1967, returned murder indictments against five TSU students in the fatal shooting of Police Officer LOUIS KUBA during the TSU riot on May 16-17, 1967. These five students were identified as follows:

B. APPROX.

TRAZAWELL FRANKLIN, JR., age 20;
FLOYD NICHOLS, age 21; B. APPROX.
CHARLES FREEMAN, age 18;
DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, age 21; B. APPROX.
JOHN PARKER, age 20. B. APPROX.

Supermarkets, Dallas

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, in July, 1968, indicated that he has started a plan to intimidate various owners and operators of food stores in the South Dallas area.

([redacted], July 5, 1968)

ERNEST MC MILLAN along with an associate MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, and approximately 40 other Negro individuals, on July 1, 1968, entered the OK Supermarket at 4123 South Oakland Avenue in Dallas, Texas. This store is one of a chain of ten OK Supermarkets located in the Negro area of Dallas. Upon entering the grocery store, MC MILLAN picked up a gallon container of milk and threw it on the floor near the check out stand. MATTHEW JOHNSON and the other Negroes accompanying MC MILLAN, then started raking food off the shelves smashing eggs and causing about $200 in damage. In addition to destroying the food, these individuals ordered meat and then immediately opened the packages and threw the meat on the floor stating "The white man is trying to sell us rotten meat."

([redacted] July 5, 1968)

Due to the above vandalism, ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON were arrested by officers of the Dallas, Texas Police Department on July 3, 1968 on the charge of Investigation - Malicious Mischief. They were released on $100 bond furnished by Attorney ED J. POLK described as a white male residing at 5617 Belmont Street in Dallas. The above charge was subsequently changed to "Destruction of Property, Value in Excess of $50, a felony.

([redacted] July 5, 1968)

ED J. POLK, Attorney at Law, is connected with the Dallas Legal Services Project of the Bar on [illegible] Office in Dallas, Texas.

([redacted] July 12, 1968)

On the evening of July 2, 1968, ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON with approximately 13 other Negro individuals, entered the OK supermarket located at 3026 Grand Avenue. The group upon entering the store, immediately obtained customer baskets and filled them with food, placing ice cream and eggs on the bottom. When the baskets were filled, this group then proceeded to the front of the store where they left the baskets and departed from the store.

[illegible] employees of the store, upon discovering the baskets, found the ice cream melted and most of the eggs broken.

[redacted] July 5, 1968)

[redacted] July 5, 1968)

[redacted] July 5, 1968)

On July 19, 1968, Dallas SNCC began an economic boycott of OK Supermarkets in the South Dallas area. At approximately 4:30 p.m., five Negro men and four Negro women were observed at the supermarket located at 4123 South Oakland Street in Dallas carrying signs stating, 'Black Power", Stay away from OK nigger", "Boycott OK","Buy [illegible]", all placards were signed "Dallas SNCC". Persons identified at the OK Supermarket on Oakland included FRED [illegible]ILL, EDWARD HARRIS, and EDWARD HARDGE. Individuals were observed to leave the below described vehicles and participate in the picketing of the Oakland Store as follows:

Two Negro males unidentified, arrived in a 1965 MG, white two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Texas license KVM 584, registered to J. E.

GORDON, 2625 Wasira, Dallas.

Unidentified Negro female [illegible] in a 1955 Chevrolet four-door sedan, white over green, bearing 1968 Texas license KXN 178, registered to ARTH[illegible] [illegible]RSON, 2909 Parnell, Apartment 20[illegible] in Dallas.

[redacted], July 19, 1968)

A Negro male believed to be H. L. FAGAN, owner of The Post Tribune, a Dallas Negro newspaper, and one other Negro male arrived at the store in a 1966 Cadillac [illegible] or beige sedan, bearing 1968 Texas license LGY 127. They [illegible] a friendly conversation with the pickets and left the area. The above vehicle is registered to H. L. FAGAN, 2322 Millermore, Dallas.

[redacted], July 19, 1968)

At the OK Supermarket at 3026 Grand Avenue in Dallas on July 19, 1968 nine Negro men and three Negro women participated in the picketing. They carried four poster signs similar to those carried by pickets at the Oakland Store and distributed leaflets to individuals passing on the street.

Those recognized as pickets were MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, self-admitted Dallas SNCC leader; MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON; MELVIN JOHNSON; MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD and MARILYN CLARK, an Urban League employee.

Two Negro men who participated in the picketing left the store's location in a 1965 blue Mustang, bearing 1968 Texas license KZC 958, which is registered to a BEVERLY JO JACQUES, 2537 Stephenson Drive, Dallas.

JAMES H. SELF, a white male and director of the Presbyterian Center, 2604 South Harwood, arrived at the store in the company of a Negro woman driving a 1966 Chevrolet Bel Aire tan station wagon, bearing 1968 Texas license LEG 913, which is registered to the Presbyterian Church of Northeast Texas, 4309 North Central Expressway, Dall[illegible]

Pickets in contact with people entering the store were insinuating that customers would possibly be harmed if they bought anything from the grocery store. Pickets remained at the two stores until

they closed at midnight and it appeared that business at the stores was seriously effected as very few customers were seen to enter the store.

[redacted] July 19, 1968)

Two throw away mimeographed sheets passed out by the pickets read as follows:

"It is time that we the Black People unite for the purpose of putting an end to white Supremacy in Black communities. The White man has Cheated Robbed and Exploited our Black Brother for over 300 years. Lets not make it 400. Stop the selling of Rotten Meate now! Stop high prices now! Lets put this white man out of our neighborhoods. Unite Now!
"Boycott O.K. Supermarkets
"Dallas SNCC
"Mass meeting every Sunday at 6:00 p.m. Exlire Park at Pine and Latimer Streets."

"Stay away from OK - Nigger. In Essence, this is what an owner of OK Supermarket said in Public. He said that he wants certain Black People to Stay away from OK. Lets all stay away from OK and shop elsewhere. Then we the Beautiful Black People of the community can collective buy and operate these stores ourself.
"Boycott OK Supermarkets:
Buy Black
"Dallas SNCC"

[redacted] July 19, 1968)

On July 19, 1968, approximately 15 Negro men and women were picketing the OK Supermarket located at Oakland and Pine Streets and on Grand Avenue in Dallas, Texas. Demonstrators carried signs stating "Don't buy from OK Supermarkets" and were passing out mimeographed sheets urging Negroes not to buy from that chain store. The sheets were signed by the Dallas SNCC.

[redacted] July 19, 1968)

[illegible] at the OK Supermarket chain in Dallas continued on July [illegible] the 24, 1968. Specific markets affected were as follows:

No. 1 at 4123 South Oakland,
No. 2 at 4630 Hatcher,
No. 3 at 1909 South Ervay,
No. 5 at 3026 Grand Avenue,
No. 6 at 5108 Lexar,
No. 8 at 4127 Colorado,
No. 14 at 3807 East Kiest.

Pickets appeared to concentrate on OK Supermarkets No. 1 and 5 and picketed the other stores sporadically during the day and night. Pickets carried placards urging Negroes to end white supremacy in black communities.

On July 20, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN II and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON drove a 1962 red Oldsmobile two-door sedan bearing 1968 Texas license LVJ 522 from one of the OK Supermarkets to Mount Olive Lutheran Church, 3100 Forest Avenue, where they obtained a large pack of printed leaflets which were given out to pedestrians in front of the OK Supermarkets. The above car is registered to ROBERT O. PHILLIPS, 1913 Rayburn Drive, Mesquite, Texas.

On July 21, 1968, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON made the statement that SNCC would continue its boycott of the OK Supermarkets until the white men were gone - then they would turn their efforts to another white-owned store.

At 6:00 p.m. on July 21, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, FRED LOUIS BELL, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, and MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD, were observed near the recreation building at Exline Park at Pine and Latimer Streets, Dallas. Between 6:00 p.m. and 6:45 p.m., approximately 20 cars arrived and were met in the street by one of these individuals and would drive off. At 6:45 p.m., the four men proceeded in MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON's 1937 black Pontiac, bearing 1968 Texas license LPJ 787 to 909 Commerce Street, the address of the World Council of Churches where a meeting was in progress and continued until 8:30 p.m.

[illegible] July 21, 1968)

Pickets at the OK Supermarket located at 3026 Grand Avenue, were intimidating customers in order to prevent them from going into the store by saying that if they did enter possibly their car would

go up in flames or even their homes would be destroyed by fire. Some pickets followed one or two customers part way home, but no action was taken against them.

[redacted] July 22, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, and MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD, were observed wearing bandoleers with shotgun shells, driving a 1937 black Pontiac, sedan bearing 1968 Texas license LPG 787, owned by JOHNSON. No firearms were observed in these individuals possession. It was reported that MC MILLAN and his companions had planned on causing an incident in the area of the OK Supermarket at 3026 Grand Avenue in Dallas at 3:00 p.m. on July 24. It was subsequently reported that no incident or arrest occurred at any of the OK Supermarkets during the evening of July 24, 1968.

[redacted] July 25, 1968)

On July 24, 1968, MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD was observed wearing two bandoleers bearing shotgun shells in the South Dallas area, however, ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON , who were with him, were not wearing bandoleers.

[redacted] July 25, 1968)

On July 25, 1968, and July 26, 1968, information was received from a usually reliable source that a meeting was held at ERNEST MC MILLAN'S residence, 1417 Peabody after the picketing of the OK Supermarket at [illegible]:00 a.m. on July 25, 1968. Thirty-five to forty people were in attendance including nine Negro females. At 3:30 a.m., MC MILLAN , MATTHEW JOHNSON, and a white man, believed to be ED POLK, arrived at the meeting in a 1967 white Mustang. There was a general discussion about the group not being able to get anything started in Dallas, while fires were burning in Cleveland, Ohio. The group as a body told MC MILLAN they were tired of sitting around doing nothing and wanted to get something started soon. MC MILLAN announced that he was going to have a meeting with the management of the OK Supermarkets at 4:00 p.m. that day. It was indicated that they would [illegible] the stores for sale. He said he would make them a ridiculous offer and they then would be able to get something started in Dallas on Friday, July 26, 1968. At 5:00 a.m. on July 26, 1968, one male Negro, name and description unknown, left the group and drove off in a 1964 red Buick Special, sedan, license unknown, enroute to Louisiana to obtain firearms and dynamite.

[redacted], July 26, 1968)

LESLIE W. JACOBS, a Negro male involved in SNCC picketing at the OK Supermarket located at 3026 Grand Avenue, Dallas, had been observed on July 24, 1968, driving a 1964-65 red Buick Special, two door sedan, bearing 1968 Texas license, KBS 621. A second vehicle, a 1965 Buick, two-door sport coupe, maroon in color, bearing 1968 Texas license, LKC 53, registered to [illegible] /HEMBRY, 2316 Sutter Street, was observed at 1417 Peabody on July 19, 1968, and was at a previous SNCC sponsored meeting held at Exline Park, Dallas, Texas.

On July 25, 1968, a 1964 red Buick Special sedan, bearing Texas license KBS 621, was stopped in South Dallas at 9:30 p.m. that day and searched for firearms and dynamite with negative results. Occupants were not identified.

[redacted] July 25, 1968)

No pickets were observed in the vicinity of the OK Supermarket in the South Dallas, Texas area on the evening of July 25, 1968.

[redacted] July 26, 1968)

The Dallas, Texas Police Department on July 25, 1968, received a report of attempted [illegible] at the OK Supermarket located at 912 Corinth Street in Dallas on that date. It was reported that a jug filled with gasoline was broken and ignited, resulting in a fire which burned a portable awning, [illegible] the outside ceiling of the store and caused two plate glass windows to be cracked. The fire reportedly broke out between 12:30 a.m. and 5:30 a.m. on July 25, 1968, during the period that the store was closed. Investigation had developed no suspects, however, employees of the store reported that SNCC picketers were in front of the store the evening of July 24, 1968, and it was rumored that they had threatened to burn the store down.

SNCC pickets BONNIE BOY BOWMAN, Negro male born August 13, 1943; FRED LOUIS BELL, Negro male born December 15, 1948; and ROBERT FLOYD ANGLE, Negro male born July 20, 1942, were arrested on July 24, 1968, for making verbal threats against customers and employees of the OK Supermarkets. EDWARD HARRIS, Negro male born August 28, 1947, and MELVIN JOHNSON, Negro male born August 22, 1945, had a complaint filed against them on that date for threats made to ESTHER RUTH HOWARD, Negro female, age 33, residence 2807 Ervay Street, Dallas, who was a customer at the OK Supermarket at 3026 Grand Avenue, Dallas

[redacted] July 26, 1968)

The Dallas Morning News, Dallas, Texas, daily newspaper, in its July 26, 1968, edition, published an article under the headline, "Store Chain to Sell, Negro Picketing Boycott Bring Move" stating as follows:

"OK Supermarkets, beset by pickets, demonstrations, threats and a boycott during the past week, agreed Thursday to sell all or part of its 10-store chain to an all-Negro group represented by black militant Ernest McMillan.

"The supermarket owners gave McMillan's group 60 days to raise the money to complete the transaction. In exchange, McMillan agreed to halt the boycott and call off the pickets.

"Attorney Tom Jones, spokesman for the chain, declined to disclose the price agreed on during a 4-hour meeting Thursday afternoon between the owners and McMillan.

"Frank F. Hernandez, attorney for McMillan said the price for all 10 stores is 'in the neighborhood of $600,000.'

"McMillan, Dallas field secretary for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, did not name those he claimed to represent as the prospective buyers. He identified them only as responsible figures in the Negro community.

"...The boycott was called by McMillan on grounds that the chain operates principally in all-Negro sections of South Dallas and Oak Cliff and should be owned by Negroes.

"Pickets showed up at several of the stores a week ago and the boycott was extended to the entire chain by Tuesday.

"...In a statement on the bargaining session James said: 'My principals negotiated with these representatives exactly as they would have with any other group of businessmen who expressed an interest in purchasing the chain.'

"James said the negotiated price was in line with the fair market value. He said the chain had been up for sale prior to the boycott.

"In answer to SNCC charges, James said that 88 per cent of the chain's employes are Negro. He said the chain was the first in South Dallas to hire Negro managers and cashiers.

"Owners of the chain, established seven years ago, are Harold Kindle and Glen D. Kindle, brothers, and Joe Elston."

July 26, 1968)

The Volkswagen van reportedly driven by OLIVER and CHARLES MASSENGALE was not located in the Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas area on July 26, 1968. There was no picketing of any OK Supermarkets or other businesses in the Dallas area by the Dallas SNCC organization on July 26, 1968.

July 27, 1968)

CHARLES and OLIVER MASSENGALE are members of US. On occasion they have worn African attire and have spoken Swahili on numerous occasions. They have been observed carrying firearms, including shoulder-type weapons.

March 13, 1968)
(See Appendix attached regarding US)

OLIVER and CHARLES MASSENGALE left Los Angeles, California prior to July 26, 1968 and were known to be out of the Los Angeles area until August 1, 1968. Their exact whereabouts was unknown, however, they were believed to be somewhere in Texas.

July 31, 1968)

The Post Tribune in its August 3, 1968 edition on page one printed the following article:

SNCC Heads Discuss Philosophy

...rtly before press time The Post ...une interviewed Ernest McMillan, ...s field secretary for the Student ...olent Coordinating Committee, and ...hew Johnson, Director of Political ...vity for the same organization, as to why and wherefore of the OK Super-ket boycott as carried out by their ...nization.

... order to get the record straight ...hould be reported that a little less ... two weeks ago the first full scale ...ott of a white owned business in



Ernest McMillan

...th Dallas was begun by members and ...pathizers of the above organization, ...wn locally as "Snik."

Target of the relentless "stay away ...n" was the 10-store OK supermarket ...in of stores, strategically located, ...iness-wise, throughout the South ...llas and Oak Cliff areas

Alleged derogatory racial remarks by ... owner of the chain in public to pos-...ly a SNCC leader or sympathizer trig-...red a shower of mimeographed leaflets ...ich were widely distributed on and near all of the markets and particularly on South Oakland and the Grand Avenue locations.

Strong picketing at these two locations brought business to a virtual stand still the weekend of July 20-21 and resulted in meetings, according to Jasper Baccus, president of the Pylon Salesmanship Club, on last Tuesday and Thursday, July 23 and 25, between SNCC leaders and owners and their representatives in the offices of Davis & Associates, 2700 Grand Avenue.

At this time it was reported to the press that the owners had agreed to sell the chain to SNCC or responsible black individuals for $600,000. Time to find a buyer or buyers was set at 60 days.

Interviewed at the Post Tribune office McMillan and Johnson had this to say:

McMillan: "This is the greatest effort for black people to have become involved in to gain a greater sense of economic power. The responsibility of purchasing these stores presents an opportunity and responsibility to the black people of Dallas. A meeting was held last Saturday between legal representatives and potential purchasers. By the way, these buyers are asking any other interested purchasers to meet with them at Mount Olive Lutheran Church on Thursday night, August 1. There will be representatives from the Small Business Administration to advise anyone interested in such possible financing."

Post Tribune: Ernest, what about your draft-evasion case going before the Asst. U. S. District Attorney?

McMillan: "I've been advised to make no comment. You remember I have a felony hearing facing me. Counsel and I are taking these matters one at a time. The facts will be brought out whenever there is a hearing."

Johnson: "We do not want to exchange a white exploiter for a black one. We would like to see a chain of stores responsible to the total need of the community and not in the interests of a few individuals. If you are selling low quality merchandise, put a low price on such items. Before the boycott began a thorough check was made of markets in the area. Our findings indicated OK to be a logical target. U. S. Dept. of Agriculture inspectors have checked items we have brought before them and have substantiated our contention that sub standard items have been sold the populace."

Post Tribune: This is fine, but we want to know this, do you hate white people?

Johnson: "No, not as far as the white of their skin is concerned. I take all men at face value, as they approach me until by their actions either a like or dislike for me is indicated."

Post Tribune: Is your group overly militant?

Johnson: "We will not turn the other



Matthew Johnson

cheek. We are not overly aggressive. If someone shoves us, he will be shoved back. We are militant in that we will speak out for what we think is right. If this is being militant, then we are militant."

The only way this community or ... other community in Dallas is ever g... to amount to anything is when the b... man takes up his spade, cultivates h... lawn and community to the point wh... he himself is proud of his efforts, n... when someone from the outside comes ... gives you a bucket of paint and says p... yourself up by the bootstraps when th... are no soles on the boots."

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, visited the offices of the Small Business Administration, Mayflower Building, Dallas, Texas on July 29, 1968 to determine what was necessary to apply for a government loan to purchase the OK Supermarkets. It was explained to the SNCC representatives that a government loan could not be made to a non-profit organization such as SNCC.

It was agreed that representatives of the Small Business Administration would attend a meeting held by SNCC on August 1, 1968 to furnish details regarding the Federal loans to approximately 50 South Dallas Negro businessmen who would attend this meeting.

(Records of the 112th MIG, Dallas, July 30, 1968)

ON August 1, 1968, approximately 15 individuals attended a meeting at the Mount Olive Lutheran Church, 3100 Forest Avenue, Dallas, Texas. Those individuals included: MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN; MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON; a Negro male believed to be FRED LOUIS BELL; FRANK P. HERNANDEZ, an attorney representing MC MILLAN and JOHNSON; a Negro male described as Doctor, approximately 50 years of age; three unidentified Negro males, believed to be local businessmen and one unidentified Negro male, apparently from Newark, New Jersey, approximately 45 years of age. The Small Business Administration representatives explained the particular program under which a loan could be applied for and explained the general requirements regarding it. Some individuals attending the meeting were in favor of attempting to obtain funds from philanthropic sources such as the Ford Foundation. Others believed that the best course would be to deal with individual sources one at a time, others including the Negro from Newark agreed for more picketing and boycotting in order to drive the price of the stores down. No definite [illegible] were returned at the meeting and there appeared to be a great deal of dissention among those in attendance.

(Records of 112th MIG, Dallas, August 5, 1968)

The trial of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON on charges of Destruction of Private Property, in Excess of Over $50. in value, began on Monday, August 19, 1968, in Criminal District Court, Dallas County, Dallas, Texas.

[illegible] August 19, 1968)

FOREIGN TRAVEL

On July 9, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN applied for a passport, which application was approved on July 10, 1968. MC MILLAN indicated on his application for passport that he desired to visit the following foreign countries: Fin[illegible]d, Denmark, France, England, Norway, Sweden and Germany. MC MILLAN indicated that the approximate date of his departure was to be July 15, 1968, from New York, New York, by way of the Japan Airlines. The purpose of his trip was shown as a "Youth Conference of University Christian Movement" and the duration of his stay was shown as one month. MC MILLAN furnished an address of 1608 [illegible] Street, Dallas, Texas, and indicated that his mother is a Mrs. [illegible] MC MILLAN at the above address.

[redacted] July 18, 1968)

ERNEST MC MILLAN planned to attend a youth conference at Helsinki, Finland on July 15, 1968, which conference was sponsored by the National Council of Churches, but since MC MILLAN was confined in the Dallas County Jail on that date, he was unable to go.

[redacted] July 18, 1968)

MISCELLANEOUS

On March 17, 1968, [illegible] M. LEE, Dean of Women, Texas Woman's University (TWU) [illegible] a letter on March 17, 1968, bearing a Dallas, Texas postmark of March 16, 1968. The letter was addressed "Office of the Dean of Women, c/o [illegible] M. Lee, Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas 76204". A Xerox copy of this letter is as follows:

Dean Lee:

[illegible] Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, have [illegible] information concerning racial discrimination at your [illegible]. We have been told of your biased actions toward the [illegible] students.

Some of our representatives are attending your University as well as scouting the campus. Your Negro students have appealed to us and other Negro Organizations for aid, because they feel that their rights are being violated. The Negro students are paying tuition just as the HONKIES are . They are entitled to the same type of treatment as is shown to their white counterparts. Don't forget that Texas Woman's University is a State supported University. Some of the students are appealing to higher authorities.

I'm sure that you have heard of the incident at Texas Southern University in Houston last May, and of other racial riots at various Universities around the country. I am more than sure that you do not want your beautiful campus ruined by fire.

Consider the situation before action is taken and SOON !!!

Respectfully yours,

SNCC

Between the period March 12, 1968 and May 10, 1968, seven fires were discovered in a new 21-story women's dormitory, Stark Hall at TWU. Investigation by the Security Department of TWU with the assistance of the Denton Police Department, the Denton Fire Department, State of Texas Fire Marshal, American Insurance Association Investigator, and the Texas Rangers, included interviewing each of the 560 residents of Stark Hall. All denied any knowledge of the fires. All Negro students interviewed among the 560 residents were specifically asked if they had any personal or heresay knowledge of any incident of racial discrimination on the TWU campus and all denied any such knowledge. All Negro girls interviewed expressed complete satisfaction with the policies of the TWU administration.

Each floor of the Stark Hall Dormitory has a representativo number of Freshman, and Seniors, Negroes and girls of Spanish-American descent. Minority groups on the TWU campus make up the greater percentage of the student body at the college.

Negro students interviewed during the investigation denied being members of any off-campus organization such as SNCC. No Negro organizations are in existence on the TWU campus.

[redacted] Denton, Texas, May 10, 1968)

The Post Tribune, a weekly Dallas Negro newspaper in its Saturday, August 3, 1968, edition, on page four printed an article entitled, "Dallas Racial Peace" which reads as follows:

. . --NPI--The recent announcement that George Wallace of Alabama will hold his American Party national convention in Dallas during the month of September has stirred the Dallas contingent of SNICK to prepare for a violent demonstration when the Wallace forces come here.

This scheduled to be a follow-up of Wallace's convention in Fort Worth several weeks ago, where an expose of the demonstration plans caused Wallace to cancel his personal appearance for that confab.

Since the Fort Worth Wallace meet McMillan, head of the Dallas SNICK has been jailed for allegedly heading an attack on a local supermarket inthe South Dallas area and a demonstration against exploitory practices against Negroes.

His followers are anxious to find some good reason for retaliation against Dallas officialdom for the prosecution of McMillan. They feel that the Wallace proposed advent will be a good time to break the gauntlet of Dallas "racial peace."

Texas Negro resentment against George Wallace, and the vordial support he is getting in Texas, is widespread, and the determination to give him a rousing un-welcome has become the desire of a cross section of the Negro populace, as well as a growing contingent of whites.

A lieutenant of McMillan said plans for the anti-Wallace demonstration are b... guarded from exposure, but that Dallas could expect a demonstration that would shake the local race situation beyond imagination.

When asked if plans were in the making to do Wallace personal bodily harm, the informant said "The assassination of Dr. King, Sen. Kennedy and the support of localities to exploiting white firms in the Negro areas deserve retaliation, since Dallas is famous for violent action against undesirables. They spat on Lundon Johnson, they riled Adlai Stevenson, so we feel anything we do to 'stop ' Wallace will be in order."

There is also a movement on foot to demonstrate reprisals against the supermarket and chain stores in Negro areas who practice price mark-ups in Negro areas, a situation found to be the spark that set off riots in Neward.

A check of supermarket prices throughout the city revealed that more is charged Negroes on commodities than is charged in all-white areas, one spokesman for the militants said. They also said that some stores, advertising appliances and jewelry stipulated certain weekly payments in the newspaper and force Negroes to make weekly or monthly payments in excess of that advertised.

Sharply-upped carrying charges is also reported by Negro customers. One lady said, after she had paid more than half on her appliance, and missed two weekly payments, the Goodyear Service store tried to repossess the item, by just getting a reclaim notice form the local court without due process of law.

This situation is becoming serious concern to Negroes, and it is generally felt that if violence should break loose, these exploiting firms may suffer great losses as in other sections of the country during riots.

The main objective for possible violence in Dallas is the scheduled appearance of George Wallace, but indications are that it can trigger action against other grievances of Negroes.

On August 2, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, telephonically contacted the Dallas Office of the FBI regarding the above article in The Post Tribune. MC MILLAN stated the statements made in the article concerning SNCC were completely false and his organization plans no demonstration against GEORGE WALLACE.

American Party Presidential Candidate, GEORGE WALLACE, is presently scheduled to be a guest speaker at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium on September 16, 1968 at a $25-a-plate dinner and rally. WALLACE presently plans to arrive in the late afternoon of September 16, 1968 and depart Dallas immediately after the rally.

[redacted], August 5, 1968)

On August 13, 1968, Dallas SNCC held a press conference at 3010 Meadow Street a building adjoining Mount Olive Lutheran Church 3100 Forest Avenue, Dallas. Seven members of SNCC were present, including MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON; MELVIN JOHNSON; EDWARD HARRIS; FRED LOUIS BELL; (first name unknown) CLAY; and an unknown Negro male.

MARION MC MILLAN read a prepared press release objecting to the passing of a Dallas City Ordinance which gives the mayor of Dallas the power to call in the National Guard in the event of a riot. Following the reading of the prepared statement, there was a short question and answer period for the press. On being asked if SNCC members intended to start a riot because of the new ordinance, MC MILLAN replied that the ordinance would be the cause of a riot, not the SNCC organization. When asked if this was a warning of a riot, MC MILLAN stated that this was not a warning, but a promise of a riot that would be causedonly by the new ordinance and the effect it would have on the Negro people.

The prepared press release is set out below:

lared war on the Black community. This ordinance makes coercion and
nny the order of the day for dealing with any kind of act the mayor wishes
deem as an "emergency." The broad and limitless powers the mayor has
r this act is a reaction to, and an attack on, the cries for liberation
are being heard from the ghetto.

he new police-state powers given to the mayor are tremendous and the
ure of when those powers are to be used are unclear and left up to the
or's discretion. This new act places Dallas one step away from the same
d of system that existed in Nazi Germany during and before World War II.
las now has its Hitler, its storm troopers and its concentration camps,
it doesn't have its sheep that are going to walk off into its gas oven.
las Snick has never advocated or wished to incite a riot. However, we
lize that a riot is playing the game of the power structure who for self
material reasons would profit from this. More so, a riot with random
ting and burning is not effective and seeks to provide the cops with an
i to maim and kill. There is a real revolution taking place in this
try; it is the Black Revolution all facets of it are organized and
ctive it is not a random thing with remote objectives.

e conditions that exist throughout Dallas are conditions that stifle
growth of us, the Black people of Dallas. Poverty, exploitation,
sm, police oppression and brutality are the roots of our enslavement
to effect the cure means dealing with these factors, not by promoting
e and violence whose only objective is to contain the engergies and
t of the Black community.

e Dallas City Council is making a grave error by making this blind
sion that in no way deals with the basic causes of rebellion, racism
exploitation. The responsibility for just and comprehensive actions
deal with the reality of 20th century enslavement has been thrown out the
low and the uniformed badge wearing Klansmen have been given the job.

APPENDIX

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, described itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

"US", Also Known As "US", Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose...based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture."

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga", authored by MAULANA RON KARENGA, also known as Ronie McKinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

"...US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture....The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos....We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically...."

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

"...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction....The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one....When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are...."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"...We must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetrate a system, not

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

"US", Also Known As
"US", Incorporated

"destroy it....We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have to get power by talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia--let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power...."

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

"...The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when the thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity...."

"JESUS said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow'. Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes', or worse yet--washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it...."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are reqired to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga".

The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural acitivites such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third, and highest level of membership, is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Dallas, Texas
August 22, 1968

Title — STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character — RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference — Dallas report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 22, 1968.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication, have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
DALLAS	ATLANTA	11/27/68	8/22 - 11/15/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	gcs
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RM - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 8/22/68.

\- P -

LEADS

HOUSTON and SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION

One copy each is being furnished to the Houston and San Antonio Offices due to the interrelated investigation of SNCC.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. 1. Will follow SNCC activities through racial informants and sources.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - Houston (100-10390)(Info)(RM)
1 - San Antonio (157-269)(Info)(RM)
2 - Dallas (100-10996)

12-62 REC-28

10 DEC 3 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, [illegible], OSI, SEC. SER.
Request Recd.	[illegible]: ED, CRD, PAO
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 12/4/68
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: DEC 8 1968
	BY:

Notations

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~~[illegible]~~

RACIAL SECT.

(CC report 8[illegible]6941)

2

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Where Located
	Instant report, Pages 2,3,32 to SA 100-11444 100-10996
	NY 157-2149-1B2(S)
	100-10996-302
	Instant report, Pages 12,13 to SA 100-10996-319
	100-10996-275,338,346,364,378

100-10996-338

100-11511-2
100-11463-29

100-11511-3
100-10996-199
100-10993-560

100-11306-264
100-11463-13
100-11461-5
157-1011-46

100-10996-359,363,364

100-10996-346

100-10996-359

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by the following sources and informants of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in their identification and compromise their future effectiveness.

The lists of names of individuals obtained from the search incidental to the arrest of FRED LOUIS BELL on 8/23/68 were reviewed with on 9/5/68. advised that it was his opinion that these lists contained the names of individuals, who were sympathetic to SNCC as well as the names of known members of the organization.

Interview of ROBERT E. EZELL was conducted by Special Agents and Interview of CLAY STUART was conducted by SA Interview of DAVID SAVAGE was conducted by Special Agents and

Information regarding individuals who have donated to the Black Dallas Freedom and Defense Fund outside the Dallas Division is being forwarded to interested offices by separate communication.

Set forth below is the present investigative status of individuals listed as members of the Dallas SNCC organization:

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2 - 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans, Louisiana (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 11/27/68

Field Office File No.: 100-10996
Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Dallas Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) residence headquarters is located at 1417 Peabody Street, Dallas, Texas. The organization also has office space at 3010 Meadow Street, Dallas. MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN II and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON lead Dallas SNCC organization consisting of ten individuals. [redacted] SNCC activities in Dallas occupied in collecting funds to pay for legal fees and bonds for SNCC leaders following their conviction on 8/23/68 for destruction of property over $50 in value. Members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in Dallas assisting SNCC in collection of these funds. Members of SNCC arrested for their participation in robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, on 8/19/68 and subsequent hijacking of commercial airliner in Canada on 9/11/68.

\- P -

DETAILS:

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

62

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) utilizes a duplex located at 1417 Peabody Street as its residence headquarters. The utilities at this address were turned off due to non-payment of past bills in October, 1968 and most of the members have moved out and are now living with friends. (See appendix attached regarding SNCC.)

[redacted] October 10, 1968)

SNCC is using space at 3010 Meadow Street, Dallas, for most of their office and paper work.

[redacted] October 29, 1968)

LEADERSHIP

In August, 1968, the Dallas SNCC held an election at which time the following officers were selected:

Political Advisor - MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON
Executive Secretary - MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN II
Assistant Executive Secretary and Minister of Defense - FRED LOUIS BELL
Minister of Culture - MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD
Minister of Information - EDWARD HARRIS and MELVIN JOHNSON
Secretary - DIANNE MEREDITH

[redacted] October 4, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON were convicted of destruction of private property over $50 and sentenced to ten years imprisonment on August 23, 1968 in Dallas, Texas. JOHNSON was released on $10,000 appeal bond on October 5, 1968, and ERNEST MC MILLAN was released from custody on November 15, 1968, following payment of a $10,000 appeal bond on above charges and a $5,000 Federal bond on pending Federal charges relating to a violation of Selective Service laws.

[redacted] November 15, 1968)

MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

Members of SNCC include EDDIE HARRIS, younger brother of EDWARD HARRIS, a DON (Last Name Unknown) who lives in the vicinity of Southland Street, Dallas, and CHARLES BEASLEY, who is presently being held by Canadian Government Authorities for hijacking a commercial airliner.

[redacted] October 29, 1968)

DONALD R. WILLIAMS, 2618 Southland Street, Dallas, who indicated he was a representative of SNCC, attended the 3rd Annual Black Power Conference in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in August, 1968.

[redacted] August 21, 1968)

Members of Dallas SNCC organization include MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON who act as spokesmen for the group; MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD; EDWARD HARRIS; EDDIE HARRIS; and MELVIN JOHNSON. FRED LOUIS BELL and CHARLES BEASLEY, who were active in the group, are presently incarcerated.

[redacted] November 15, 1968)

On August 23, 1968, FRED LOUIS BELL was arrested by Special Agents of the Dallas Office of the FBI following the issuance of a complaint regarding his participation in the Farmers and Merchants State Bank robbery at Ladonia, Texas on August 19, 1968.

In the search of BELL's residence, incidental to his arrest, an 8" x 11" notebook entitled "SNCC" was obtained. This notebook contained a list of names and addresses of approximately 88 individuals. Also located in the above search was one Multilith sheet with the heading "Dallas SNCC" which contained 49 names of individuals and their addresses and/or telephone numbers.

The significance of these lists are not known.

The names contained in the notebook entitled "SNCC" are set out as follows:

FRED L. BELL
4611 Garland Avenue
TA 6-4099

MIKE DODD
1417 Peabody

DL 100-10996

EDWARD HARRIS
1417 Peabody

MELVIN JOHNSON
1417 Peabody

DIANA MEREDITH
1417 Peabody

November 15, 1968)

July 12, 1968)

B. APPROX. 1114

March 28, 1960)

Those names of individuals with addresses and/or telephone numbers contained on a Multilith sheet entitled "Dallas SNCC" is set out below:

FRED BELL
4611 Garland Ave.
TA 6-4099

MATT JOHNSON
428-9081
CA 5-1832

DL 100-10996

DIANA MEREDITH
~~1417~~ Peabody

MIKE DODD
1417 Peabody

MELVIN JOHNSON
1417 Peabody

EDWARD HARRIS
1417 Peabody

PUBLICATIONS

The Black Disciple, a three-page 8" x 11" Multilith paper was printed by Dallas SNCC during July and August of 1968. Four editions were known to have been circulated throughout the South Dallas area. The price of the paper was indicated as five cents.

B. APPROX.

Those who wrote for The Black Disciple were believed to be CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY under the pen name of "KAR'AN UMAR" and EDWARD HARRIS under the pseudonym of "BLACK ED". Articles in the paper requested Negro Dallas residents to support ERNEST MC MILLAN and the SNCC organization; urged Negro residents to be proud of their heritage and natural appearance; and was critical of Negro newspapers in the Dallas area due to their non-support of SNCC.

[redacted] November 15, 1968)

FUNDS

FRANK P. HERNANDEZ and V. W. PERINI are acting as defense attorneys for MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON.

[redacted] October 18, 1968)

Minn

(October 18, 1968)

PHILLIP KNOX BROWN was appointed temporary Chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (See appendix attached regarding SDS) on February 15, 1968 at an SDS meeting held at 4915 Swiss Avenue, Dallas, Texas.

(February 26, 1968)

PHILLIP K. BROWN was reported to have attended SDS meetings in Dallas, Texas during the period February 25, 1968 through May 2, 1968.

(May 9, 1968)

(June 10, 1968)

GRETCHEN MILNE is an active member of the DCPSV.

[redacted], February 2, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted]ay 15, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] July 12, 1968)

Robert Lyon Lichten

ROBERT LYON LICHTEN resides at 6338 Aberdeen, Dallas, Texas and is employed as Director of Advanced Engineering at Bell Helicopter Corporation, Hurst, Texas. *LICHTEN is the present Chairman* of the Dallas Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

[redacted], October 2, 1968)

[redacted]

DL 100-10996

, April 10, 1968)

Dr. HOLBROOKE S. SELTZER was Chairman of the DCPSV from September, 1966 to March, 1967 and was active in the committee until about April, 1968. He is employed as a doctor at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Dallas and resides at

April 10, 1968)

November 4, 1968)

(July 24, 1967)

Mrs. JULIA E. ZUBAY was an active member of the DCPSV in the first part of 1968.

(April 10, 1968)

JULIA ELIZABETH ZUBAY was a member of the Socialists Workers Party (SWP) of the Twin Cities Branch of the SWP (St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota) in 1959. In January, 1960, she sent a letter to the Twin Cities Branch of the SWP resigning her membership. The reason given by ZUBAY in her letter of resignation was that she wished to be dropped from membership as she was six months in arrears in her dues payments.

September 3, 1959;
February 1, 1960;
February 1, 1960)

MICHAEL R. CONLON was a member of the SDS Chapter at SMU, Dallas, in the fall semester of 1967.

[redacted] February 2, 1968)

[redacted] May 19, 1968)

[redacted] October 11, 1968)

The Perkins Institute Newsletter of SMU dated October 14, 1968 on Page 3 contained an article entitled "Johnson-McMillan Appeal Fund". The article reported that MATTHEW JOHNSON and ERNIE MC MILLAN, who worked for the SNCC and residents of Dallas, were arrested, indicted and convicted of a felony for destruction of property over $50 in value. They were then sentenced to ten years each in the State Penitentiary at Huntsville, Texas. The article emphasized that neither man had a previous criminal record before this incident. The article further stated that an appeal for a new trial was being made to the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals by attorneys FRANK P. HERNANDEZ and VINCENT W. PERINI.

Cost of the initial defense, including attorneys, court costs and expenses amounted to $9,850, which did not include bail money for the two men. In addition, $800 was estimated for the cost of transcripts for the first trial. Estimated amount of money needed was determined to be $10,650, exclusive of bond money. Of this amount, $3,327.09 has been raised to date which included $127.09 obtained from a group of Perkins students.

It was also noted that the National Council of Churches had pledged $3500 to be received within a week's time. This left a balance of $3,823 yet to be raised for the appeal.

The article explained that MC MILLAN and JOHNSON were both under $10,000 appeal bonds and that although JOHNSON's bond had been paid, MC MILLAN was still incarcerated. It was stated that $7,000 of MC MILLAN's $10,000 bond had been raised by the Dallas Civil Liberties Union.

The article requested contributions be directed to HAROLD DODD, 323 Perkins Dormitory, or that they be mailed directly to the Black Dallas Freedom and Defense Fund, Box 22063, Dallas, Texas 75202.

[redacted] October 25, 1968)

HAROLD DODD is a Theology student at Perkins Institute who is attempting to raise funds for the legal defense of ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON.

[redacted] October 25, 1968)

Dallas SNCC began circulating a letter in October, 1968 asking for contributions to help sustain the Dallas SNCC organization. There has been no indication of response from this letter.

A copy of this letter is set out as follows:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

DALLAS CHAPTER
3010 Meadow
Dallas, Texas 75215

Attention:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has dedicated itself to bringing justice and democracy to all oppressed people, here and abroad. SNCC works on a grass-root level. Its field workers help to organize Southern Negro communities for voter registration, jobs, homes, schools, etc. We in SNCC understand that there is a role that each and every one of us must play, whether it be economically, politically or socially. We also understand that everybody can't (for their own personal and individual reasons) shout BLACK POWER, but you too, can contribute, by supporting our efforts toward the liberation of black people. We are asking you to become one of thousands who support SNCC workers on a susbsistance wage of approximately $20.00 per week, which is not much but enough to keep us operating toward black business matters.

YOUR PLEDGE OF 3½ CENTS A DAY, OR $1.00 A MONTH, WILL HELP PROVIDE THE BARE NECESSITIES.

If you can make a larger pledge, please do. EVERY PENNY COUNTS. Won't you fill out the pledge form below and return it with your first contribution NOW.

I PLEDGE FOR JUSTICE
I wish to participate in the new program of grass-roots support for SNCC's work, I enclose $____________and pledge to give $__________, or I enclose $1.00______ and pledge to give $____________Monthly $____________ or quarterly $______________or yearly $_____________to help end racism, economic exploitation, and oppression and create a true democracy.

Name_________________________________

Address______________________________

City______________State______________

Please write in "yes" or "no" as whether you wish to be placed on our mailing list.

MAILING LIST________

Yours in the Struggle,

Ernest McMillan

(DL T-1, October 29, 1968)

ACTIVITIES

When MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON joined the SNCC organization in Dallas, Texas in the summer of 1968, he pushed for greater militancy against the whites. He had the group adopt what has been termed the "hot seat". This is a procedure in which an individual is seated in a chair in the middle of a darkened room. A record of a monologue of LEROI JONES preaching white hatred is played in the background, followed by a second record of African drums. With the playing of the second record, a flashlight beam is focused on various pictures on the wall in the room showing Negroes being burned alive, lynched, or tortured in some manner by leering white men. The person in the "hot seat" is then questioned by SNCC members regarding his thoughts about these pictures and his feelings about white people. This brain-washing continues usually for a period of three hours. A person is then indoctrinated into the group or leaves and does not return.

During discussions to take over white-owned businesses, MATTHEW JOHNSON has advocated that in order to take over white firms in a Negro area, you should -

1) Write a letter to the particular owner asking him to sell his business; if not met with response,

2) Blow up a building near the store to whom the letter was written;

3) Write a second letter stating the store was missed on purpose but if his business is not sold, his building will not be missed the next time.

JOHNSON has stated that if you put enough fear into white store owners, they will practically give their businesses to SNCC.

[redacted] October 4, 1968)

The Black Citizens Committee for Justice, Law, and Order held an open meeting at the Warren Methodist Church, 3028 South Oakland Avenue, Dallas, on September 8, 1968 with approximately 130 people in attendance. The meeting was called to order at 5:30 PM by Mr. EDWARD T. WASHINGTON, Field Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Mr. WASHINGTON explained the background of the Black Citizens Committee for Justice, Law, and Order and indicated the open meeting was to initiate a defense fund to protect those who were unjustly prosecuted. As Mr. WASHINGTON spoke, Mrs. M. E. MC MILLAN, MICHAEL DODD, Spokesman for SNCC, and DON JOHNSON, Chairman of the Black Citizens Committee for Justice, Law, and Order, entered the auditorium and sat down at the table facing the audience.

Mr. WASHINGTON introduced Reverend J. F. BABCOCK, a white male in his late 50's, bald headed with mustache and goatee, in dress similar to that of a Presbyterian minister, who gave the invocation for the meeting.

Following the invocation, DON JOHNSON told the audience that the defense fund was not for the sole purpose of aiding the two men being unjustly held but that it was a defense fund as named due to the fact that currently there is a need to fight those doing the prosecuting in the city.

Mr. JOHNSON introduced Mrs. M. E. MC MILLAN, who expressed her appreciation for whatever assistance the organization might offer to assist her son in gaining his freedom.

JOHNSON then introduced Mr. FELTON ALEXANDER, Director of the Dallas Urban League. ALEXANDER expressed his regrets that Doctor EMMETT CONRAD, member of the Dallas Independent School District Board of Directors, and Mr. ZAN HOLMES, State Representative, were unable to attend the meeting. ALEXANDER then explained the importance of the defense fund and urged all to contribute as much as possible. ALEXANDER then introduced the guest speaker as Mr. OSSIE DAVIS who he described as an actor, playright, and leader.

OSSIE DAVIS addressed the audience saying he currently livesin New Rochelle, New York, and he was born in Waycross, Virginia. He stated he has two daughters, one eighteen and the other eleven years of age, and statistics show that for every black male that entered college, there are two black females and for every white female that enters college there are two white males. DAVIS said he was concerned about this due to the fact that he has two daughters that eventually will get married and he wants both to marry college men. DAVIS commented that there is already a shortage of eligible males and that when men of his race are unjustly held, then it becomes his problem. He stated that when young black manhood is threatened, he must stand up to help those unjustly held. He said he was aware that the two men involved took an action they thought relative to the improvement of the black community and that he was not at this meeting to do these two men any favors, but to dothe black community a favor, to share with black people his concern with black problems.

He called upon the black people to stand up and take charge of their own affairs within their community. It had been said in history many a time that he who must be free must strike the first blow. He said he knew it was difficult for the older black people to aid and direct the young black people of today who want their freedom now.

DAVIS said he heard of a new city ordinance number 12228 regarding the black man and he was aware that no black people were represented when the ordinance was drawn up. He was aware of an open petition being circulated to have the ordinance appealed and he called upon those in the audience to sign this petition for him as he was not a citizen of the community and could not sign it.

DAVIS cited an example of the ancient tribes of Africa having a universal means of communication in the drum and that when the white man imported the slaves from Africa, one smart thing the slave traders did was take the drums away from the slaves. He said he felt if the drum were used by the black people today, there would be standing room only in the auditorium.

A black man could stand to be choked no longer, DAVIS commented. He must be given the opportunity to go about his business freely. When a person is choked continually, he becomes angry and mean. DAVIS concluded his remarks by comparing the Black Revolution to the great Irish Rebellion in New York City.

CHARLES CHILDS, Coordinator for the Dallas Urban League, spoke of the black people sticking their necks out and then being harrassed by the authorities. He said that most of these people are going to be prosecuted and the purpose of the defense fund would be to bail those fighting out of jail for fighting for the black cause. CHILDS stated that those who wished to send money to the fund should send it to the Dallas Urban League or to DON JOHNSON in care of the Community Welcome House, 1111 South Haskell.

MICHAEL DODD, Spokesman for SNCC, then arose and introduced members of his organization by asking them to rise andgive the salute of the organization. DODD described the salute as the right hand raised with the fist facing outward. The fist denotes the black people united into one large hand for the purpose of removing their shackles.

DON JOHNSON then announced that a total of $279.99 was raised for the defense fund. JOHNSON stated that these funds would be kept by himself, MICHAEL DODD, and FELTON ALEXANDER and that they would be turned over to the committee's permanent treasurer, Mr. ZAN HOLMES.

JOHNSON then called upon the Reverend DARIUS THOMAS to give thanks for the financial assistance shown by those in the audience and Reverend J. D. WORRING, Pastor of the Warren Methodist Church, was asked to give the benediction. The meeting was adjourned.

[redacted] September 9, 1968)

[redacted]

advised that OSSIE DAVIS was known to [redacted] as a Negro movie actor, currently involved in making a film called "The Slave". [redacted] related that DAVIS had been active in working as a

fund raiser for the local NAACP group in Shreveport and had been a featured speaker at several gatherings of Negroes but at no time advocated any violence in his speeches. In his talks, DAVIS primarily emphasized Negro history, outstanding achievements of various famous Negroes and their contributions to the country.

According to [redacted] DAVIS was rumored to be a member of a Zulu organization which was described as a Mau Mau terrorist group in California that stockpiles guns, ammunition, and explosives for racial terrorists. [redacted] also stated that it was rumored that DAVIS had been associated in some way with the W.E.B. DuBois Club. (See appendix attached regarding W.E.B. DuBois Club.)

[redacted] September 9, 1968)

A demonstration was held at the flagpole at SMU campus, Dallas, Texas, from 12:30 PM to 1:20 PM on October 25, 1968, with approximately 20 individuals participating. The purpose of the demonstration was to show support for ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON and was sponsored by the students of the Perkins Institute of Theology of that university. MATTHEW JOHNSON was present at the demonstration and said a few words to the demonstrators, however, his comments were not available. No incidents or arrests resulted from this demonstration.

[redacted] October 25, 1968)

Members of the SDS in Dallas, Texas are actively participating in obtaining funds to pay for the legal fees involved in making an appeal to the Dallas Appellate Court regarding the recent sentencing of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, Dallas SNCC leaders, to ten-year sentences each for destruction of property in Dallas, Texas, in July, 1968. MATTHEW JOHNSON and MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD have been observed at the SMU campus in Dallas since JOHNSON was released on bail on October 5, 1968, attempting to raise funds for this appeal. [redacted] October 18, 1968)

DL 100-10996

CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

On August 19, 1968, [redacted] Paris, Texas Police Department, advised the Resident Agency of the FBI at Paris, Texas, that the Farmers and Merchants State Bank at Ladonia, Texas, had been robbed that day. Subsequent investigation by Special Agents of the FBI, officers of the Paris, Texas Police Department, and Texas Rangers, determined the following information:

At approximately 11:20 AM, on August 19, 1968, two armed Negro bandits entered the Farmers and Merchants State Bank in Ladonia, Texas and escaped with $13,111.76, which included $550 in bait money, after striking the Executive Vice President of the bank in the head with a pistol. The bandits fled the scene in a blue 1963 Plymouth, Texas license LVK 124, registered to CLYDE STUART and PATRICK STUART, both residing in Dallas, Texas. This vehicle was found abandoned approximately two miles from the bank and the bandits were believed to have made their final getaway in a red Mercury convertible driven by a third Negro.

[redacted] Farmers and Merchants State Bank, on August 19, 1968, identified a photograph of CLAY STUART, JR., Bonham, Texas Sheriff's Office No. 318, as being familiar to that of one of the bank robbers.

On August 19, 1968, a complaint was filed by Fannin County, Texas authorities, charging CLAY STUART, JR. with robbery by assault with a firearm in connection with the Farmers and Merchants State Bank robbery at Ladonia, Texas. STUART was arrested by Texas State authorities on August 20, 1968, at Paris, Texas.

CLAY STUART, JR., Negro male, born July 16, 1943, was identified as having attended a SNCC press conference at Mt. Olive Lutheran Church, on August 13, 1968, which was called by that organization to protest a recently passed Dallas City Ordinance giving the Mayor certain additional powers in time of civil disorders. STUART, on June 22, 1964, took part in a CORE demonstration to integrate the Picadilly Cafeteria in Dallas, Texas, and was arrested by the Dallas, Texas Police Department that day for blocking a public entrance. STUART was also identified as having attended the National Convention of CORE from December 11-13, 1964.

August 23, 1968)

[redacted], October 10, 1968)

On August 22, 1968, [redacted] Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, identified a photograph of CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY, FBI No. 135133F, as one of the individuals who entered the bank and committed the robbery on August 19, 1968. A photograph of FRED LOUIS BELL, FBI No. 801444D, was identified by [redacted], August 21, 1968, as being the person standing next to a red Mercury about 5/10 of a mile on the same road from where the 1963 Plymouth which was used as the getaway car in the above robbery was found abandoned.

On August 22, 1968, authorized complaints were filed by a Special Agent of the FBI before U.S. Commissioner JOE D. HUFFSTUTLER, Tyler, Texas, charging CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY and FRED LOUIS BELL with the violation of Title 18, Section 2113 (a)(d), U.S. Code, and recommending $20,000 bond each due to their identity by witnesses of their involvement in the robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, on August 19, 1968.

On August 23, 1968, FRED LOUIS BELL was arrested at his residence, 4611 Garland Avenue, Dallas, Texas, by Special Agents of the FBI. He was immediately arraigned before U.S. Commissioner SAM H. DAUGHERTY, Northern District of Texas, Dallas.

On November 1, 1968, FRED LOUIS BELL pled guilty to Federal charges of his involvement in the robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, on August 19, 1968. He is scheduled to be sentenced in the United States District Court, Eastern District of Texas, on December 9, 1968.

(Assistant U.S. Attorney WHITE,
Eastern District of Texas,
November 4, 1968)

The Dallas Times Herald, a daily Dallas, Texas newspaper, in its September 13, 1968 edition published an article headlined "Airliner Hijacking Try Brings Multiple Charges". This article stated in part as follows:

> "A Dallas Negro Friday faced criminal charges in Montreal stemming from his attempt to hijack a Canadian airliner and force its pilot to fly him to Cuba.
>
> "Charles Lavern Beasley, 22, already was under Federal charges in Dallas for the Aug. 19 holdup of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank of Ladonia...
>
> "Beasley was arraigned Thursday (September 12, 1968) in Montreal on two charges of assault and one charge of kidnaping, interfering with transportation facilities, obstructing the use of property, robbery, forcible confinement and possession of an offensive weapon.
>
> "The Associated Press said no request was made for bail and Beasley was jailed to await a Sept. 20 preliminary hearing on the charges...."

September 12, 1968)

On August 10, 1968, three unknown Negro males burglarized the Billy Thompson Television and Radio Shop in Wolfe City, Texas, at 4:10 AM. During the burglary, Patrolman was relieved of his double barrel Stevens 18 inch shotgun, a .38 caliber Colt Commando and other personal property. The burglars then took three television sets and five radios from the above-described store. After placing the merchandise in their car, the burglars instructed to run down the street and they left in the automobile.

September 16, 1968)

APPENDIX

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1

W. E. B. DuBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner continues in his position as Chairman of the DCA.

This fourth source also advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Dallas, Texas
November 27, 1968

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated November 27, 1968, at Dallas, Texas.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication, have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to determine reliability, but who has close association with Dallas SNCC members.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
DALLAS	ATLANTA	11/6/69	7/15 - 11/4/69	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		pd
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM - SNCC		

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] dated 7/22/69, Dallas.

- RUC -

LEAD

HOUSTON, NEW YORK AND SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION

Information copies are being furnished to Houston and San Antonio Offices due to inter-related investigation of SNCC. Information copy is furnished New York as the temporary headquarters of SNCC is located in that Division [redacted]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED [X] NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [X] NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [X] NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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2 - 112th MIG, Dallas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Houston (100-10390(Info) (RM)
1 - New York (100-147963) (Info) (RM)
1 - San Antonio (157-269) (Info) (RM)
1 - Dallas (100-10996)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

-12-112

ST-105

NOV 12 1969

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU ACSI, SEC SER, OSI, IRS (Att: Paul Wright)
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 11/24/69
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: ris
By	BY: pen/dkt

RACIAL INT. SECT.

A
COVER PAGE

DL 100-10996

INFORMANTS

Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	Instant LHM, page 1
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant LHM, page 2 received by SA [redacted]

This report is classified confidential due to information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] informants of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in their identification which in turn could effect national security.

As the SNCC organization is no longer active in the Dallas Division, this matter is being placed in a closed status.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2 - 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans, Louisiana (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 11/6/69

Field Office File #: 100-10996 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: Informants advise Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is no longer active in the Dallas, Texas area. Organization members have left Dallas, joined Black Panther Party (BPP) starting in Dallas, or are no longer active in militant activities. [redacted]

- RUC -

DETAILS:

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Dallas, Texas, has not been active since August, 1969. (See appendix attached regarding SNCC.)

[redacted] November 4, 1969)

The SNCC group in Dallas has been discontinued. MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, former leader of the organization, and DONALD RAY WILLIAMS left Dallas in July, 1969, and have not returned. MICKEY WASHINGTON McGUIRE is presently working

Texas Mickey McGuire D.C.

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

Charles Henderson

with the National Association of Black Students in Washington, D.C. CURTIS GAINES, EDDIE HARRIS and CHARLES PAUL HENDERSON have recently become active in a group calling themselves the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Dallas, which is led by MICHAEL MORRIS who recently returned from Portland, Oregon. MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, MICHAEL DODD and JOHN HENRY WOODS have advised their former SNCC associates that they do not wish to be involved in any militant activity in Dallas at the present time. (See appendix attached regarding BPP.)

TEXAS

TEXAS

TEXAS.

The SNCC office on Second Avenue has been closed for several months. The Black Disciple, the Dallas SNCC newsletter, has not been published since March, 1969. Post Office Box 22063 used by SNCC is still open and is being used by MATTHEW JOHNSON and MICHAEL DODD for ther personal mail.

[redacted] October 22, 1969)

There has been no organized activity on the part of members of SNCC in Dallas since sometime in August, 1969.

[redacted] September 25, 1969)

[redacted] November 4, 1969)

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

[redacted] July 18, 1969)

EDDIE HARRIS, CHARLES HENDERSON and MICKEY McGUIRE traveled to Fort Worth, Texas, on July 19, 1969, and visited with Dr. MARION BROOKS,

July 20, 1969)

On August 1, 1969, MICKEY McGUIRE spoke to a group of students at Texas Christian University (TCU). The talk was sponsored by ministers of a Christian Church associated with TCU. McGUIRE advised in addition that a racial organization in Fort Worth had indicated they wished to hire him to handle grievances and other matters pertaining to racial problems in the Fort Worth area.

TEXAS , August 4, 1969)

August 8, 1969)

WHITNEY YOUNG, national director of the Urban League, visited Dallas on August 12, 1969. He indicated that he would meet with a representative group of SNCC members at his room in the Fairmont Hotel on that evening.

, August 12, 1969)

APPENDIX

1

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
formerly known as Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a membership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Ciahrman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as a temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of the SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, also known as Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes it self as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writing of Chairman Mao Tes-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Dallas, Texas
November 6, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTER - SNCC
Reference	Dallas report of SA [redacted] dated November 6, 1969

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI File: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
PDF 2 of 2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 8 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 11 & 12

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 11 of 19 sections

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
HOUSTON	ATLANTA	11/30/67	9/6 - 11/20/67

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: ASJM

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] 6/12/67, Atlanta.
Houston airtel to Bureau, 10/12/67.
Bulet to Houston, 10/24/67.

- P* -

LEAD:

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC and/or any activities of SNCC wherein its personnel is involved in the planning of or engaging in violence.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from [redacted] [redacted], and [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result in the identification of the confidential

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

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Houston (100-10390)

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100-439190-19-52X9

16 DEC 6 1967

REC- 1

Notations

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI, NSC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: [illegible]
HOW FORW:
DATE FORW: 12/19/67

6 DEC 20 1967

sources and informants, who are of continuing value, and compromise their future effectiveness.

Seven extra copies of this report have been prepared in the event the Bureau desires local dissemination thereof be made to MIG, NISO, OSI and Secret Service.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location of Information
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-10390-204, 205, 311, 312, 417, 418, 430, 431
	100-10660-7 Documentation of Vietnam Summer (VS)
	[redacted] Documentation of RAMOND ELLINGTON and CLARA ELLINGTON
[redacted]	100-10390-322, 323, 379, 380, 396, 397, and orally to SA [redacted] [redacted] instant report
[redacted]	100-10390-281, 322,328
[redacted]	100-10390-160
[redacted]	100-10390-395 and orally to SA [redacted] instant report
[redacted]	100-10390-22, 23, 24, 46
[redacted]	[redacted] 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18

HO 100-10390

[redacted] 100-10390-175 and at [redacted] 100-10390-176 and at [redacted]

[redacted] 100-10390-121

[redacted] Characterization of FRED BRODE, 100-6898-178

[redacted] Documentation of HELENE HAINLINE, 105-10658-14

[redacted] Documentation of DOUGLAS and HELENE HAINLINE, 100-10112-36

[redacted] 100-10390-229

Further documentation of DOUGLAS HAINLINE attributed in instant report to STANLEY LEVY and LOWELL GEORGE may be found in Houston file 100-10112-36.

C*
COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Houston, Texas
Date: November 30, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-10390
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: There is one chapter of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Houston, Texas. It was founded in late 1966 on the campus of Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. It moved off TSU campus in late 5/67, is now commonly referred to as Houston SNCC, and has its headquarters at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, which address is also headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at Houston, Texas. Houston SNCC holds no regularly scheduled meetings. Background information concerning the founding of the organization and identity of principal officers thereof, set forth. Various Houston SNCC personnel have on numerous occasions been present at meetings and/or demonstrations of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) and of Vietnam Summer (VS) and have been in association with various individuals associated with those organizations. At a Spartacist meeting held in February, 1967, it was the thinking of some people present that efforts should be made to seek participation of SNCC in HCEWV demonstrations. One alleged Spartacist spoke at a SNCC rally in August, 1967. Sources know of no known members of Communist Party (CP) who have joined, directed, or controlled Houston SNCC.

\- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL

DETAILS:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent, if any, of the Communist Party's infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and/or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interests in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

[redacted] 10/6/67

The Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) presently has its headquarters at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas, which location is also the headquarters for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Houston, Texas. SNCC's headquarters has been situated at that location since around the first part of August, 1967, when it moved from 2423 Riverside Drive, Houston, Texas.

[redacted] 9/20/67

SNCC was first founded at Houston, Texas, in late 1966 on the campus of Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. While at TSU, SNCC held weekly meetings at the Religious Center on TSU campus. In May, 1967, following the riot at TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967, and the subsequent expulsion from TSU of approximately 52 students, SNCC left the TSU campus. The organization is now known as Houston SNCC.

For a while thereafter, Houston SNCC had no established headquarters, and then for a brief time it was headquartered at 2423 Riverside Drive, Houston, Texas. Around the first of August, 1967, Houston SNCC moved its headquarters from that address to its present location at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas, which address is also the headquarters for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at Houston, Texas. Moreover, it is the offices of Jensen Bail Bond Service. SNCC pays no rent for the use of this location.

III. CHARACTER, PURPOSES AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. Affiliation with the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia

[redacted] 3/8/67

About one and a half weeks ago, the TSU chapter of SNCC submitted to the Office of the National Headquarters of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, an application to become a chartered chapter of National SNCC. As of March 8, 1967, the charter has not been granted.

[redacted] 9/20 and 11/20/67

The National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), with headquarters located at Atlanta, Georgia, has one chapter at Houston, Texas. It is presently known as the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and is more commonly referred to as Houston SNCC.

[redacted] 9/20/67
7/25/67

JAMES FORMAN, then National SNCC Official, came to Houston, Texas, in October, 1966, and spoke on the campus at TSU. It was not until shortly after his appearance that a chapter of SNCC was founded at Houston. That chapter was formed on the TSU campus and was known variously as "SNCC" and "Friends of SNCC". It became chartered by the National Office of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, about the middle part of April, 1967. The organization left the TSU campus in late May, 1967 and since then has been known as Houston SNCC.

B. Purposes and Aims of Houston SNCC

[redacted] 3/8/67

In the fall, 1966, JAMES FORMAN of the National Office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Georgia, appeared as a speaker on the campus of TSU, Houston, Texas.

F. D. Kirkpatrick

Shortly after FORMAN's appearance at TSU, FREDERICK DOUGLAS KIRKPATRICK, who reportedly had known FORMAN for about two years as a personal friend and who was also reportedly a personal friend of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's, at that time National Director, SNCC, Atlanta, assisted in founding and organizing a chapter of SNCC on the TSU campus. As of March, 1967, the chapter was officially known as the Friends of SNCC and was governed and directed by a so-called "Steering Committee" comprised of the two co-founders of the TSU chapter of SNCC, i.e., KIRKPATRICK and MILLARD LOWE, a student at TSU.

KIRKPATRICK has said that he organized SNCC at Houston, Texas, as a means of organizing the Negro element in Houston into a central group whereby they can, by collective, but nonviolent means, engender in the hearts and minds of the Negro a pride for their race and an appreciation for their history and heritage as Black Men; and, additionally to improve their social and economic status in society. KIRKPATRICK has further stated that he considers most Negroes are ashamed that they are Negroes and have never developed a sense of self-reliance. KIRKPATRICK reportedly hopes, through SNCC, to "resurrect the minds of the Negroes" and to teach them to become self-reliant, productive members of society; and, to unify the black man in such a manner as to cause him to move into the "mainstream of life".

KIRKPATRICK goes by the title of "Reverend" although he is not an ordained minister. He reportedly considers himself an evangelistic Baptist minister, and, as such, a peaceful, non-violent man who is opposed to all forms of violence.

KIRKPATRICK recently stated that as a conscientious believer in the principles and teachings of JESUS CHRIST, and as a Baptist evangelistic minister, he could never advocate, promote, participate, encourage, or believe in violence of any kind. He also said, at the same time, that as long as he had anything to do with directing the activities of the TSU chapter of SNCC, it would never engage in any violence, in any manner or fashion; and such would be the case even should the National Headquarters of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, engage in a program of violence and instruct the TSU chapter to follow a similar course of action.

[redacted] 7/25/67

The fundamental purpose of Houston SNCC is effectively to promote the social, economic, and educational status of all oppressed people in the Houston, Texas area, notwithstanding their race, color, or creed, through peaceful, non-violent methods.

. Membership

[redacted] 3/8/67

The TSU chapter of SNCC holds meetings every Monday and Thursday at 4:00 PM in the Religious Center Building located on the TSU campus. It is a loose-knit organization consisting of no regularly established membership. Meetings

are open to the public and sometimes only four or five people will attend, while on other occasions there may be anywhere from 25 to 40 people in attendance. Many attend only once and never return.

There is no such thing as formal membership in the chapter; no one pays dues, there are no membership cards, and no membership list is maintained.

[redacted] 9/20/67

Houston SNCC holds no regularly scheduled meetings. Officers call meetings from time to time, on a non-scheduled basis, whenever a particular need is felt to call a meeting. During the past six weeks, Houston SNCC has been relatively inactive.

[redacted] 9/27/67

Houston SNCC is a loose-knit organization and there are no formalities necessary for membership, there are no application forms to fill out, no membership cards issued, no dues regularly assessed, no initiation fee, and no initiation ceremonies.

[redacted] (10/3/67) (11/9/67)

Houston SNCC is a loose-knit organization that has no formalized membership to the best of source's knowledge. Persons who attend meetings, demonstrations, and activities of SNCC frequently think of one another as being a "member" of SNCC.

[redacted] 10/6/67

Houston SNCC is a loose-knit organization with no known membership list being maintained to the best of source's knowledge. The organization holds no regularly scheduled meetings.

IV. ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE FOUNDING OF, AND EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE, A CHAPTER OF SNCC ON THE CAMPUS OF TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY (TSU), HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. General Information

[redacted], 11/18/66

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

got its first start in Houston, Texas, on October 6, 1966, in the Religion Center at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, under the auspices of Reverend EARL ALLEN, Methodist Minister at the university. That meeting was called at the end of a three-day speaking engagement on campus by JAMES FORMAN, Manager of the National Office of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. The United Ministers were the sponsors of FORMAN's appearance during their Mono-Dialogue Series, which is an annual event for the ministers. FORMAN indicated that his primary purpose for coming to Houston was to try to recruit members to organize a SNCC chapter for the Houston area. Students who listened to him were asked to give their names and addresses so that they may receive literature from SNCC. As of November 18, 1966, no students have been known to receive any literature and membership at TSU is about twelve. There is no SNCC organization elsewhere in Houston.

The first meeting drew about 45 persons. MILLARD LOWE, a TSU student, who lived at 2615 Calumet, Houston, Texas, declared himself head of the SNCC group. From the beginning, SNCC lacked a positive program that really interested the students. Their only activity has been soap-box speeches in the coffee shop at TSU with a good reception at first by the students. However, their reception has more recently mitigated to a mild boredom and indifference. On November 8, 1966, SNCC made a "pitch" for money in the coffee shop and got none. SNCC is no longer able to use the coffee shop because students complained that they could not eat in peace.

Recently three members returned from a SNCC conference in Atlanta, Georgia. MILLARD LOWE and JOHN MORRIS, another TSU student, who went to Atlanta, indicated that they are changing their strategy to win more student support. They will try to exploit any and all situations that offer them the opportunity of getting students involved in any protests against the administration at TSU or any other legal group. Their hope is that, once the students are aroused, they will be receptive toward demonstrations downtown and in the slums. Their main hold-back is a lack of an issue. But they are looking for one.

At their meeting on November 17, 1967, MILLARD LOWE presented their first formal program. They would:

1. Try to get "black power" speakers to come to the campus.

2. Encourage blacks to keep money from whites. Blacks should buy and sell only to blacks.

3. Establish a firm SNCC headquarters in Houston.

No details were given as to how they would go about achieving their goals. LOWE is too rational to inspire a following as FORMAN did when in Houston. LOWE is not a "driver".

[redacted] 11/14/66

Following JAMES FORMAN's speech at TSU, Houston, Texas, in early October, 1966, a recruiting drive was undertaken for SNCC members. MILLARD LOWE, TSU student, headed that drive. He had allegedly worked for SNCC in Arkansas in the summer of 1965. Approximately 45 persons, all TSU students, were recruited in the early stages and then "typical TSU apathy" set in and interest in SNCC faded. SNCC presently has about 12 members at Houston, all of whom are TSU students. They are doing little or nothing.

This group is, however, holding weekly meetings. Most of those involved take an intellectual view and no violent attitudes are known to exist.

[redacted] 12/16/66

[redacted] 11/16/66 - 3/14/67

From at least as early as November 14, 1966 up to and including March 9, 1967, the TSU chapter of SNCC held meetings at the Religious Center, TSU, Houston, Texas. These meetings were usually held weekly and sometimes twice a week.

B. Efforts and Activities of SNCC to Become Recognized as an On-Campus Organization at TSU, Houston, Texas

[redacted] 2/28/67

At a meeting of SNCC held on February 23, 1967, at the Religious Center, TSU, Houston, Texas, it was announced that a constitution had been drafted for that organization, that F.D. KIRKPATRICK was in charge of the project and that KIRKPATRICK was scheduled to meet soon with J.B. JONES, Dean of Students, TSU, to discuss the constitution.

HO 100-10390

[redacted] 3/8/67

According to F.D. KIRKPATRICK, the TSU Chapter of SNCC, is the only one presently in existence at Houston, Texas. Pursuant to the constitution of the TSU chapter of SNCC, its official title is "The Friends of The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee". The chapter has not been approved officially as an on-campus organization by the administration of TSU.However, a copy of its constitution has been submitted to Dr. J.B. JONES, Dean of Men, TSU, for faculty approval. JONES presently has the matter under advisement.

The following article appeared in the March 21, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas:

SNCC Unit Told to Meet Off Campus

The Friends of the Student's Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) affiliate at Texas Southern University has been told to hold its meetings off campus.

And Mack Jones, their faculty adviser, was notified his contract as an instructor in the government department at TSU will not be renewed.

The group had been meeting for the past six months at the Religion Center building at the primarily Negro university.

It was told Monday by the Rev. Walter D. Salisbury, Catholic chaplain, that the Religion Center Building would no longer be available to it.

Dr. James B. Jones, TSU dean of students, said SNCC's presence was not desirable to the overall good of the university.

"The results could be far-reaching," he said, "when certain irresponsible conduct by members or so-called members" occurs.

The group's on-campus presence, he said, "was inviting to the campus an atmosphere" of possible unrest.

Dean Jones said, "We are not interested in curbing the freedom of any student." He said his decision (that the group not meet on the campus) did not mean students would be forbidden to attend SNCC meetings off campus.

The following article appeared in the March 23, 1967 [illegible] of The Houston Post, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas:

[illegible headline]

[illegible byline]

[illegible] Texas [illegible] SNCC [illegible]

[illegible] ognize the Friends of SNCC as [illegible] organization.

[illegible] organization which [illegible] meeting for [illegible] in the TSU [illegible] Center [illegible] it could no longer [illegible] there. Jones [illegible] by letter [illegible] his contract would not be renewed for next year.

[illegible] tion at which the boycott of classes was announced pending administrative response was held on the steps of the TSU [illegible] and featured [illegible] song and testimonies. It was led by the Rev [illegible] and Millard Lowe, co-chairmen for the Friends of SNCC.

John Morris read a copy of a letter from Jones to H. A. [illegible], chairman of the division of social sciences.

THE LETTER said in part: "We take my firing [illegible] trophy to hang alongside our jail records which resulted from our dedication to the struggle for the emancipation of the Negro — body and soul."

Jones said earlier in the week he was told his contract was not renewed because of an over-concentration in the area of international relations in the field of government. He said he thought he was fired because of his relationship with SNCC.

Petitions asking for a [illegible] consideration of the Friends of SNCC grievances were circulated.

PIERCE WAS out, so the protestors staged a [illegible] outside his door "to wait him out and prevent other students who had not heard of the boycott from attending class." While they waited, they [illegible] and talked about "ending their oppression."

When Pierce returned to his office, Lowe and Morris presented him with the petitions. They reported later he urged that the class boycott be discontinued, but it was not.

They said he also agreed to meet with three Friends of SNCC representatives and three student government representatives at 2 PM Thursday to review the grievances.

PIERCE LATER told The Post he had agreed to meet with "the students Thursday." Asked what students, he replied "the students."

He answered "no comment" to questions about [illegible] day's demonstration [illegible] and boycott.

HO 100-10390

[redacted] 3/26/67

A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) is set forth in the appendix hereto.

The following article appeared in the March 24, 1967 issue of The Houston Post, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas:

Boycott Is Threatened At TSU

Students threatened to boycott Texas Southern University Thursday after a meeting between representatives of the administration of the [illegible] and members of the Friends of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.

"We're going to close it down," the Rev F. D. Kirkpatrick, co-chairman of the organization, said. "I don't believe that the jails can hold 4,000 people."

Asked if he meant by violence, Kirkpatrick answered:

"We are basically a non-violent people. We have always been non-violent, except in defense."

The meeting took place after students announced they would boycott classes. They were concerned over the firing of Mack Jones, a teacher and SNCC faculty sponsor, and the organization's banishment from the campus.

Kirkpatrick said there will be a meeting Monday night to decide what steps his group will take.

The following article appeared in the March 28, 1967, issue of The Houston Post:

SNCC Unit Says TSU 'On Strike'

Members of the Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee said they would strike against Texas Southern University Tuesday and would cause the school to suspend classes.

The organization held a rally on the TSU campus Monday night. It was attended by about 50 persons.

"This school is on strike," a leaflet passed out said. "Anyone who attends class during the strike is a strike-breaker."

Booker T. Bonner, Texas civil rights leader, spoke at the rally. It was attended by Franklin Alexander, national director of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, a socialist youth organization.

The following article appeared in the March 28, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

Students Block Doors at TSU

[illegible] thousands of students and [illegible] took part in a [illegible] Hanna Hall, the [illegible] building [illegible] doors [illegible] students.

[illegible] academic [illegible] by the [illegible] Dr. Henry [illegible] Hanna [illegible] of students [illegible].

Dr. [illegible] "[illegible] has given it to you, it is the end."

Breaks into Tears

The veteran teacher broke into tears, and several young [illegible] broke into tears also.

[illegible] Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick said [illegible] demand is that Friends of SNCC be recognized by the university as an on-campus organization.

SNCC [illegible] buildings [illegible] students [illegible] in class [illegible] they [illegible] locked in. By [illegible] almost all classes had been interrupted. Many students returned [illegible] after the [illegible] were removed. The school has about 4000 students.

[illegible] called for a student strike this morning. By 8 a.m. about a score of students had assembled. The number grew during the morning until about 400 were listening to speeches.

Letter Burned

The action to bar the doors came after Dean Jones handed a letter to Kirkpatrick, in which Jones said he regretfully was unable to grant approval to Friends of SNCC as an on-campus group.

Kirkpatrick read the letter to an estimated 400 students and sympathizers, then burned the letter as the crowd chanted "close it down, close it down."

Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick asked how many would join in a move to bar the doors. About 150 responded. They got lumber from a building project across the street. Long timbers were placed across the doors.

Groups of students stood in front of the doors to prevent removal of the bars. Other students attempting to enter the buildings were told that they would have to fight to get in.

[illegible] were removed later after university officials protested they were a fire hazard. The lumber was stacked near the doors, and students participating in the SNCC movement stood in front of the doors to prevent others from entering.

Meeting Wanted

Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick said the attempt to close the school would continue until a meeting is held with school officials.

Dean Jones had said earlier he intended to give the group a letter in which he would outline the school's rules for on-campus groups and tell the Friends of SNCC that if their group met the rules they could meet on campus.

The dean said Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick had promised to tell him exactly what the group wanted.

"He failed to do this so I regret that I am unable to approve Friends of SNCC at this time," Jones said.

He added that Friends of SNCC must show an established relationship with the chartered SNCC in Atlanta. He said a letter from the Atlanta office acknowledging a definite relation with the Houston group must be provided.

Sponsor Discharged

The student strike was called also to protest discharge of Mack Jones, faculty sponsor of Friends of SNCC, who was notified recently that [illegible] would not be renewed. However, speakers during the protest did not dwell on this point.

Speakers during [illegible] in front of the [illegible] building included Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick; Franklin [illegible] representative of the [illegible] DuBois Clubs; Booker T. [illegible], an Austin civil rights [illegible], and Lee [illegible] TSU student suspended [illegible] week for standing on a table in the cafeteria while he made a speech.

[illegible] led the group [illegible] students to leave or be locked in.

Lee C. Johnson

The following article appeared in the March 29, 1967 issue of The Houston Post:

[illegible] Demonstrat[illegible] [illegible] Classes

[illegible]

[illegible] University [illegible] a demonstration [illegible]

[illegible] from the dean of [illegible] Jones, [illegible] to close [illegible] barricades [illegible] numbers, [illegible] was blocked at one [illegible]

[illegible] about 15 people [illegible] to more than [illegible] go on it.

[illegible] of SNCC [illegible] class organi- [illegible] faculty advi- [illegible]

[illegible] Kirkpatrick [illegible] of the Friends [illegible] would [illegible] boycott of classes [illegible] of protesters [illegible] by saying that [illegible] had increased late [illegible] the group would [illegible] campus.

[illegible] had [illegible] make a statement [illegible]

Kirkpatrick led his small group [illegible] in freedom [illegible] group began to swell [illegible] students who had [illegible] to go to class came back to sit on the auditorium steps and join the singing.

Booker T. Bonner of Austin, a representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, talked to the students about "their oppression." He said the administration at TSU is "trying to be white."

At 10:30 there was no appearance by Dean Jones, and Kirkpatrick went into conference with Franklin Alexander of Chicago, national chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, a socialist group.

IT WAS decided that Kirkpatrick would go into Hannah Hall, the administration building, and inform Jones the crowd, which had grown to about 450 was waiting for his statement.

Inside a secretary handed Kirkpatrick a letter signed by Jones stating that approval for the "Friends of SNCC to operate at this time" would not be given.

The letter said the relationship of the local group with the chartered group must be established.

Jones said he would be glad to talk with the group regarding the matter.

When Kirkpatrick read the letter to the waiting students, they began to chant "Talk, talk, talk." Then a cry for action went up, and shouts of "Burn it." The letter was burned.

ALEXANDER SAID "I think the school ought to be closed down." Cries of agreement went up. "Don't let nobody go to class." "Chain the doors," "Block Wheeler," "It's revolution," came from various students.

The students divided into groups of 10 with each group designated to bar a particular door.

For the most part the human barricades were effective. Few chose to cross the lines. There were a few incidents.

ONE NEWS photographer had his camera knocked from his hand after being warned by a female student he didn't want his picture taken.

Secretaries were locked out when they returned from lunch, and they begged people locked inside to hand them their purses through windows.

People were allowed to come out of the buildings, but not go in. A group of students following a Friends of SNCC leader with a bullhorn, roamed the classroom buildings telling students breaking the boycott to get out while they could — that the buildings were in danger and they might be locked in for the night.

ONE CLASS in the gym building was disrupted when the protesters time and time again kicked a door open. A woman teacher kept coming back to close it. Finally a trash can was thrown inside the room. Then the group marched out into Wheeler Avenue and sat down to bring traffic to a halt.

Umbrellas blossomed as the students marched down Wheeler and sat down in the middle of an intersection.

"Close our street off. This is our street," they shouted as they criticized "having a highway through our campus."

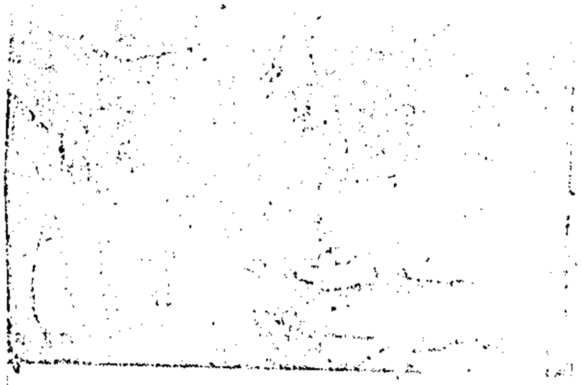
[illegible] appeared [illegible] at the doors and asked that students desiring to enter be [illegible] to do so. For a few [illegible] there was dis[illegible] among the ranks in the [illegible] of SNCC when [illegible] [illegible], executive director, [illegible] students wanting to enter should be allowed to do so after the case was explained to them.

HE SAID IF they were not permitted to enter, the very rights for which the protesters were protesting would be violated.

Kirkpatrick objected, saying the students at the rally had voted to allow no one to enter.

They settled their differences and went inside to talk with Jones. Nothing came of that talk, however. Kirkpatrick said, "He (Jones) talked so elementary, I just turned and walked out."

After Kirkpatrick left the administration building Jones insisted the doors be unbarred, or policemen might be called. The street closing followed, and then a rally was held in the school auditorium which Sams had talked Jones into allowing the students to use.



SOME TSU STUDENTS RETURN TO CLASS
Dean Jones, Second from Right, Watches
—Post Photo by Owen Johnson

HO 100-10390

[redacted], 4/1/67

[redacted]

In a portion of his speech, ALEXANDER spoke about the recent demonstrations which took place at TSU in Houston, Texas, in which he stated that they were able to close down the school. He remarked that "If you think Berkeley was bad, you haven't seen anything yet".

LEE JOHNSON also spoke about the demonstrations at TSU.

[illegible] article appeared in the March 31, [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] Delayed, [illegible]

[illegible] F. D. Kirkpatrick [illegible] Ballard Jones, [illegible] of the Student [illegible] Coordinating Committee [illegible] delayed until next week [illegible] demand [illegible] of SNCC be recognized as a campus organization of Texas Southern University.

[illegible] of a march [illegible] this week, SNCC [illegible] set a deadline of [illegible].

[illegible] was extended, [illegible] told over [illegible] students, [illegible] a letter from the SNCC [illegible] headquarters in Atlanta [illegible] late today for [illegible] students J. B. Jones [illegible] contents.

[illegible] had requested [illegible] letter from that office [illegible] that the TSU chapter [illegible] of SNCC was affiliated with the national chapter [illegible] its officers were sanctioned by that office.

Jones said he had been contacted by phone by the Atlanta [illegible] but had not received the letter. He said he would have to wait for the letter before deciding whether he should recommend SNCC as an official campus organization.

The following article appeared in the April 3, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

Human [illegible]ockade Set Up

[illegible] Hall Chained and [illegible]

[illegible] demonstrators, abo[illegible] [illegible], today chained and [illegible] the three main en[illegible] [illegible] Texas Southern Uni[illegible] [illegible] Hall and made [illegible] [illegible] to halt traf[illegible] [illegible] Wheeler through the [illegible].

[illegible] maintenance men had [illegible] off within 10 min[illegible] [illegible] police [illegible] traffic around the campus. Classes continued on schedule.

The demonstrators, led by Lee Otis Johnson, suspended from TSU last semester, circulated a list of 17 demands today.

The Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick, local leader of the Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, [illegible] the protest would continue until all the demands are met.

The first demand seeks the reinstatement of Mac[illegible], SNCC faculty adviser whose teaching contract was not renewed. Jones last week said he wouldn't return if his contract was renewed. The second ask university recognition of the Friends of SNCC as a campus organization.

Dean James Jones said no action will be taken on the two requests until Dr. J. A. Pierce, TSU president, returns from legislative budget hearings in Austin.

Another demand is that the university drop charges against [illegible]ohnson, 17, who [illegible] [illegible] Sunday on charges of disturbing the peace. Traffic warrants are outstanding against him. The demand also seeks his reinstatement as a student next September.

Students protesting the quality of the food spilled several trays of food on the [illegible] senior cafeteria floor at noon today.

[redacted] 4/3/67

As of about 10:30 PM, April 3, 1967, a group of 600 to 1000 individuals, led by F.D. KIRKPATRICK of the SNCC, TSU, Houston, Texas, was demonstrating on the TSU campus in protest of the refusal of TSU officials to renew the teaching contract of TSU instructor MACK JONES and in protest of the university's failure to recognize SNCC as a campus organization.

The group had inflicted some damage on at least two of the university's cafeterias. Officers of the Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas were reported tobe present on the scene.

[redacted] 4/4/67

F.D. KIRKPATRICK and FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were taken into custody during the late night of April 3, 1967 and were being held on peace bond charges. Source did not know whether the arrests were made by officers of the Houston Police Department or Harris County, Texas Sheriff's Office. The arrest of LEE OTIS JOHNSON, a former student at TSU and a representative of the TSU SNCC group, on the same charges, was reportedly imminent. Source further advised that by midnight of April 3, 1967, the demonstrators on the TSU campus had dispersed and things were back to normal.

[illegible] appeared in the April 4, [illegible]

[illegible]

... justice of the peace ...

... had been under surveillance ... plain clothes officers ...

... patrol ...

[illegible] con-
[illegible]
[illegible]
to review all [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] library and cafe- [illegible] midnight, [illegible] days a week.

[illegible]

[illegible] dining table for [illegible]

[illegible] director.

[illegible] Jones [illegible]

[illegible] A [illegible], with an estimated [illegible] attending, was held [illegible]

Heaps of food were [illegible] the floor in [illegible] during the [illegible]. At dinner, the [illegible] the [illegible] university [illegible] plates of food [illegible] the room [illegible] and chairs were [illegible]

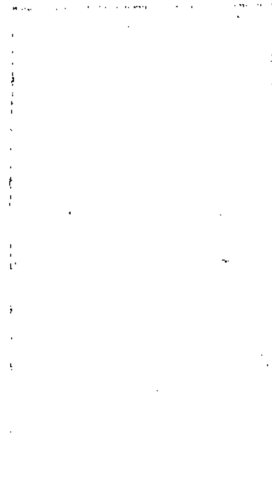
[illegible] to the [illegible] building [illegible] other buildings.

Dean Jones [illegible] the [illegible] came back to clean up.

[illegible] building and [illegible] the students that if [illegible] the faculty [illegible] would be paid, but the students would be the [illegible]

[illegible] that stu- [illegible] to the adminis- tration were circulating in the [illegible] with cameras and tape recorders, and that students who violated the law could be [illegible]

During the day, students gathered in and along [illegible] Avenue, which runs [illegible] the campus, to hear speeches, sing songs, and watch Negro students calling themselves [illegible] "Mr. Whitey" [illegible] shows in reverse [illegible]



[illegible] National Ballet Chief



REV. F. D. [illegible]
Co-chairman of [illegible]

The following article appeared in the April 4, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

The following article appeared in the April 4, 1967 issue of *The Houston Post*:

[illegible]

[illegible] ... were ... before the ... public ... [illegible]

[illegible]

... said ... the ... that if the ... would be paid, but ... would be the ...

... WARNED that students ... friendly to the administration ... were circulating in the crowds with cameras and tape recorders, and that students who violated the law could be arrested.

During the day, students gathered in ... Avenue, which runs through the campus, to hear speeches, ... songs, and watch ... calling ... such things a "... Whitey" ... minstrel shows in reverse.

FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, National DuBois Chief

REV. [illegible], Co-Chairman of [illegible]

The following article appeared in the April 4, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

[illegible] Leader [illegible] at TSU

[illegible] arrested Le[illegible] as he led a [illegible] near the Texas [illegible] campus.

[illegible] Texas Southern University today continued their [illegible] after two of their [illegible] were arrested and [illegible].

About 100 sat or stood in the [illegible] block of Wheeler by the campus of the predominantly Negro, [illegible] supported university.

After noon, the group grew to [illegible]. They were joined by about 70 students from the University of Houston.

A [illegible] in the TSU auditorium was [illegible] by Joseph Pierce, university president. He asked them to name representatives by 9 a.m. Wednesday to present grievances to the administration.

The students refused to name representatives [illegible] the two [illegible] in jail are released. They formed on Wheeler for a march to the University of Houston to seek more support.

The group was led by Lee Otis Johnson, one of three named in peace bond warrants issued Monday. Johnson has not been arrested.

Those arrested were F. D. Kirkpatrick, 32, a graduate student in [illegible]iology at TSU and a coordinator of the local Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Franklin Alexander, 25, of Chicago, national president of the W.E.B. DuBois Club.

Both were arrested quietly in [illegible] quarters at the South Central YMCA [illegible], [illegible] Wheeler, a block from the TSU campus.

Bond of each was set at [illegible].

Johnson was suspended from TSU three weeks ago for loud demonstrations in the student union.

Justice of the Peace Jack Treadway set the bond for the arrested pair, who were put in county jail. Treadway will give them a hearing Monday on an application by school officials that the pair be placed under peace bond.

University officials sought the peace bonds after a week of campus demonstrations.

The original student protests were provoked by the firing of the Friends of SNCC sponsor Mack Jones, and the dean of students' decision not to recognize the group as an official campus organization.

[illegible] Richards, 22, a self-described leader of the demonstration, today said:

"The administration has failed to deal with us fairly, not as an organization, but as students."

He said he was a member of the steering committee of the Friends of SNCC.

Richards listed six demands:

1. Better food in the student cafeteria.

2. Later curfew in the girls' dormitory. (The present curfew is 10 p.m.)

3. Closing Wheeler at the entrance of the campus. (Wheeler is a thoroughfare through the university grounds.)

4. Disarming campus patrolmen.

5. Creation of a student disciplinary board "that isn't run by Dean (J. B.) Jones."

6. Recognition by school officials of SNCC.

The now week-long demonstration prevailed until the pre-dawn hours today with the occasional noise of firecrackers, then resumed at mid-morning.

Two of the student leaders, Richards and Lewis Rhone, met with Dean Jones today in his office.

They were seeking compromise action by which the jailed leaders could be freed, Jones said.

Jones said he tried to set up a meeting today with student demonstrators and the administration, but the demonstrators shouted down the proposal, he said.

Justice Treadway said he had issued the warrants for the arrests of Kirkpatrick, Alexander and Johnson after TSU acting President Pierce had applied for a peace bond.

State law provides such action, said Treadway, "if the magistrate believes there is possibility of offenses against life or property."

Attorney Ben G. Levy sought to gain the freedom of Alexander and Kirkpatrick on a habeas corpus writ.

He filed his plea in District Judge Edmund B. Duggan's court today.

All six criminal district judges today refused to hear the habeas corpus petition. Levy said he would ask an earlier hearing on the peace bond. He said he would [illegible] a lower bond.

[illegible] the students, usually about [illegible] strong, blocked off Wheeler St., including usually heavy rush-hour traffic, and temporarily chained the [illegible] doors of the administration building.

[illegible] the day-long rally, which [illegible] from one end of the campus to the other and occasionally swelled to almost 1000 students, [illegible] stormed into two of the three campus cafeterias.

[illegible] scattered on the [illegible] and tables [illegible] over. The students said [illegible] were protesting the low quality food served resident students.

The Wheeler St. demonstration served to protest the street's path through the center of the TSU campus, a protest often voiced at City Hall.

Millard Lowe, the other Friends of SNCC coordinator on campus, said early today he would lead students in a march on the county jail if Kirkpatrick and Alexander were not released today.

Students considered themselves to have won a battle with girls' dormitory hours Monday night after Mrs. Mildred [illegible], dean of women, failed to enforce the hours.

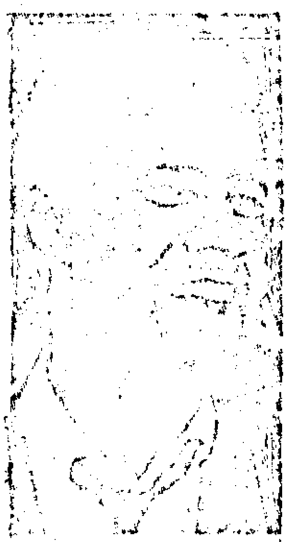
Meanwhile, J. B. Jones, dean of students, said he had received a letter from SNCC headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., acknowledging the TSU group's national affiliation. He did not release contents of letter.

Jones said the local group would not be officially recognized as a campus organization until it submits its slate of officers and is approved by Dr. [illegible], acting president of TSU. [illegible] university complaints [illegible] some demonstrators [illegible] referred to the proper student government bodies.

[illegible] Jones, the professor [illegible] faculty advisor to [illegible] of SNCC, has said he does not wish to return to TSU [illegible] students not to demonstrate in his behalf.

Police Jail 2 Leaders Of TSU Protests

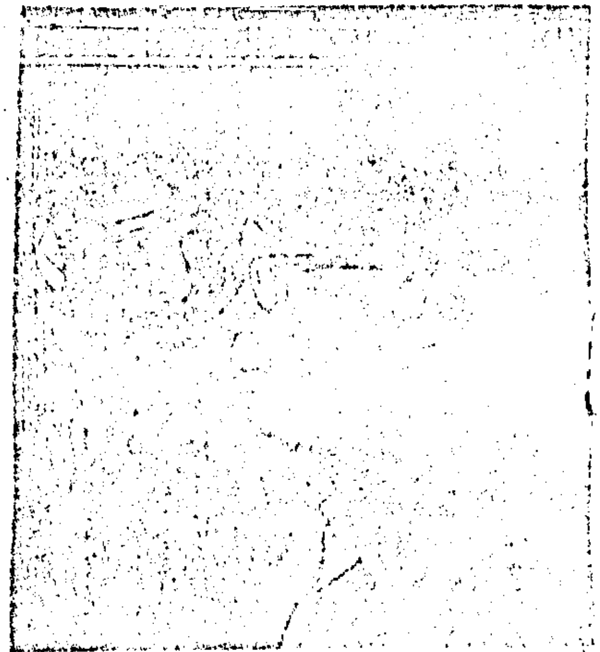
FROM PAGE 1



Chronicle Photo

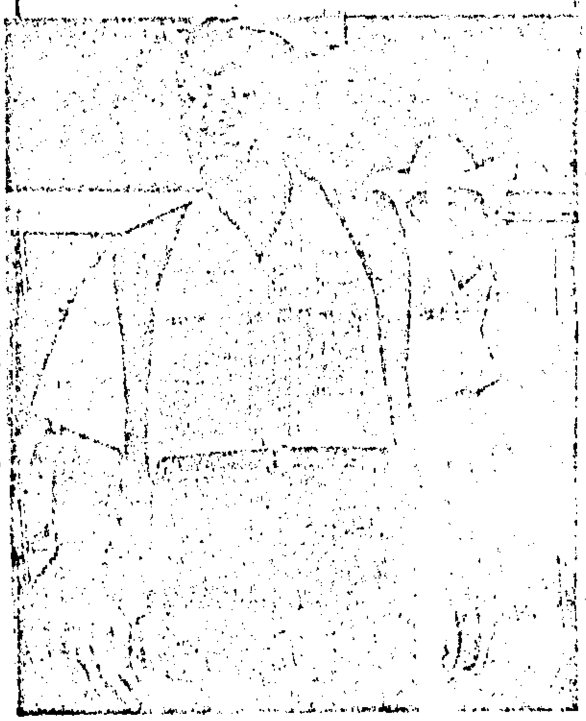
LEE O. JOHNSON

Back On Campus



DEMONSTRATION LEADER ARRESTED

Franklin Alexander Shown With Wife



LEADER OF PROTEST GROUP ARRESTED

E. D. Kirkpatrick Walks Ahead of Officers

The following article appeared in the April 5, [illegible] issue of The Houston Post:

[illegible]

[illegible] Join TSU Courthouse Sit-In

[illegible]

[illegible] were passed [illegible] PM, and the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] "[illegible] Children, I [illegible] just like a [illegible] . . ."

[illegible] relief riot squad [illegible], an unidentified Negro [illegible] jumped up with the bull-horn and told the sitting band, "I have been warned there [illegible] be more arrests. We are appealing to you to act [illegible] men and women of intelligence in keeping the demonstration in order."

They had been promised blankets so they could spend the night, but none came at a late hour. They huddled together and kept singing.

Earlier, as night began to fall and the onlookers went home for dinner, many of the Negroes themselves slipped away from the group, and their numbers slowly dropped.

[illegible] EARLY Tuesday night [illegible] sat, [illegible] strong, on the sidewalk waiting for the release of Franklin Alexander, the Rev F. D. Kirkpatrick and Lee Otis Johnson. Johnson was taken from their march on Houston Tuesday afternoon. The others were arrested about midnight Monday.

Alexander, of Chicago, is national leader of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, a [illegible] youth organization. Kirkpatrick is [illegible] of the Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a black power organization. Johnson is a former TSU student and member of the Friends of SNCC. He was expelled last year.

THE DOWNTOWN sidewalk sit-in grew out of demonstrations which began last Tuesday on the TSU campus protesting the administration's refusal to admit the Friends of SNCC as a campus organization, and the refusal to renew the teaching contract of Mack Jones, faculty adviser for the organization.

Helmeted riot police circled them as they sat on San Jacinto street in front of the courthouse. There was no violence, but one police dog growled at the chanting youths as its owner walked among them.

Ken Fairchild, assistant to Mayor Louie Welch, said the squadron of riot police was apparently called by mistake.

"IT'S A question of how do you get out gracefully," he said.

The special officers circled the demonstrators for about an hour, then pulled back. Some 50 regular policemen remained.

[illegible]

[illegible] reached up to 500 by the [illegible]

[illegible] took Johnson from the [illegible] and put him into an unmarked police car [illegible] while [illegible] officers held the crowd back with [illegible].

Johnson [illegible] his hands in the air [illegible] to show the throng he was not resisting.

They [illegible] to the front door of the County Criminal Courts building which was blocked by 22 white and two Negro officers.

AT 5:15 PM Mrs. [illegible] announced to them that she had "asked to see" her husband but that she had been [illegible].

"We're going to stay here until they let him out to see me," she yelled over a bullhorn.

[illegible] G. Levy, attorney for the jailed men, had similar problems obtaining their release.

"Each and all of the district judges have refused to [illegible] permission for a writ of habeas corpus hearing to get the bonds lowered," he said.

The peace bond hearing is scheduled for 9:30 AM Monday in Treadway's court.

[illegible] article appeared in the April 5, [illegible] Chronicle:

[illegible] The courthouse Tuesday [illegible]

[illegible] ... was ordered [illegible]

[illegible] in front of the courthouse [illegible] this morning [illegible] from the [illegible] They were [illegible]

[illegible] Austin today to file [illegible] of Criminal Appeals.

[illegible] one third of TSU's [illegible] enrollment failed to [illegible] this morning [illegible]

[illegible] of traffic [illegible]

[illegible] Atty. [illegible]

[illegible] county jail [illegible]

[illegible] made threats on [illegible] and caused [illegible]

[illegible] are released.

[illegible] three weeks ago for [illegible]

[illegible] demonstration [illegible] the student union [illegible] like Kirkpatrick and [illegible] held on a [illegible] and put under $5,000 bond.

About 100 students Tuesday morning voiced their protest against the arrests. They blocked traffic by sitting in the street in the 3200 block of Wheeler, which runs through the university campus.

The students then moved into the school auditorium for a rally and to hear Pierce propose that spokesmen be named to negotiate agreements on student complaints.

Refuse Request

The students refused to [illegible] until their leaders were released from jail.

When Pierce refused to talk [illegible] trying to dismiss charges [illegible] the campus leaders, the students marched outside and walked to the nearby University of Houston.

About 50 U of H students, including student body president [illegible], had participated in the TSU rally prior to the march, but only a handful joined the march.

Students End Sit-In On Courthouse Steps

The marchers walked [illegible] Holman, Dowling, W. Gray and San Jacinto to the courthouse. They stayed on the sidewalk and obeyed traffic signals.

The students clapped their hands and chanted "black power" and "keep the faith." They sang civil rights songs and shouted humorous slogans to each other.

Several carried signs calling for legal aid for "our brothers," Kirkpatrick, Alexander and Johnson.

Wall of Officers

The marchers met a cordon of constables and sheriff's deputies at the front door of the courthouse.

Four men and a woman sat in the middle of San Jacinto but police used a loudspeaker to order the street cleared.

The five Negroes complied readily as a caravan of 25 police cars and two paddy wagons wheeled up and 100 officers wearing white helmets and carrying night sticks got out.

Lowe, one of the student leaders, listed these student goals:

- Better food in campus cafeterias.
- Later curfews in girls' dormitories.
- The closing of Wheeler St., which cuts through the campus.
- A requirement that campus security officers quit wearing pistols.
- Creation of a student disciplinary board "not run by the dean of students."
- University recognition of Friends of SNCC as an on-campus organization.

The core of the demonstrations has numbered about 400. TSU has more than 4400 students.

The following article appeared in the April 7, 1967 issue of The Houston Post:

[illegible]

[illegible] Texas Southern [illegible] student [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] Tuesday set the peace bond [illegible] Assistant District [illegible]

The protesters were [illegible] national [illegible] [illegible] Dubois Clubs [illegible] F. D. Kirkpatrick [illegible] the campus [illegible] organization [illegible] Johnson, a former [illegible] student.

[illegible] released from [illegible] late Thursday [illegible] $1,000 written property [illegible]

[illegible] accomplished [illegible] we set out to do [illegible] he said after his release. "This is not just a [illegible] movement. This is a city, state movement all across the nation.

"This is a liberation of the black mind. The black mind has been white-oriented."

[illegible] and Kirkpatrick remained in jail Thursday night.

MOSS ASKED that the court dismiss the section of the complaint that alleged the [illegible] and serious- [illegible] to kill and [illegible] peace officer un- [illegible] lawfully to arrest either one of them."

"After a full investigation I am convinced that they did not do so," Moss said, and Judge Treadway dismissed that section of the complaint.

The two sections of the complaint which the three were found guilty of concerned depriving students and faculty their free access to the university facilities and disturbing the peace [illegible]

[illegible] GUILTY [illegible] [illegible] complaint," [illegible] Treadway [illegible]

Moss said that he found the men to be "of [illegible] minds" and recommended [illegible] bond each, which the judge then set.

Defense attorney [illegible] G. [illegible] told the judge that the men had asked him to say "they never engaged in any violence, and if any violence did occur, it was not with their knowledge or consent."

Article 7.02 of the Texas Code of Criminal Procedure [illegible] peace bonds and says in part: "... conditioned that he will not commit such offense, and that he will keep the peace toward the person threatened or about to be injured, and toward all others named in the bond for any period of time, not to exceed one year from the date of the bond."

MOSS SAID the bonds would be for one year each.

Limitations placed on the trio by Treadway included:

"1) You will not disturb, prevent or intimidate, or threaten to do so, any student, teacher, or other employee of Texas Southern University from attending and leaving classrooms or any other facility of said school.

"2) You will not engage in any assembly of three or more persons with the purpose or intent to use loud language, or to yell or shout, or use any electrical voice amplifier in any such manner as to disturb any person attending or upon the campus of said Texas Southern University.

"3) You will not engage in any assembly of three or more persons with the purpose and intent to block or impede the free use of Wheeler Street in the City of Houston, Texas, or disturb or intimidate any person using said street [illegible]

Any violation of the limitations of the peace bonds could mean forfeiture of the amount of the bonds, but would not mean a jail sentence. However, if any violations of the peace bonds are also violations of the penal code, they could be prosecuted in the normal manner.

THE HEARING was moved from Judge Treadway's small justice courtroom, where 125 persons crowded in, to a district courtroom where 200 watched. A crowd gathered outside Treadway's court, but when the hearing was moved, everyone who wanted inside apparently got to hear the case.

Friends of SNCC has been protesting for 11 days not being able to meet on campus, and the school's failure to renew the teaching contract of the group's faculty advisor, and other matters.

The students staged a 20-hour sit-down outside the courthouse from late Tuesday afternoon until early Wednesday afternoon. The group demanded the trio's release. At the time, the three men were in jail on $25,000 appearance bonds for the peace bond hearing.

[redacted] 4/25/67

[redacted]

V. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

[redacted] 7/25/67

Present officers of Houston SNCC are as follows:

Spokesman	LEE OTIS JOHNSON
Executive Secretary	HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS
Assistant Executive Secretary	KELTON SAMS
Field Coordinator	JOHN MORRIS
Head of Publicity	JIM LAZARE

Houston SNCC has assumed a frightening connotation in the minds of many local people because of the activities, statements, and conduct of its present spokesman, LEE OTIS JOHNSON. Since the spring of 1967, JOHNSON has engaged in various activities and participated in demonstrations at Houston, leaving the general impression that he was doing so as the official spokesman for, and on behalf of, Houston SNCC. On many such occasions, JOHNSON did not have the authorization of, or backing from, Houston SNCC to so act. Rather, he was in actuality often acting solely in an individual capacity as LEE OTIS JOHNSON, private citizen. Source believes that JOHNSON is an emotionally disturbed individual who may in time destroy himself by means of suicide.

The individual who gives the real leadership to, and actually directs, Houston SNCC activity is HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary. He has held the position of Executive Secretary since about April, 1967. Both individually and in his capacity with SNCC, WILLIAMS is opposed to violence and it is believed by source that if within WILLIAMS' power to do so, he will never permit Houston SNCC to be used by, or to

become a part of, any movement advocating acts of violence. WILLIAMS is avowedly opposed to communism in any form or fashion.

About two months ago, F.D. KIRKPATRICK, former Coordinator of Houston SNCC, left the organization and accepted a position at Houston, Texas, with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

[redacted] 8/4/67

[redacted] 8/31/67

Present officers of Houston SNCC are as follows:

Chairman and Spokesman	LEE OTIS JOHNSON
Executive Secretary	HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS
Program Director	STANLEY WRIGHT
Researcher of Oratory and speeches	RONALD EVANS
Field Secretary	JIMMIE LAZARE
Field Representative	JOHN MORRIS

Although LEE OTIS JOHNSON is the Chairman and Spokesman for the Houston SNCC, the defacto leader of the organization is HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary. On many occasions, JOHNSON has engaged in activities at Houston, Texas, in which he held himself forth as doing so on behalf of SNCC. In actuality, he often was acting in a private capacity without the authorization of Houston SNCC.

[redacted] 9/10/67

Present known officers of Houston SNCC include the following:

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman and Spokesman

HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary

STANLEY WRIGHT, Program Director or Organizer

RONALD EVANS, Printer

KELTON SAMS, a former officer and member of Houston SNCC and EARL ALLEN, a Houston Negro minister, have recently formed an organization at Houston known as HOPE, the exact objectives and purposes of which are unknown to source. HOPE has drawn into its fold many of the former members and sympathizers of Houston SNCC. As a consequence and because of recent internal strife among certain officers of Houston SNCC, source considers Houston SNCC to be on the brink of closing down and in the process of becoming defunct. Much of the trouble with Houston SNCC has been the result of LEE OTIS JOHNSON's having used his position as Spokesman and Chairman of SNCC personally to capitalize on the Negro.

[redacted] 9/20/67

Present officers of Houston SNCC are as follows:

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman and Spokesman

HOWARD WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary

STANLEY WRIGHT, Program Director or Organizer

JIMMIE LAZARE, Field Secretary

RONALD EVANS, Researcher and Orator

All of these five officers are presently being paid a monthly salary from the National Office of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia.

Each of them has personally made a trip to the National Office of SNCC at Atlanta, Georgia, where they were observed and approved by National SNCC officials for membership in SNCC.

About two weeks ago, JOHN MORRIS resigned his position as Field Representative with Houston SNCC so that he would not be "tied down" to any particular geographical area. While MORRIS is therefore no longer an officer, he remains a member of Houston SNCC; and, like the above-named officers, he too has made a trip to Atlanta, Georgia and been approved by National SNCC officials for membership in SNCC. MORRIS is a former TSU student.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON was one of the orighal organizers

of Houston SNCC and has been continuously active in the organization since it was founded. He is a former TSU student.

HOWARD WILLIAMS has been a member of Houston SNCC since about January, 1967 and has been the Executive Secretary of the organization since May, 1967. He presently is a student at TSU.

STANLEY WRIGHT was one of the original organizers of Houston SNCC and has been continuously active in the organization since it was founded. He held the officer's position of Research Developer in the organization from about February, 1967 until May, 1967 at which time he was elected to his present position of Program Director or Organizer. He is a former TSU student.

JIMMIE LAZARE has been an active member of National SNCC for about 24 months. He is a former TSU student.

RONALD EVANS has been a member of Houston SNCC since about February, 1967. In May, 1967, he was elected to his present position of Researcher and Orator. He presently is a student at TSU.

[redacted] 9/27/67

In order for an individual to be made an officer of Houston SNCC, he must go to Atlanta, Georgia, and be personally observed and approved by National SNCC officials.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, JIMMIE LAZARE, STANLEY WRIGHT, RONALD EVANS, JOHN MORRIS and HOWARD WILLIAMS have made such trips and have been approved as officers of Houston SNCC.

HOWARD WILLIAMS reportedly resigned his position as Executive Secretary, Houston SNCC, on or about September 11, 1967.

WILLIAMS allegedly has become disillusioned with SNCC nationally because of its militancy, its advocacy of violence and force, because it has become exclusively Negroid in its membership, and because of the anti-white, anti-semitic postures SNCC has assumed on a national level. WILLIAMS allegedly has stated that the problem of oppression among certain elements of society in the United States is not simply a "black problem" but a problem which should be the concern of everyone.

[redacted] 10/6/67

Sometime around the middle of September, 1967, following the National Conference on New Politics (NCNP) held at Chicago, Illinois, there was a power struggle between leadership personnel of Houston SNCC. As a result, HOWARD WILLIAMS dropped out of SNCC and has not known to be active in the organization since.

VI. COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO INFILTRATE OR INFLUENCE SNCC; AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS; AND, ASSOCIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMMUNIST BACKGROUND

A. The Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) and the Vietnam Summer (VS)

A characterization of the HCEWV is set forth in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] 10/23/67

The Vietnam Summer (VS) was an activity carried out in the Houston, Texas area during the summer of 1967 as a part of an overall national program which was primarily directed toward protestations of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Meetings were held weekly during much of the summer in meeting rooms at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas.

1/17/67

On January 1[illegible], 1967, a demonstration was held by Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCAV) in front of the First City National Bank Building in downtown Houston, Texas.

One of the speakers was DANNY SCHACHT. He spoke against the United States action in Vietnam.

Within a few minutes after the initial arrivals for the demonstration, HILLARD LANE and another unknown Negro, both of whom are allegedly affiliated with SNCC, arrived on the scene. However, neither of these individuals participated in the demonstration. They merely stayed on the sidelines and observed what took place.

For a characterization of the HCAV, see the characterization set forth in the appendix hereto of the HCEWV.

For a characterization of DANIEL JAY SCHACHT, who is also known as DANNY SCHACHT, see the characterization of the HCEWV set forth in the appendix hereto.

1/23/67

[redacted] 4/17/67

On April 15, 1967, a gathering took place at Hermann Park, Houston, Texas, in front of Miller Amphitheater. It was an activity of the [illegible] as part of a national protest program taking place on April 15, 1967. That national protest was known as Spring Mobilization.

BEN LEVY introduced the various speakers at the gathering. At the very outset of the meeting, LEVY said that troops should be brought back from the Vietnam war and the war ended.

One of the speakers was Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK, head of Friends of SNCC, Houston. KIRKPATRICK discussed SNCC briefly and then he practically repeated two or three paragraphs of a speech that was delivered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the University of Houston (UH), two days previously on April 13, 1967. The main theme of this portion of KIRKPATRICK's speech was that the Negro should not fight in the Vietnam war; that the Negro has never yet become a first class citizen. He indicated that the Negro bore no malice towards any people in Vietnam. KIRKPATRICK indicated that he felt, as CARMICHAEL had stated, that the Negro should use every method to evade the draft even if he had to go to jail.

Among the many persons present at this affair were DANNY SCHACHT, FRED [illegible] and LAURA [illegible].

[redacted] 12/65

[illegible] 9/[illegible]

[illegible] Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [illegible], was in attendance at the SWP National [illegible] in New York City, New York.

> The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

[illegible] 11/[illegible]

[illegible], above.

[illegible] 4/[illegible]

A demonstration [illegible] took place outside the [illegible] Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas on April [illegible] and concluding about [illegible]. [illegible] United States Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY [illegible] the Rice Hotel.

It was a [illegible] singing. For [illegible] stood in a single line with their [illegible] curb and faced towards the hotel [illegible].

Several people [illegible] intermingled with the demonstrators and [illegible] of them carried HCCAV placards.

[illegible] 5/8/[illegible]

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is set forth in the appendix hereto.

5/9/67

The HCEWV held a [illegible] demonstration on May 8, 1967 in front of the First City National Bank [illegible] on Main Street, Houston, Texas. Shortly after the first members of HCEWV arrived, [illegible] people began arriving and before it was over, there were more than [illegible] people present [illegible] HCEWV. Among those present were [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], LAURA BRODE, Reverend F.D. [illegible] and [illegible].

6/1?/67

11/16/67

6/2[illegible]/67

A meeting of the [illegible] (VS) group took place on the evening of June 2[illegible], 1967 at the University Center, UH, Houston, Texas. At this meeting, it was decided that in following out the VS program, efforts should be made to ally with all civil rights groups in Houston and work very closely with these groups. The question was raised as to what group would be more effective in certain areas of the city on certain programs. It was pointed out that special notice should be paid to the SNCC. The possibility of organizing a central committee where one person from each organization would get together once a month, with similar representatives from other organizations, wherein these representatives could act as liaison between these organizations in VS was discussed.

6/26/67

On June 2[illegible], 1967, a demonstration was held at a location in Houston, Texas, [illegible] Highway 59, a U.S. highway, [illegible] Street. This demonstration was originally intended to be a protest against United States intervention in Vietnam, but turned out to be more directly concerned with Negro problems in Houston.

Participants in this demonstration included representatives of SNCC and the [illegible]. The majority of the speakers spoke on behalf of SNCC.

Among the things that were advocated in the speeches was discussion of a need to organize in the Negro areas of Houston. It was predicted that in possibly as many as a dozen areas where the Negroes reside in Houston, local groups could be set up to organize the Negroes. Among the things that were recommended was that these groups should start "rent strikes" and make door to door contacts with persons in the areas; that Negro youths should be encouraged not to go into the United States Army and that Negro youths should learn how to legally evade the draft, or if they go in the Army, how to flood the organization in which they were serving with subversive literature, resulting in the branch of service being glad to get rid of them. It was also pointed out that the Vietnam war was an immoral war and that the United States was using mostly

HO [illegible]

Negro soldiers [illegible] were unable to find jobs to earn a livelihood [illegible] clear of the service.

Among [illegible] were [illegible] JOHNSON of [illegible] who spoke as a representative [illegible] were RAYMOND [illegible].

[illegible]

[redacted] 7/10/67

On July 9, 1967, a group of individuals, many of whom were connected with HCEWV and Vietnam Summer (VS) activity in the Houston, Texas, area assembled at the residence of MARY FITZ, 7207 Selma, Apartment 45, Houston, Texas, in mid-afternoon with the intention of embarking on a demonstration at Hermann Park, Houston, to protest the United States' involvement in Vietnam.

Thereafter, these persons proceeded to Hermann Park where they assembled on the steps of a monument to General Sam Houston and then they decided to join a parade which was going on in Hermann Park at that time which consisted of a large number of persons who were demonstrating their support for the Vietnam war and the United States servicemen in Vietnam.

The HCEWV and VS people attempted to join the parade at what seemed to be the end of the parade, but were restrained from joining the parade by some U.S. Marine Corps Reservists who attempted to hold back the HCEWV and VS people.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, who is active with SNCC and who was participating with the HCEWV and VS people at this time, was shouting "black power" and apparently the Marines were aggravated. The first persons to undertake fighting at this time were one or more of the Marines after some heckling words were said to them.

A fight broke out between the HCEWV, VS, and SNCC people and the U.S. Marine Reservists. This fight continued undisturbed for some minutes and Houston Police Department officers who were in the park at the time did not intervene. A

number of the people suffered bruises or lumps in this melee. When the fighting subsided, the HCEWV, VS and SNCC people departed the area and retreated to the residence of MARY FITZ and thereafter they went to the residence of Reverend WILLIAM LAWSON on Wheeler Street, Houston. There they worked on the drafting of a letter of protest to the United States President, the Mayor of Houston, City Commissioners of Houston and the Governor of Texas, dealing with this fighting incident.

Among the many persons attending this affair were:

BEN LEVY
FRED BRODE
LAURA BRODE
DANNY SCHACHT
LEE OTIS JOHNSON
DOUG HAINLINE
MRS. DOUG HAINLINE

[redacted], 2/1/66

[redacted]

A characterization of the YSL, Cornell University and its national affiliate, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, also known as Spartacist Committee, are contained in the appendix hereto.

[redacted] 1/12/66

[redacted]

[redacted] 10/24/66

DOUGLAS RAY HAINLINE was married to HELENE BROSIUS on June 17, 1966 in New York City, New York.

[redacted]

October 2, 1964

When the Cornell YSL filed for recognition as a student organization with the Scheduling Committee Activities and Review Board of Cornell Student Government in October, 1964, DOUGLAS HAINLINE was identified as the Student Organizer of this group.

October 5, 1965

DOUGLAS RAY HAINLINE served as President of the Cornell YSL during the 1964-1965 school year.

, advised on September 1, 1967, that, DOUGLAS RAY HAINLINE has been a full member of Spartacist for eighteen months and is considered a one hundred per cent pure revolutionary.

7/17/67

On July 14, 1967, the Vietnam Summer (VS) group picketed the Marine Corps Reserve Training Center, Houston, Texas commencing about 5:15 PM and continuing until about 6:00 PM. The purpose of the picketing was to protest the fighting which took place between U.S. Marine Corps Reservists and persons participating in a protest march against the Vietnam War at Hermann Park, Houston, Texas on July 9, 1967. The picketers had attempted to join in a parade which was being carried out at the time in support of the United States' action in Vietnam. Pickets marched in a circle and carried signs condemning the Marine Corps. No leaflets were used and no speeches were made. Among those participating in this activity were LEE OTIS JOHNSON, F.D. KIRKPATRICK, DANNY SCHACHT, FRED BRODE, DOUG HAINLINE, Mrs. DOUG HAINLINE and DOUG CORLEY.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS CORLEY was identified by "The Daily Cougar", official student newspaper published at the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas, in its October 26, 1967 issue, as a member of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at UH.

According to the October 10, 1967 issue of "The Daily Cougar," the UH has an SDS chapter.

Among other persons attending this meeting were DANNY SCHACHT and FRED BRODE.

B. Spartacists

A characterization of the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, also known as Spartacist, appears in the appendix attached hereto.

2/2/67

[redacted] 8/14/67

On August 11, 1967 at about 5:00 PM, a rally was held by SNCC at the intersection of Gregg and Nance Streets, Houston, Texas, under the overpass of Interstate Highway 10.

One of the several speakers was SHIRLEY STOUTE, a Negro female, who is alleged to be originally from New York City, New York and a Spartacist who had been dismissed, for some reason, from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

She talked of the places where she had been, riot-torn places, back through the years. She mentioned Harlem, Newark, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cambridge and Cuba. She said people should organize along political lines to set up something like the "Black Panthers" in Alabama or the "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" in Mississippi. She said they should put particular emphasis on Negro ghettos from a "grass roots" level. She said they could set up a bonafide political structure. She said the people should also prepare themselves for any events which might take place. She was non-specific in this respect. She evidenced concern about a new law relating to persons crossing the state lines in the process of inciting riots. In her speech, she invited persons present to come to DOUG HAINLINE's residence on the forthcoming Sunday, August 13, 1967, for a discussion of Black Power.

[redacted] 8/14/67

On Sunday, August 13, 1967, a "Black Power" forum sponsored by Spartacists was held at the residence of DOUG and HELENE HAINLINE, 3207 Revere, Apartment 4, Houston, Texas.

The topic for this forum was "Social Revolution". There was a discussion of various phases of Marxist revolution under the topic of social revolution. The main speaker was SHIRLEY STOUTE.

STOUTE's talk dealt with economic, political, and defense-measure aspects of social revolution. She discussed "Black Power" and said it had been misinterpreted by the power structure, Negro leaders and civil rights leaders. She mentioned former U.S. Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, saying that POWELL supported Black Power as long as it was

within the Democratic Party structure. She said this was impossible because white power was the dominant factor in the Democratic Party.

STOUTE discussed what could be done along the line of establishing social revolution where Black Power would assist. She said Black Power should control everything in the community of the black people; that revolt should be made against landlords, shopkeepers, the police department, city government and so forth, in order to establish Black Power; that Negroes had to be organized politically; that, for example, if Negroes made up ten per cent of the population of an area, then there should be ten per cent of Negroes in the city government, the police force and similar public activity.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON asked a question regarding defense which was believed to refer to defense of Negroes, and STOUTE referred to the riots in Detroit. She said one must look at previous incidents, in proper perspective, and proceed in the light of that knowledge. JOHNSON appeared to argue a point in favor of a Mafia-type approach wherein persons would be prevailed upon to get in line with Black Power or be put out of business.

STANLEY WRIGHT then gave his version of social revolution as being an activity that is organized and not off on a "shooting binge".

Three SNCC representatives were present at this meeting. They were LEE OTIS JOHNSON, STANLEY WRIGHT and HOWARD WILLIAMS.

Among others present were BEN LEVY, FRED BRODE, LAURA BRODE, CLARA ELLINGTON, DOUG HAINLINE and HELENE HAINLINE.

C. Easter Vigil at the Ranch of The President of the United States, LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON (LBJ), Johnson City, Texas, March 26, 1967

[redacted] 3/28/67

During the afternoon of Easter Sunday, March 26, 1967, a vigil was held by several individuals in the vicinity of LBJ Ranch, Johnson City, Texas, in view of the LBJ Ranch house. Some of the participants held placards which protested United States action in Vietnam.

Among the several speakers at this occasion was FRANKLIN ALEXANDER who was introduced as National Chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, from Chicago, Illinois.

ALEXANDER said that it had become inescapably clear that we recognize that we have to oppose, in a fundamental way, the kind of system the kind of people, that carry out the Vietnam war. He then severely criticized the power structure in the United States. He quoted figures on the casualties of Negroes and pointed out that Negroes were being "murdered" at a ratio of two to one over whites who were being killed in the Vietnam War. He said that a Negro should refuse to participate in the Vietnam War by any means available.

The next speaker was LEE OTIS JOHNSON, a male Negro, who is affiliated with SNCC, Houston, Texas.

JOHNSON stated, in part, that white people could not be trusted in any way, that they did nothing but lie and deceive, and that he had nothing in his heart regarding any white people but hatred, envy and malice.

JOHNSON then commented on the difficulties that had been taking place at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. He said that he attended TSU where efforts were made to "whitewash" his brain. He said that TSU was going to be closed down.

JOHNSON then noted that, after seeing the people who were on hand participating in the Easter vigil on this occasion, and who were taking a positive position against the Vietnam War, he felt differently in his heart than previously. He said words to the effect, "I love you white folks out here".

Among the many personsin attendance at the vigil were BEN LEVY, FRED BRODE and LAURA BRODE.

D. "September 24, 1967 Interim Convening Committee" and "Conference for New Texas"

[redacted] 9/25/67

On September 23, 1967, the "September 24, 1967 Interim Convening Committee" met at the University YMCA, 2200 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas, commencing about 1:30 PM. LEE OTIS JOHNSON and F.D. KIRKPATRICK of Houston, Texas were in attendance.

The role of the committee was described as being to set up an agenda for a state-wide National Conference for New

Politics (NCNP) convention that would identify Mexican-Americans, the civil rights movement and the political position of poor whites whereby they would be able to determine who they should support in the 1968 elections; whether they should support national candidates, or whether they should be concerned with the state-wide political scene.

At the meeting, there was some discussion of the position this committee would take with respect to the Vietnam War. One man at the meeting who appeared to be of Mexican origin and was allegedly from the Rio Grand Valley area of Texas stated that the Mexican people went along with the government on the Vietnam War; that there were not any left-wing Mexicans to whom the position might be stated. There followed considerable discussion. It was finally agreed that the people of Mexican descent at this conference would invite the most left-wing Mexican-Americans to the convention to handle the position of Mexican-Americans at that time.

F.D. KIRKPATRICK stated the position of the Negroes. He felt that less fortunate white people and Negroes could reach a happy medium of agreement. He said the people in NCNP had to recognize the position of the Negro in re-establishing his identity in the United States before the Negro could function properly in any political set-up.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, who is a leader of SNCC at Houston, Texas, stated that he could only be involved with an organization that takes a definite stand and recognizes the position of the African nations.

The meeting recessed for dinner at about 6:00 PM and reconvened at about 7:30 PM. There was discussion concerning the date, location, and name of the conference of the NCNP to be held in Texas. It was decided that the convention would be entitled "Conference for New Texas" and would be held in Austin, Texas on November 17, 18, 19, 1967. The purpose of the conference was described as: to establish communications among interested groups as well as coordination among them and to destroy the old political system and replace it with New Politics.

Concerning who should be invited to the convention, it was decided that ten persons should handle the whole structure of the convention and that they would represent everybody else as a steering committee. Among the persons designated to be on the steering committee were F.D. KIRKPATRICK, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, FRED BRODE and CHARLES SMITH.

CHARLES SMITH reportedly is a teacher of Freshman Mathematics at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. At this meeting on September 23, 1967, it was suggested by one individual that certain people including members of the Communist Party (CP) should be excluded from NCNP activites. That suggestion touched off a big harangue and CHARLES SMITH stated words to the effect that "I am a member of the CP. If you exclude any ofthese persons you will be playing into the hands of the power structure. They use these methods to divide and conquer".

Approximately 45 persons attended this meeting, among whom were LAURA BRODE, DOUG HAINLINE and HELENE HAINLINE.

[redacted], 9/27/67

Neither MONA SCHACHT, DANNY SCHACHT, FRED BRODE nor LAURA BRODE has ever been a member of Houston SNCC and neither has ever given guidance,advice, counsel or direction to SNCC.

To the best of source's knowledge, no Communist Party member or CP sympathizer has ever been a member of Houston SNCC. The organization of Houston SNCC has certainly never been controlled or directed by communists or communist sympathizers.

For a characterization of MONA SCHACHT, see the characterization of the HCEWV which appears in the appendix hereto.

[redacted] 10/3/67

Neither DANNY SCHACHT, FRED BRODE nor LAURA BRODE has ever been a member of Houston SNCC. Neither of these individuals has ever given guidance, counsel or direction to SNCC. Moreover, neither has ever exercised any control or authority whatever over Houston SNCC.

To the best of source's knowledge, no known member of the CP has ever become a member of Houston SNCC or in any manner directed or controlled the organization.

[redacted] 10/3/67

Neither DANNY SCHACHT nor his mother, MONA SCHACHT has ever been a member of Houston SNCC nor has either of them ever counseled, guided, directed, controlled, or influenced SNCC.

This source has no reason to believe that any member of the CP has ever been a member of Houston SNCC.

[redacted] 11/20/67

Neither of the following individuals has ever been a member of, or exercised direction or control over, Houston SNCC:

DOUGLAS HAINLINE
HELENE HAINLINE
RAMON ELLINGTON
CLARA ELLINGTON

VII. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY OF SNCC AND/OR ITS PERSONNEL

A. Appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Houston, Texas, in April, 1967

[redacted], 4/17/67

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Head of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, spoke on April 13, 1967 at the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas to a full house at Cullen Auditorium, which seatsabout 1,700 persons. The majority of those attending were white and appeared to be students.

CARMICHAEL dealt to some extent with the war in Vietname. He emphasized the Negro should not be involved in this war; that the Negro should use any method to avoid participation in the war, even to the extent of going to jail if necessary.

About two-thirds of CARMICHAEL's speech dealt with "black power". He pointed out that "black power" has been misinterpreted in some places; that "black power" was actually for political purposes; that it was mainly to organize Negroes into a block vote so that the Negroes could swing the balance of power in an election.

CARMICHAEL pointed out that Negroes represented about 25 per cent of the population in Houston, and, therefore, Negroes should be 25 per cent of the local offices. He advised he felt that if organized with good leadership, the Negroes could not be stopped in their political objectives.

Among those in attendance were MILLARD LOWE, JOHN MORRIS, F.D. KIRKPATRICK, FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, FRED BRODE and LAURA BRODE.

The following artic[illegible] appeared in the April 14, 1967 issue of The Houston P[illegible]:

[illegible] Black People [illegible]

[illegible] Carmichael Outlines [illegible]

By [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] Carmichael, [illegible] called the architect [illegible] power, read some [illegible] Thursday [illegible] University of [illegible] Non-Violent Coordinating Committee he [illegible]

[illegible] by approximately [illegible], Carmichael said [illegible] for organizing the black people [illegible] per cent of the [illegible] entitled by [illegible] said.

[illegible] the movement of SNCC [illegible] black col[illegible] first objective there is to "radi[illegible]" He advocated the [illegible] of Swahili as a lan[illegible]

[illegible] SNCC would move [illegible] and to establish [illegible] of campus power to [illegible] have any [illegible] they desire.

[illegible] would be [illegible] the white [illegible] black schools.

[illegible] blending [illegible] Western society [illegible] attention would be [illegible] to having the black col[illegible] their skills and [illegible] to the black com[illegible]

"[illegible] get this, we'll [illegible]" he said.

[illegible] demonstrations at Texas Southern [illegible] day, he said, "It [illegible] long time coming."

Carmichael [illegible] one thing not in the SNCC blueprint for life is fighting in the Vietnam war. "I am against compulsory conscrip[illegible]tion," he said. "I advocate people say to hell with the draft and go to jail . . . If you decide to kill, you ought to decide who you want to kill."

THE SPEAKER declared that Cassius Clay is "the greatest," and advocated that Clay not fight in Vietnam.

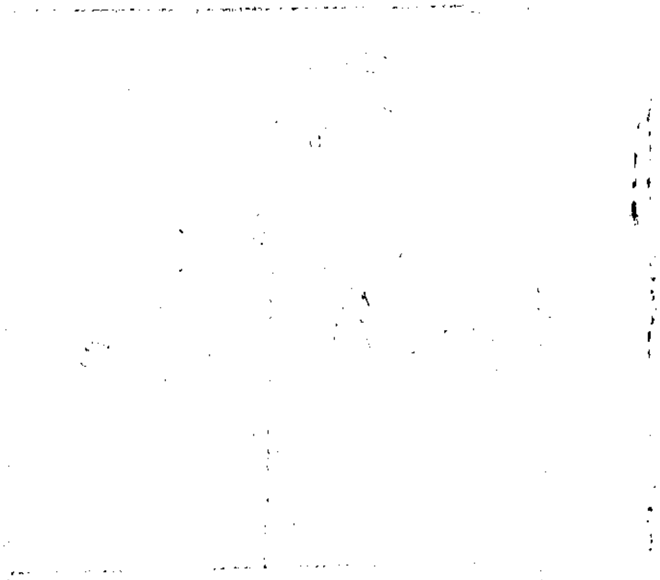
He said the war in Vietnam is for the birds—"Lyndon Bird, Lady Bird and Lynda Bird."

Calling himself a salesman of manhood, Carmichael said this country has law and order, but unfortunately does not have justice. He said until teaching of swahili as a lan[illegible] to give justice to the black people, "there will be no peace."

HE STRESSED that "no one is talking about taking over the country — We wouldn't know what to do with this monster." He talked in terms of the black people taking over their own communities and using the power of their votes for themselves.

He said the black people have been defined by their blackness and powerlessness, and the fact that they have been excluded from making society-changing decisions.

"[illegible] to be that way, [illegible]," he said.



CARMICHAEL GESTURES DURING TALK
'To Hell With the Draft and Go to Jail'
—Post Photo by [illegible]

The following article appeared in the April 14, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

[illegible]

Stokely Carmichael, the black [illegible] told [illegible] students on the [illegible] University campus [illegible] and organiz[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, [illegible] be called [illegible] in Houston.

[illegible] at the University of Houston Thursday [illegible]

[illegible] Non-Violent Co[illegible] [illegible] important since it [illegible] in [illegible]

[illegible] only Cure

He [illegible] of the Negro [illegible]

"You [illegible] communi[illegible] but you [illegible] indi[illegible]

[illegible] people [illegible] enough."

[illegible] the black man [illegible] defined by only two [illegible] "blackness and powerlessness."

The powerlessness, he said [illegible] economic and social forces which prevail in all Negro ghettos across the [illegible]

He said [illegible] ROTC and [illegible] conscription should [illegible] abolished.

He said [illegible] should offer Swahili, a Bantu language used in Africa, so that all black men can communicate with one another.

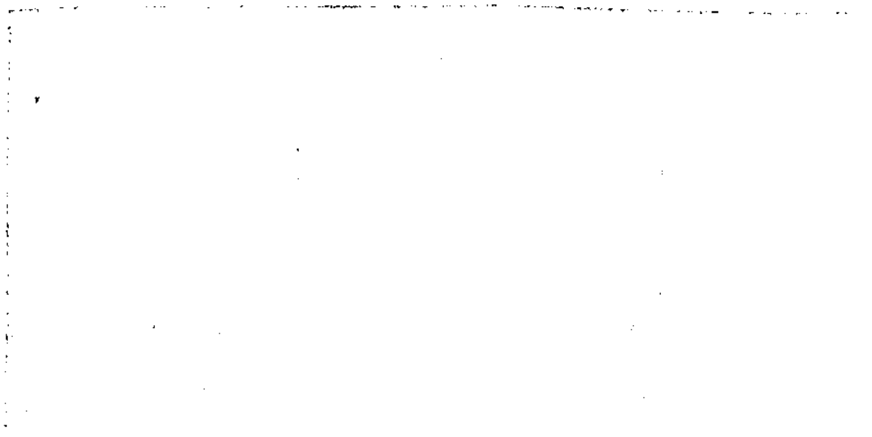


Photo by Darrell [illegible], Chronicle Staff

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ADDRESSES PACKED HOUSE
1000 Persons Hear Him Speak at University of Houston

B. Appearances of H. RAP BROWN and JAMES FORMAN at Houston, Texas in June, 1967; and Interest of SNCC in the TSU 5

On the night of May 16-17, 1967, a riot occurred on the campus of Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas, in which one officer of the Houston Police Department (HOPD), Houston, Texas, was shot and killed and another officer was shot and wounded. As a result of this riot, five students were indicted at Houston, Texas and they became known locally as the "TSU Five". They were: FLOYD NICHOLS, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, TRAZAWELL FRANKLIN, CHARLES FREEMAN and JOHN PARKER.

The following article appeared in the May 16, 1967 issue of The [illegible] [illegible]:

Charged In [illegible] Riot [illegible] Young [illegible] Officer

[illegible] shot in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] were held on the [illegible] campus Wednesday morning although all of the [illegible] students were in jail.

[illegible] day night, police [illegible] [illegible] from the campus. [illegible] officers were [illegible] three location[illegible] [illegible] action.

[illegible] group was [illegible] [illegible] from the campus [illegible] were standing [illegible] [illegible]

THE CAMPUS was open to traffic. Every five minutes unmarked cruisers were cruising on [illegible] through [illegible] [illegible] students.

By [illegible] PM Wednesday, [illegible] but [illegible] of the arrested students had been freed.

TWO MEN were charged with inciting to riot and were held on [illegible] bail. Douglas Wayne Waller, 21, of [illegible] [illegible]wood, whose arrest at [illegible] PM Tuesday may have helped set off the incident, was being held in city jail.

In addition to the riot charge, he was also charged with carrying a pistol and burglary.

Plainclothesman Robert Blaylock arrested Waller [illegible] [illegible] and said he was carrying a pistol. Police say the pistol was taken in a Nov. [illegible] [illegible] burglary. Blaylock was [illegible] about an hour after the arrest, bringing hundreds of policemen onto the TSU campus.

[illegible] Franklin Jr, 21, of Houston, and Floyd Nichols, 2[illegible], of Dallas, were being held in the county jail on the [illegible] Charles Freeman [illegible] Port Arthur, and [illegible] 20, of [illegible] were also charged [illegible] been arrested. All [illegible] TSU students.

[illegible]N, sheriff's deputy [illegible] assistant district attorney [illegible] questioned the 459 [illegible] arrested after a [illegible] charge in which [illegible] other officers were wounded.

[illegible] Welch [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] He said that [illegible] five [illegible] were [illegible] inciting to riot [illegible] that perhaps an[illegible] be charged.

"[illegible] WILL BE charged [illegible]" he said, add[illegible] He said the [illegible] faster than an[illegible]

[illegible] that the [illegible] Waller may have [illegible] to stir [illegible] but he put a lot [illegible] "welcome [illegible] on campus."

"S[illegible] Foster there [illegible] no discip[illegible]" he said. "N[illegible] of the university [illegible] were in [illegible] campus during [illegible]

"[illegible] to talk to Gov Connally [illegible] I think [illegible] him with the [illegible] will be able to [illegible] conclusion."

[illegible] functio[illegible] state is respons[illegible]

[illegible] began, [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] build[illegible] 10 PM. [illegible] keeping tabs on [illegible] by a water-

Waller, whom police said was inciting the crowd, was arrested by Blaylock and Officer J. O. Norris, and turned over to another unit.

WHEN THE two officers returned, they said, rocks began flying and the students began threatening to move to the North Side Scenic Woods area, where Northwood Junior High School has been the site of racial unrest recently.

Shortly after 11 PM, the police said, gunshots began to echo off the college buildings, and reinforcements were called.

Police crouched behind their cruisers for protection, returned the fire. Blaylock was hit about 11:30 PM.

A statement issued from the governor's office at noon Wednesday said:

"Gov Connally is in constant contact with local officials in Houston in an effort to gather all the facts relating to the situation at Texas Southern University.

"HE IS PREPARED to assist local officials in any way to maintain law and order on the campus and elsewhere in Houston."

State Atty Gen Crawford Martin, who said he was in Houston to attend a banquet for a friend Tuesday night, said Wednesday morning that he saw no need for state intervention, which could take the form of National Guard troops.

"In my opinion, the City of Houston has the situation under control," he said. "I see no reason for the state to intervene. I don't anticipate any need for the state to come in. In my opinion, the chief has handled it in a proper manner. I think the police have done what's proper.

"I'M NOT SURE the administration was fully cognizant of the situation, but I think the administration could have exercised better control over the student body."

Dr Joseph Pierce, acting president of the university, announced at a teacher's meeting on the campus Wednesday afternoon that he will retire in August. He said the decision had been made in February and submitted to the school's board of regents.

DEAN OF Students James B. Jones said Wednesday that he was on campus about 11 PM but left because the campus partol told him he was "so easily identifiable."

"Deans of students aren't always the most popular people and that in this kind of situation things aren't predictable," Jones said.

He said he went home and went to bed.

Mayor Welch said city police intelligence knew that some guns were on the campus and learned "yesterday afternoon that some additional guns" had been brought to the campus.

ASKED IF THE city had notified the TSU administration, he said, "They have been completely unresponsive to the problem."

Asked if he complained about the TSU administration to the governor, whom he said he talked with three or four times Wednesday, Welch said:

"I told them the facts and let them draw their own conclusions."

He attributed the riot to those who went about the campus "haranguing" about the death of a 6-year-old white child who was accidentally shot by another white child, making students think a Negro child had been shot.

THE BOARD of regents at the college, after a four and a half hour meeting, issued a statement which said:

"Steps have been taken to separate from the university any student who is not here for the purpose of acquiring quality education and who is involved in such occurrences as happened Tuesday night.

"We have complete faith in the administration and faculty. We will leave it up to them as to who will be expelled."

The statement also expressed regret at the injuries and death.

IN ADDITION to Kuba and Blaylock, three other policemen and two students were injured.

The officers were Ronald Bird, 20, Kuba's friend, who was treated for shock and released, James W. LaCoste, 21, who was treated for a cut hand, and Allen Dale Dugger, 22, who was treated for a 47-stitch bullet wound on his face and released.

Morris English, 22, of Anderson, a student, was hit in the back by a shotgun pellet. He was treated and released. David Herndon, 17, was shot in the arm. He was treated and released.

Sheriff's Officers said Wednesday that a total of 36 students were treated at the county jail for minor injuries. They said most of the injuries were cuts and bruises.

It was estimated that about 500 policemen in all, including sheriff's officers and policemen from Jacinto City, were used in the attempt to put down the riot.

B. AFT[illegible]

B. AFT[illegible]

On June 18, 1967, at 10:10 PM, [redacted], advised handbills had been distributed in the Third Ward area of Houston, predominantly Negro, announcing a meeting to be held at 7:30 PM on June 19, 1967 at the True Light Missionary Baptist Church, 4017 Hamilton Street, Houston, Texas. [redacted] understood speakers at this meeting were to be JAMES FORMAN and H. RAP BROWN, connected with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

On June 19, 1967, an individual identifying himself as H. RAP BROWN appeared at the Federal Office Building and Court House, 515 Rusk Avenue, Houston, Texas, and proceeded to the Federal Court Room where a trial was scheduled to be held concerning CASSIUS CLAY, also known as Muhammad Ali. BROWN was not admitted to this court room and proceeded immediately to the ground floor lobby and he was met by a large number of photographers and reporters who were on hand to cover the trial of CLAY. BROWN was interviewed by these reporters and reports of this interview were subsequently carried on Houston radio stations.

During this interview BROWN stated he was in Houston to head the meeting to protest the filing of charges for rioting against five students at TSU growing out of a campus riot at that university on the evening of May 16-17, 1967. BROWN also passed out copies of a handbill announcing this meeting. This handbill was reproduced and is set out as follows:

URGENT!! URGENT!!!

MASS MEETING

HEAR: MR. H. "RAPP" BROWN
CHAIRMAN S.N.C.C. "SNICK"

JAMES FORMAN
DIR. OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
FOR S.N.C.C. "SNICK"

SUPPORT THE "T.S.U. 5"
ILLEGALLY CHARGED WITH
MURDER

SURPORT MR. MUHAMMED ALI

DATE: MON. JUNE 19, 1967
TIME: 7:30 P.M.
PLACE: TRUE LIGHT MISSIONARY
BAPTIST CHURCH
4017 HAMILTON ST.

While the above circulars were being handed out, a reporter asked BROWN concerning the matter of his interest in the trial of CASSIUS CLAY. BROWN replied that SNCC contemplated no action concerning the CASSIUS CLAY matter unless CLAY should be convicted. When questioned as to what he and SNCC would do in the event CLAY is convicted, BROWN reportedly replied "We will take appropriate action. That's for me to know and for you to find out". BROWN was also quoted as stating if CLAY were sent to prison, SNCC would start activity in Negro communities throughout the United States. BROWN stated he had talked to many Negro leaders and all were concerned about the trial of CLAY.

[redacted] 6/19/67

[redacted] 6/20/67

A mass meeting was held on the evening of June 19, 1967 at True Light Missionary Baptist Church, 4017 Hamilton, Houston, Texas, where two national leaders of SNCC were the principal speakers, namely JAMES FORMAN and H. RAP BROWN. During the early part of the meeting, KELTON SAMS, a former student at TSU, Houston, Texas, discussed a TSU incident which had occurred approximately one month previously wherein he was critical of the Houston Police Department and of TSU policies. He recommended that SNCC people contact people on the streets and door-to-door and by distribution of leaflets to publicize this incident and make known the facts of the situation; further, that these SNCC people should attempt to recruit people for the SNCC organization.

SAMS introduced JAMES FORMAN as a national SNCC leader, FORMAN spoke for a while and discussed the promotion of the civil rights movement, beyond the normal limits which are encompassed in the civil rights movement, to where the

concern would be for a "human rights" movement. FORMAN indicated that a resolution had been prepared which set forth a program to unite all black people in the world and promote solidarity among these people, which resolution was sent to the United Nations with copies to the New York Times and other leading news media. He said it was a forgone conclusion that the news media would not publish this resolution, but that it was learned that a tiny article regarding this resolution had appeared in one New York newspaper. He said the resolution was also sent to the Viet Cong, Red China, the Soviet Union, Middle East and African countries. He said he knew that some positive action would be taken by these nations or groups on this resolution.

FORMAN said that with respect to the TSU incident, there had been some legal entanglement where money was involved and that parties concerned in this matter were National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and attorneys handling the cases for five TSU students who were arrested in connection with rioting at TSU and who had remained in jail in Houston for an extended period of time. He pointed out there was some question as to what had happened to $7,000 in donations that had been collected for the assistance of these five TSU students. An appeal was made by FORMAN to the audience to contribute at this time and church baskets were passed around for a collection. FORMAN discontinued his discussion at this point.

H. RAP BROWN was then introduced as the replacement for STOKELY CARMICHAEL as national head of SNCC. BROWN was critical of "hunkys", FBI, Houston Police Department, CIA and all other agencies which he felt were represented by "watchdogs" at this meeting. He was also critical of news media present at the meeting. He then launched into routine discussion which sounded like an echo of CARMICHAEL. Along this line, he asked for solidarity within SNCC ranks.

KELTON SAMS again spoke and asked that all news media leave this meeting without delay, whereupon the news media hurriedly departed from True Light Missionary Baptist Church. SAMS then requested that all white people in the audience depart immediately. There was a scattering of white people in the audience and these promptly departed.

BROWN again began speaking and he lashed out at the Houston city administration and the police department of Houston. He mentioned places like Los Angeles, Chicago and Philadelphia where riots had occurred on the spur of the moment created by some incident such as where a policeman beat a pregnant woman or shot a youth in the back. He advised that

an organized method must be utilized in dealing with the power structure and the police departments. He stated the only rioting that had occurred where an organized method was utilized was in Cincinnati. He pointed out that Cincinnati was a city where Negro ghettos were spotted in different areas of the city. He said it was proven that organized methods were very effective where trained people were situated in each ghetto. He indicated that at the outset of rioting, a city should be "hit" in the downtown area wherever the big business headquarters were located. He said the police department would then concentrate on this central area, and, when simultaneous outbreaks occurred in scattered ghetto areas, the police department would be in a position of having to spread their forces and thus become more ineffective.

BROWN indicated that training should be given to persons in their respective neighborhoods in order that they would know to open all fire hydrants to make the fire department ineffective in trying to utilize high pressure hoses on rioters. With all these hydrants open, pressure would be practically non-existent. BROWN further indicated that when the National Guard or militia was called in, it would be an advantage for persons in these particular areas to have regular fatigue suits or Army regulation uniforms which would so nearly match those of the Guard or militia that the Guard or militia would not know exactly who was on which side. Through this means, the rioters could take over jeeps that were in possession of the National Guard or militia and drive the jeeps out of the area. He noted that each jeep is equipped with a machine gun. BROWN encouraged the Negroes at this gathering to buy firearms and ammunition.

BROWN also called upon these people to try every method possible to locate arsenals of the "Minutemen" organization. He pointed out that when action along the above described lines takes place, Negroes with a "white brain", who cooperated with the white community, would be the first to die.

BROWN said the most important thing that has been overlooked has been recruitment of Negro women. He said words to the effect that these Negro women could be of assistance along the line of "Where the Boss could get his bacon and eggs with arsenic instead of salt".

BROWN talked of the "TSU Five", inferring that these were the five TSU students who had been previously arrested in connection with rioting at TSU on what he referred to as "trumped up" charges. He said it was stupid to think that five Negro males could have held one gun and pulled the trigger

resulting in the murder of a policeman in Houston, noting that these five individuals were charged with murder of a policeman. He said that by utilization of the right method it could be possible to get the "power structure" to bring pressure to bear upon the Chief of Police and Mayor in Houston.

BROWN initiated a question and answer session. MILLARD LOWE who has been active with the SNCC organization at TSU in Houston during the past year asked a question regarding the similarity of Cincinnati to Houston in that he felt the Negro slums and ghettos in Houston were scattered over the city. He inquired as to what could be done in the case of Houston. BROWN said that organization in each ghetto should be strict and thorough with liaison set up between these ghettos. He recommended that efforts be made to distract attention from the main rioting section, by methods which he outlined previously, wherein rioting would break out in scattered areas of a city.

Another question put to BROWN was regarding what had happened to $7,000 raised by the NAACP. Following this question, a quantity of "double talk" ensued. Nobody assumed blame for the missing $7,000. FORMAN and BROWN indicated they were going to locate the $7,000 before they left Houston.

An attorney was introduced who was allegedly defending the "TSU Five". It was stated that he was a graduate of Yale Law School. It was pointed out that if Yale could produce presidents, senators and similar prominent personages, then this attorney was undoubtedly all right. It was indicated that utmost confidence in him was had.

BROWN said that it would be desirable to have full cooperation of the Negro community with SNCC to organize a "set up" in Houston, presumably similar to the arrangement which he had described for Cincinnati. He said this was a "must" and could not be delayed any longer. He stated he and FORMAN would have to stay in Houston until they knew the "TSU Five" were out of jail. The attorney representing the "TSU Five" had indicated these five individuals would be out of jail by noon, June 20, 1967; that the San Antonio NAACP had provided necessary property bonds for release of these individuals, which property bonds had to be checked out by Harris County authorities.

Regarding contributions, FORMAN stated that requests should be made of people in Houston for regular monthly or weekly contributions as these persons were in a position to contribute; that professional Negroes who would not have a big income at this time, if it had not been for the civil rights movement, should be expected to contribute freely.

It could be estimated there were at least 200 persons, and possibly as many as 250, present at this gathering.

The following article appeared in the June 20, 1967 issue of The [illegible]:

[illegible headline]

[illegible] release of the [illegible] students.

Forman is executive secretary and Brown replaces Stokely Carmichael as chairman.

FORMAN AND Brown brought the cry of Black Power to a higher pitch, claiming the rising "Afro-American" revolution is [illegible].

They spoke for almost two hours, along with Kelton [illegible], a local SNCC leader who said he was told not to return to TSU, where he was student body president and an honor student.

THEIR MAIN points included:

- Revolution against the white "[illegible]" was the only way to bring freedom to Negroes.
- The fight for civil rights in the United States is only part of a world-wide war for domination of the white majority.
- U.S. involvement in Vietnam is a genocidal war to control Southeast Asia's economy.
- The news media turns whites against Negroes and Negroes against Negroes.

[illegible]

FORMAN [illegible] of his speech at which he [illegible] a national conspiracy to keep Negroes from [illegible], they are pawns in international politics and the U.S. economy is built on black backs.

He said national leaders, especially President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, want to think the Negro struggle is local.

Forman said Africans and [illegible] "are fighting the same beast." He defined the "beast" as the white "[illegible]."

HE RAPPED the U.S. stand in Vietnam, particularly because Negroes were forced to kill, then told to be peaceful when they return from duty.

"If you can die defending your motherland," he said, "you can die defending your mother," he said. The crowd [illegible] and yelled, "That's right! Tell it about it!"

Forman introduced Brown, who called on Negroes to take up arms to gain their goals. "It's essential that black people control their communities," he said.

SIGNS OF A controversy over fund raising first turned up when Kelton Sams said he had heard that several people

[illegible]

[illegible] SNCC and ministers [illegible] did not know the whereabouts of some of the money [illegible] been collected. [illegible] of only $1,000.

The five TSU students go on trial July 25.

HO 100-10390

[redacted], 9/7/67

[redacted] 9/20/67

On the night of September 19, 1967, there was a joint meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) held at the Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church, Wheeler and Scott Avenues, Houston, Texas.

The purpose of the joint meeting was to explain to the public and particularly to students of TSU, Houston, Texas, the legal status of the five former TSU students, frequently referred to as the "TSU Five", who were indicted as a result of the TSU riot in May, 1967. Another purpose was to brief those in attendance on the over-all racial situation in the Houston area.

The first speaker was Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK, SCLC Field Representative at Houston. He discussed the rights of citizens in general, the rights of citizens of the Negro community of Houston, and the rights of local residents in general.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman and Spokesman, Houston SNCC, spoke next, and he thereafter held a question and answer period.

[redacted], 9/20/67

On September 19, 1967, a SNCC meeting was held at the Wheeler Street Baptist Church, Houston, Texas.

The meeting was chaired by Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK. The purpose of the meeting was to gain support for the TSU Five, who are five former students of TSU who were expelled after they were arrested and charged in connection with rioting at TSU in May, 1967.

Early in the meeting it was pointed out by a local attorney, BOBBIE CALDWELL, that in view of the fact that the jury for the trial of the TSU Five would include persons from all areas of Harris County, Texas and would probably be an all-white jury, any publicity regarding the TSU Five could prejudice the jury against them. He recommended that a switch be made from the TSU Five to TSU 51 and that they proceed from there, it being noted that TSU 51 referred to a total of 51 students who were expelled from TSU in the latter part of the spring semester, 1967. Those 51 students were all alleged to have had some connection with the rioting at TSU in May, 1967.

CALDWELL recommended that support be built up for these 51 students at the TSU campus by means of distributing leaflets and encouraging support demonstrations as well as by speeches in the campus "pit". He recommended that there be speeches twice daily at the "pit", preferably at noon and at 8:00 PM. He further recommended that efforts be made to mobilize as many students as possible to go to Austin, Texas on the following Monday,September 25, 1967, at which time a federal judge was scheduled to render a decision in the TSU 51 case. The judge had reportedly agreed to ignore the scholastic aspects involved where some of the students were not permitted to re-enter TSU because of their scholastic averages being below the required level for registration.

It was felt that on the TSU campus, there are lots of sympathizers to the TSU 51 and that the sympathizers would back up any speakers in the event someone tried to shout them down. It was pointed out that it would be desirable to have "stump" speakers who would jump up on a table in the cafeteria and start talking in support of the TSU 51. LEE OTIS JOHNSON volunteered to go the campus and speak. KIRKPATRICK said that JOHNSON could not do so because he would be promptly arrested. RONALD EVANS and HOWARD WILLIAMS, both active with SNCC and attending TSU, volunteered to be "pit" speakers.

There was also discussion regarding what could be done to improve the image of the TSU 5 outside of Texas. The question

was raised as to how many of the TSU Five could be encouraged to go on a speaking tour. It was decided that efforts would be made to make financial arrangements for some activity in this regard.

Leaflets for distribution were scheduled to be run off on the night of September 19, 1967 in order that they would be ready to be distributed the morning of September 20, 1967. The ultimate goal is to get the 51 ex-students admitted to TSU or close TSU down.

[redacted] 10/3/67

Following the riots at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas in May, 1967, about 51 students were expelled from that university.

As a result of the riot in which an officer of the Houston Police Department (HOPD), Houston, Texas was shot and killed, five students were indicted at Houston, Texas, and they became known locally as "The TSU Five". They were: FLOYD NICHOLS, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, TRAZAWELL FRANKLIN, CHARLES FREEMAN and JOHN PARKER.

Those five students, along with STANLEY WRIGHT and WILLIAM RICHARDS, filed suit in U.S. Federal Court, Houston, seeking a mandatory injunction ordering the TSU administration to permit the students to re-enroll at that university. On or about September 28, 1967, a federal judge at Houston ruled against the students and denied them the injunction.

Thereafter, the aforementioned seven individuals joined with the remaining 51 students, who had been expelled, in filing a petition in the 126th District Court, Travis County, Austin, Texas, seeking a court order permitting them enrollment. Among the students who had joined the petition were JIMMIE LAZARE, Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, CARL MOORE, MILLARD LOWE, ROBERT TUCKER and CLARICE BUCKLEY. Judge JIM MEYERS of that court began hearing the matter on or about September 26, 1967. MEYERS refused to give consideration to the petition of the TSU Five, STANLEY WRIGHT and WILLIAM RICHARDS, on the grounds that the federal decision previously handed down at Houston refusing their readmission was finally determinative of the issue and should not be interferred with.

MEYERS took under advisement the reinstatement of KIRKPATRICK, JOHNSON, CARL MOORE and JIMMIE LAZARE.

[redacted] advised that it was his understanding that on October 3, 1967, MEYERS ruled against all the remaining individuals who had become a party to the petition and refused to order their reinstatement at TSU.

[redacted] 11/13/67

Purpose of this tour is for NICHOLS to relate the story of the "TSU Five" in an effort to get sympathy and support for them. The "TSU Five" were five students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, who were charged in connection with rioting at TSU in May, 1967, at which time a Houston police officer was shot and killed. NICHOLS is one of the "TSU Five".

A leaflet prepared at Houston by SNCC captioned "Facts About the T.S. U. Five and Their Indictment For Murder and Two Assaults to 'Murder'" sets forth the probable substance of the talks that will be given by NICHOLS. (Below is a xerox copy of the leaflet).

Facts About the T.S.U. Five and Their Indictment For Murder and Two Assaults to "MURDER"

[illegible] were there, you could have been there; whether you were there or not [illegible] and then it would have mattered a great deal because you [illegible] have been a victim of the same situation that 480 students were the victims [illegible] were there, it was a struggle for black people and if you had been [illegible] for you (if you are a black man).

[illegible] Afro-Americans are fighting for the liberation of black people [illegible] we have begun to realize that we are brothers and sisters in struggle.

[illegible] point is that many of our brothers and sisters are being [illegible] and have been indicted falsely for crimes or so called crimes so [illegible] by the white man's justice and shrewd wit.

[illegible] in order to slow down so called [illegible] we will stop our fight for human rights [illegible]. These are the conceptions and traps designed by [illegible] quell our fight for freedom.

[illegible] is, that there are five black brothers who are victims of such [illegible] with as many other brothers and sisters in the same struggle as we are. [illegible] Five are victims of the May 16 and 17 melee created solely by the [illegible] of Houston, Texas.

Fact I: [illegible] five of these brothers were on the campus whereupon one [illegible].

Fact II: All five of these brothers could have been arrested by police [illegible] observing the students during the night of May 16; however, [illegible] one brother was arrested at that time around or approximately 9:00 [illegible].

Fact III. Two of the indicted brothers left the campus almost immediately after the arrest of one brother.

Fact IV. Two of the five indicted brothers remained on the campus and [illegible] in the dormitories when the police force stormed the dorms and [illegible] the four hundred and eighty some men students. As a result, later [illegible] morning of the seventeenth of May, the womens dorm was raided and an attempt [illegible] was made as well.

C. Statements of LEE OTIS JOHNSON which were either anti-white in nature or advocated the use of violence

[redacted] 8/9/67

During the late afternoon of August 5, 1967, a demonstration was held by SNCC at the intersection of Interstate Highway 10 and Gregg Street, Houston, Texas. One of the speakers was LEE OTIS JOHNSON who criticized "honkies" and said it was necessary to get rid of cops and to get Chinese and everything white, out of the Negro neighborhoods.

JOHNSON also said that if a police officer stopped a car and failed to say "Mr." or "Mrs." in addressing the Negro occupants, the occupants should refuse to produce their drivers license; that instead, the occupants should call for help from Negroes in the area and then beat the "honky" policeman up. Among those present at the demonstration was FRED BRODE and LAURA BRODE.

[redacted] 8/14/67

On August 11, 1967, at about 5:00 PM, a rally was held by SNCC at the intersection of Gregg and Nance Street, Houston, Texas, under the overpass of Interstate Highway 10. One of the several speakers was LEE OTIS JOHNSON who condemned "honkies" and complained of white men fraternizing with Negro women by night. He recommended that when "honky" cops come into Negro areas to make arrests, everyone should converge on them and beat them to death.

The August 24, 1967 issue of The Houston Post, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas, carried an article entitled "Welch Urges Negro Group: Keep Peace". That article in part stated that "An uneasy peace hangs over Houston and poor judgment by any of its citizens could change it into violence, Mayor Louie Welch told Lee Otis Johnson" head of the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The article went on to state that "Johnson said he subscribesto everything Rap Brown, national SNCC chairman, stands for but that the group does not advocate violence - only retaliation".

[redacted] 8/28/67

Houston SNCC held a demonstration under the overpass where Interstate Highway 10 passes over Gregg Street in Houston, Texas, during the evening of August 28, 1967. One of the speakers was LEE OTIS JOHNSON, an active leader of SNCC in Houston.

JOHNSON stated the "honkies" are enemies of the Negroes. He criticized his recent treatment at the hands of police in Houston. He recommended that Chinese and Italians be gotten out of Negro neighborhoods in Houston. He called upon Negroes to get guns and be prepared to protect themselves from the "honkies". He said Negroes should not let the "honkies" run over them.

10/19/67

APPENDIX

HOUSTON COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On February 6, 1967, a source advised that during most of 1965 and all of 1966, Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCAV) existed in the Houston, Texas, area without specific membership, officers, or by-laws. It was a group of individuals devoted to protesting United States Action in Vietnam, primarily by demonstrations in public areas. It had no headquarters location and depended upon HCAV participants on a voluntary basis for performance of any necessary functions such as preparation of announcements, leaflets, and related work.

As of January 1, 1967, HCAV became known as Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV).

On February 3, 1967, at an HCEWV meeting in Houston, election of officers was held. Positions in HCEWV were then set up and were filled by voting or acclamation. Officers took these positions for a period of six months duration. As of February 3, 1967, the following persons assumed the positions indicated:

Chairman - BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY

Treasurer - ROCHELLE ELLISON

Secretary - MARY FRY (phonetic)

Recording Secretary - MONA SCHACHT

News Editor - DANIEL JAY SCHACHT,
son of MONA SCHACHT

Another position, which was not referred to as an actual office, was that of Portfolio Member. This person would substitute for any other officers who were not available to perform their duties at a given time and it would also include assistance to any specific officers in their

appointed functions. FRED BRODE won this position by acclamation. BRODE has described himself as a Trotskyite.

On June 29, 1967, source advised MONA SCHACHT was no longer affiliated with HCEWV in any way. She had become unpopular as a result of her having rewritten an HCEWV letter or leaflet after it had been turned over to her for mimeographing.

On August 9, 1967, source advised election of officers was held at an HCEWV meeting, Houston, August 4, 1967, at which the following individuals were elected to the positions shown:

Chairman - BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY

Vice Chairman - LINDA DUVAL

Secretary - YVONNE HAUGE

Treasurer - ROCHELLE ELLISON

Co-Editors - DAVID SHROYER and MARGERY SHROYER

Positions of Recording Secretary, formerly held by MONA SCHACHT, and Portfolio Member, previously held by FRED BRODE, were abolished. Source noted BRODE continued active with HCEWV.

A second source advised on July 27, 1967, that MONA SCHACHT was a current member of the State Committee of the Communist Party in Texas.

APPENDIX

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 9, 1964, that the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. This source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who had split from the SWP and who were led by JAMES ROBERTSON. This source stated that this political unit has its main center in New York City, where it publishes "Spartacist" on a very irregular basis, but their formal meetings are held at least once a week.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that the expelled leader of a minority faction of the SWP, JAMES ROBERTSON, announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

The July-August, 1964, issue of "Spartacist" in its masthead describes this publication as follows:

"... published bi-monthly by supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party."

This masthead sets forth that the editor of the publication is JAMES ROBERTSON, and its main address is Post Office Box 1377, General Post Office, New York, New York.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 31, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26 - 27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19 - 21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8 - 10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NEW YORK

The October 1, 1964 issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," a daily student newspaper published at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, reported that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had received recognition as a student activity group by the Scheduling, Coordinating, and Activities Review Board of Cornell Student Government.

A pamphlet entitled "What Is the Young Socialist League?" obtained by a source attending a YSL meeting in March, 1965, described this organization as both a theoretical and action political group with national and international affiliations, standing in the tradition of revolutionary socialism, organized around the viewpoint that the world's problems will be solved only through socialism, and in the belief that the methodology and theoretical system of Marxism retain essential validity in America today.

The May-June, 1965, issue of the "Spartacist" (Identified on its masthead as "published bi-monthly by supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency expelled from the SWP" (Socialist Workers Party) contained a "Spartacist Local Directory," which included the following listing: "Ithaca, Box 9, Ithaca, New York, 14851." A second source advised on October 27, 1965, that Ithaca Post Office Box 442 (formerly Box 9) is rented for the use of the YSL (Cornell) and the Ithaca Spartacist.

A third source advised on November 17, 1965, that the membership of the Cornell YSL and the Ithaca Spartacist Committee are the same.

A fourth source on January 7, 1966, furnished a copy of a one-page handbill captioned "Socialists and the Vietnamese Revolution," dated January 5, 1966, and prepared by the YSL for circulation on the Cornell campus. This material identifies the YSL as an independent local campus group with a national perspective and in "political agreement with the Spartacist organization, a national revolutionary socialist organization."

CONFIDENTIAL

2

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NEW YORK

The fourth source advised on February 2, 1966, that members of the YSL have told him that the Cornell YSL, though an independent group which elects its own officers, identifies itself and agrees on political points with the national Spartacist organization; and its members consider themselves as Trotskyists and their group as being derived essentially from the Fourth International.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston, Texas
November 30, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report at Houston, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Insufficient contact has been had with following sources to determine their reliability, but each, at time information was furnished, was ostensibly in a position to furnish reliable information:

-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
HOUSTON	ATLANTA	2/28/68	11/21/67 - 2/20/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		SJM
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC		

REFERENCES: HOrep of SA [redacted] 11/30/67.
Buairtel to Albany and all offices, 1/31/68.

- P -

LEAD:

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Houston, Texas.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

100-439190-19-59

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HO 100-10390

One copy each of this report is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, Secret Service and three copies to MIG. Also NISO, Houston.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location of Information
[redacted]	[redacted] 308, 320, 322, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 335, 337, 338, 340, 396; 100-10390-430, 457; Characterization of FRED BRODE, RAMON ELLINGTON, CLARA ELLINGTON, and DAVID SHROYER
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	HO 100-6898-178 Characterization of FRED BRODE
[redacted]	100-10390-490; 100-10508-10,11; Characterization of CHARLES MC KINLEY SMITH
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

B
COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
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1 - OSI, San Antonio (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: SA [redacted]   Office: Houston, Texas

Date: February 28, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-10390   Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

[redacted] 2/12/68

Headquarters of the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas.

II. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

[redacted] 12/2/67

[redacted]

[redacted] 12/21/67

STANLEY WRIGHT, currently Treasurer of Houston SNCC, appears to be the only one currently connected with the Houston SNCC group who has much "on the ball". The current SNCC "regulars" at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas appear to be more a bunch of "leeches" than anything else. They do not work for a living and they spend much of their time there doing and accomplishing practically nothing. They have no money and anyone who has anything available even as simple as a package of cigarettes cannot retain it long in their presence.

[redacted] 12/26/67

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/30/67

[redacted] 12/65

[redacted] 9/23/65

On September 23, 1965, FRED BRODE, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) sympathizer, from Humble, Texas, was in attendance at the SWP National Convention in New York City, New York.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

HO 100-10390

[redacted] 12/2/67

On December 1, 1967, a monthly meeting of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) was held at the YWCA, 1300 Rusk, Houston, Texas. At this meeting there was discussion that a demonstration was scheduled to be held at the induction center in Houston on December 4, 1967. A current issue of HCEWV News referred to the term "some type resistance" that would be utilized in connection with this demonstration. A great amount of controversy ensued as to the meaning of this terminology. It was voted that HCEWV would hold a peaceful demonstration, on that occasion, within the law. There were approximately twenty people present at this meeting, including: RAMON ELLINGTON, CLARA ELLINGTON, BEN LEVY, FRED BRODE, RONALD EVANS and FLOYD NICHOLS, the latter two of whom are members of Houston SNCC.

[redacted] 11/16/67

A characterization of the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, also known as Spartacist, appears in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] 12/13/67

On December 2, 1967, at about 3:00 PM a meeting was held at Our Mother of Mercy Church, a Catholic Church located at Sumpter and Benson Streets in the Fifth Ward area of Houston, Texas. The sponsor of this meeting was indicated to be the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) inasmuch as HCEWV was identified at the bottom of a leaflet which announced this meeting and which leaflet was captioned "Why Should Negro Citizens in Houston Form Groups to Oppose the War in Vietnam". Speakers at the meeting included FLOYD NICHOLS as a representative of SNCC; BEN LEVY, Chairman of HCEWV; and DANNY SCHACHT. Among those individuals present were STANLEY WRIGHT and RONALD EVANS, both of Houston SNCC.

For a characterization of DANIEL JAY SCHACHT, who is also known as DANNY SCHACHT, see the characterization of the HCEWV set forth in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] 12/13/67

HO 100-10390

[redacted] 4/67 to 11/67

On various dates from April 8, 1967 through September 21, 1967, DAVID SHROYER was in attendance at meetings of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) and meetings of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), held at Houston, Texas. Additionally, SHROYER attended a Spartacist-sponsored black power forum on [redacted] at Houston, and meetings of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held on [redacted] and [redacted] at Houston, Texas.

B. Efforts of Houston SNCC or Its Personnel for and on Behalf of the TSU Five; and Interest Shown Therein by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

As previously noted in this report, the TSU Five are five young Negro males, formerly students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas, who were indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967, at which time a policeman of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and killed.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450 by the Attorney General of the United States.

[redacted] 10/11/67

[redacted] 10/12/67

HO 100-10390

[redacted]

[redacted] 12/13/67

The following leaflet was prepared by Houston SNCC as an acknowledgement to be sent to various areas where FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT had traveled on a recent tour during which NICHOLS made speeches to stimulate support and interest in the TSU Five .

November 30, 1967

Dear Counterparts and Revolutionaries,

We thoroughly enjoyed ourselves while visiting your city as well as the visits that we made while we were there; we sincerely hope that you have obtained an excellent relationship as brothers and sisters w[illegible] our office hero in Houston Texas and our revolutionary struggle as [illegible].

Please feel [illegible] to call or write us to inform our office in Houston of any happenings that may develop in your city concerning our trial or any trial that incurres our brothers and sisters in this country.

We appreciate your concern and help and strongly wish that you would continue to help us as much as possible. We would like very much for you as individuals and organizations to give us as much publicity and support as possible as well as the many contributions that you may be able to give. In order for our struggle and trials to be rightfull publicized, we would strongly advise__------ contact all of these liberal and so called liberal whites and confront them with our dilemma adversly and attact their convictions as supposed liberals.

The newspapers, press, amd radio programs will also be an asset tou our publicity and yours as well. Written letters will add to our publicity as well.

If, in doubt, about the standard letters to the officials of this city such as the mayor, police officers, district attourney, Mc Clellan's committee and other political officials, please write us for further information.

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Box#21085
Houston 26, Texas
77026

Officers of S.N.C.C.
Stanley Wright
Floyd Nichols

Floyd Henry Nichols
Stanley W. Wright

1/4/68
1/4/68

D. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of the SDS is attached to the appendix of this report

12/1/67

On November 30, 1967, a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) meeting was held on the steps at the front of the

University of Houston (UH), UH Center, Houston, Texas, commencing about 8:00 PM with about thirty people in attendance. DANNY SCHACHT was chairman for the meeting and he ramrodded most of the discussion while the others listened. He spent much of the time figuring techniques that could be used and methods that might disrupt the induction process of men being taken into the armed forces at the induction center in Houston, inasmuch as a demonstration was being planned for that location to take place on December 4, 1967. Among those present were STANLEY WRIGHT, FLOYD NICHOLS, ROBERT N. TUCKER, JOHN MORRIS, FRED BRODE and RAMON ELLINGTON.

There have been obvious efforts of SDS to involve Houston SNCC with SDS activities. Overtures have been made to STANLEY WRIGHT, but he has resisted to date.

APPENDIX

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The April 19, 1965, edition of the "Militant," a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), set forth the following:

"Founded under the leadership of LEON TROTSKY in 1938, the Fourth International is an organization embracing revolutionary socialist parties and groups throughout the world. In the United States, the SWP stands in political solidarity with the Fourth International..."

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS , an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston, Texas
February 28, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report at Houston, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERA . BUREAU OF INV..TIGAT..

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
HOUSTON	ATLANTA	5/29/68	2/21-5/20/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: SJM

CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCE: HOrep SA [redacted], 2/28/68.

- P -

LEAD:

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Houston, Texas.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: NONE

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUITTALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info)(RM)
2 - Houston (100-10390)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-19-64

REC 22

REC- 44

4 JUN 3 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

66 JUN 26 1968

in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

One copy each of this report is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, Secret Service and three copies to MIG. Also copy for NISO, Houston.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location of Information
	and orally to SA , 5/9/68
	Orally to SA 5/16/68
	HO 100-10390-526, 527, 529, 530, 535, 536, 551, 552, 611; Documentation of FRED BRODE: and orally 5/15/68 to SA
	100-10390-551 and 552

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston (RM)
New Orleans (RM)
Houston (Personal Delivery)
Houston (Personal Delivery)

CONFIDENTIAL

Office: Houston, Texas

Bureau File #: 100-439[illegible]

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

INTERNAL MATTERS

- 1 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

HO [illegible]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HO [illegible]

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

(3/9/68)
(3/16/68)

[illegible]adquarters of the Houston Student Non-Violent [illegible]ting Committee (SNCC) is located in a building at [illegible]stex Freeway, Houston, Texas. This building contains [illegible] of FORREST H. CALDWELL, Attorney at Law and [illegible], whose [illegible]cial address is 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas. Although offices of Houston SNCC are housed in the back of this building, the official address of Houston SNCC is 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas.

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

(3/1/68)

II. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

[illegible]/2[illegible]/68)

Currently, the Houston Student Non-Violent [illegible]nating Committee (SNCC), Houston, Texas is inactive with no regularly scheduled meetings being held. This has been the case for the past six weeks or so, although its headquarters continue to be locate d at 2024½ Eastex Free- [illegible], Texas.

[illegible] of Houston SNCC would include its six alth[illegible] technically, Houston SNCC is not considered [illegible] than its six officers, few,

if [illegible] other individuals in the Houston area have any [illegible] in Houston SNCC.

FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT, the Chairman and Treasurer, respectively, of Houston SNCC, have been [illegible] to various college campuses in other states [illegible] on behalf of the TSU Five and when these two men [illegible] SNCC headquarters is locked up and none [illegible] officer of SNCC can gain access to the pre- [illegible] The remaining four officers of Houston SNCC have [illegible] very little if any, direction or [illegible], Field Secretary Director, was absent from Houston from about the first part of January, 1968 until around the middle of April, 1968; and LARRY JACKSON, Public Relations man, has been absent from Houston since around the first part of 1968. JACKSON [illegible] allegedly living at Austin, Texas.

The TSU Five are five young Negro males, formerly students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas, who were indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU during the night of May [illegible] 1967 at which time a policeman of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and killed.

[illegible] [illegible]

Houston SNCC continues to remain inactive with no [illegible] scheduled meetings being held.

[illegible] PRESENT OFFICERS OF HOUSTON SNCC

[illegible] [illegible]/9/68)
[illegible]/16/68)
[illegible]/15/68)

The following individuals continue to hold the [illegible] officer's position in Houston SNCC:

FLOYD NICHOLS, Chairman
KENNETH SIMPSON, Vice Chairman
DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Secretary
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, Treasurer
[illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible], Field Secretary Director
[illegible] JACKSON, Public Relations man

[illegible] [illegible]

Houston SNCC has never drafted a Constitution [illegible] reorganizational meeting and election of

... held on December 8, 1967. It appears that other than the officers mentioned above, and RONALD EVANS who is a former officer of Houston SNCC, very few other individuals in the Houston area have any real active interest in SNCC.

COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO INFILTRATE OR INFLUENCE SNCC; AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS; AND, ASSOCIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMMUNIST BACKGROUND

A. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

[redacted] (1/4/68)

[illegible] of [illegible] Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

The Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV)

Set forth in the appendix of this report is a characterization of the HCEWV.

(2/2/68)

[illegible] 67)

A characterization of the Spartacist League (SL), formerly known as the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, is [illegible] forth in the appendix of this report.

For [illegible] characterization of DANIEL JAY SCHACHT [illegible] DANNY SCHACHT, see the characterization of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) set forth in the [illegible] of this report.

(8/28/68)

... Personnel for and on Behalf of the TSU Five

The TSU Five are five young Negro males, formerly students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas ... indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967 at which time a policeman of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and killed.

Two of the TSU Five are FLOYD NICHOLS and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALKER who are respectively Chairman and Secretary of Houston SNCC.

(... /68)

(.../26/68)

[redacted] (4/78)

[redacted] (1/68)

Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA)

[redacted] (22/68)

On the evening of January 21, 1968, a meeting for [illegible] on Five was held at the residence of TOM FLOWER [illegible] es Street, San Antonio, Texas. This meeting [illegible] been arranged by JOHN STANFORD, Chairman [illegible] Party (CP) of the State of Texas and member, [illegible] Committee, CP USA.

Approximately forth persons were in attendance including the following:

[illegible] from Houston, Texas;

[illegible] (phonetic), a Negro from [illegible] Five;

[illegible] SMITH, CP member from Austin, [illegible]

LARRY JACKSON, a Negro, who apparently is from Houston, but who is in Austin, Texas, now working with [illegible] KINLEY SMITH;

[illegible] SAGER, a CP member from San Antonio,

CLARK and CARLYNE SANTOS, CP members from San [illegible]

[illegible] San Antonio

JOHN STANFORD [illegible] as moderator and introduced NICHOLAS as one of the [illegible] Five.

NICHOLAS indicated [illegible] he was one of the Houston [illegible] students who was arrested at TSU in Houston, Texas [illegible] now out on bond. He said that the NAACP had made [illegible] their bond; however, the NAACP might withdraw their [illegible] because of [illegible] present activities.

NICHOLAS stated that they are going to try to organize a defense committee for people such as him who are [illegible] but have no one to defend them. He indicated that [illegible] had the services of several attorneys but they needed [illegible] committee.

JOHN STANFORD indicated he desired a defense [illegible] be started in San Antonio and he passed a list [illegible] to sign if they wanted to be members of the [illegible] committee.

[redacted] (1/23/68)

[redacted]

[illegible] Democratic Society (SDS)

[illegible] of the SDS is set forth in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] (2/20/68)

On February 18, 1968 at about 3:00 PM the opening day of Black Week commenced at Hammond Hall in the 2400 block of Dennis, Houston, Texas. This was an activity sponsored by the [illegible] group and was to extend from [illegible] through 21, 1968. This meeting was chaired by BOBBIE [illegible] stated [illegible] week was a week which black [illegible] had dedicated to the black people such as MALCOLM X, CASSIUS [illegible], SAM COOK, a musician who [illegible] ed in this group, [illegible] N, who was active following the Civil War in looking after the problems of [illegible] people in the United States. A speaker was introduced [illegible] namely Reverend EARL ALLEN. ALLEN was described by CALDWELL as one who had contributed materially to the [illegible] struggle in Houston, Texas. [illegible] noted that ALLEN heads two organizations in Houston, [illegible] which is known as HCIL and the other known as the [illegible] Religious Comm[illegible] Affairs (ICUA). Both of [illegible] organizations [illegible] have objectives of improving [illegible] lot of Negroes.

ALLEN said that "Black Power" is important in that it points up the need for black people to control the [illegible] where they live to the extent of running uncooperative white people out of the community. He stated this [illegible] own [illegible] establish[illegible] unions and controlling their political destiny. [illegible] the most important thing necessary for black peo[illegible] their communities is for them to start a [illegible] incidents publicizing the black "Uncle Toms" in [illegible] community and black people who had accepted a satisfied [illegible] with the "power structure". The power structure [illegible] referred to more commonly in ALLEN's talk as the "man". [illegible] said that one way to carry out these objectives is, [illegible] if a store is being picketed by black people [illegible] black people enter the store, photographs should be taken [illegible] persons who cross the picket line and leaflets should [illegible] with his picture thereon to publicize him all over the neighborhood. He said the same action should apply to those who cooperate with the man. He said that if this tactic failed then black people should resort to other methods such as open [illegible] black people to the extent of [illegible] and thereby setting an exam-

[illegible] the man's preparation for blacks [illegible] summer [illegible]. He noted that all major [illegible] the nation have [illegible] increased police forces and have

[illegible] with tanks, machine guns, flame throwers and [illegible], He said the man intends to murder as [illegible] as necessary to stop the burning of cities and destruction of property as has transpired in some of the nation's major cities in recent years. He said blacks in [illegible] communities are not prepared to cope with this massive [illegible] police power and they will have to change their [illegible] the man has changed his tactics. They can no [illegible] into the streets throwing molotov cocktails or trying to intimidate the police force for the man [illegible] said blacks will have to orient themselves where they can "turn on a dime" and go in any or many directions. The man will have a machine geared in such a way to [illegible] with the situation that the momentum of the machine will carry it in only one direction. [illegible] people going in more than one direction, the man will [illegible] trated in trying to control them.

ALLEN said [illegible] would be possible to carry on a [illegible] campaign [illegible] that all domestic servants [illegible] becoming organized [illegible] the intention of poisoning the power structure on a particular day. This would be by such means as poison in coffee or food of persons who comprise the power structure.

Another means recommended by ALLEN for coping with [illegible] structure would be to picket certain establishments, [illegible] to buy certain commodities. He noted there are many [illegible] to discuss matters among black people whereby no open [illegible] with the power structure is necessary. He said [illegible] man expects certain reactions to given situations [illegible] change tactics will upset the man.

The next speaker was LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former [illegible] of the Houston SNCC group who, as a result of a [illegible] SNCC election, was eliminated from holding office in [illegible] SNCC group as well as from being a member of the [illegible] JOHNSON appeared to repeat some of what ALLEN had [illegible] then he launched into some project that he is [illegible] trying to push that has to do with setting up a [illegible] bank for Ben Taub Hospital in Houston. He related that [illegible] had carried his son to Ben Taub Hospital after a bicycle [illegible] and there was no "O" type blood available for [illegible] the boy. He said if the injuries had been [illegible] JOHNSON is trying to get [illegible] donate blood to build up a reserve for a blood [illegible] Hospital [illegible] general reaction to JOHNSON's [illegible] this matter appears to be more of suspicion inas- [illegible] JOHNSON is known to be primarily looking out for

himself as a rule. JOHNSON has indicated that 90 per cent ... at Ben Taub Hospital was for black people.

All of the persons present at this session were ... and they totaled about 25 at the height of the meeting. ... of these were observed to be members of ... SNCC group. Hammond Hall, where this meeting ... was very chilly during the entire meeting and ... in the auditorium were quite ineffective. As a ... to be interested in the meeting ... because they were suffering from the cold.

█████ (2/23/68)

It was learned that ... small turnout of persons appeared for a Black Week session on the night of February ... 1968 ... persons ... did not stay very long because Hammond Hall was unheated and it was cold weather.

The Black Week session scheduled for February 20, 1968 was cancelled because of lack of heat at Hammond Hall.

On February 21, 1968, another session of Black Week took place at Hammond Hall commencing about 7:00 PM, approximately 100 people present. DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER ... their ..., from time to time. He is a member of the Houston SNCC ... one of the TSU Five.

First item on the agenda was the showing of a movie ... "The Streets of Greenville". This movie was concerned ... problems which confronted Negro people in Greenville, ... pi in connection with voter registration and efforts ... It dealt with problems encountered with law enforcement ... in Greenville such as mass arrests and harassment ...

MARIAN VIZARD spoke as a representative of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Austin, Texas. She discussed reorganizational purposes of SDS and the position of SDS with respect to the "black struggle". She pointed out that SDS ... wished to join with the black struggle in order to ... people against the power structure.

... DWIGHT ALLEN, a University of Houston, Texas student who is currently head ... organization at UH known as Afro-Americans ... (AABL) ... need for black ... He summarized in effect the objectives -15-

... by stating that it was time for all Afro-Americans to join together in a solid front to attempt to tear down some of the barriers existing at UH. He said it was the intention of AAHL to bring pressure to bear on the administration at UH to hire more Negro professors on the faculty.

Another speaker was ... (phonetic) ... described ... for draft ... in Texas. He ... the relationship of the ... He said that all white ... solidarity with Negro ghettos in order for ... against the power structure.

Another speaker ... current Chairman of ... Houston SNCC ... to discuss the events ... up to the rioting at TSU which took place on May 16-... He pointed ... had been incidents with ... to the ... dump in Houston imposed on nearby residents, ... in the northeast area of Houston, a march from ... Building in downtown Houston, a march on the ... courthouse in Houston and various other similar activities which were contributing factors to the buildup which resulted in the rioting at TSU.

Another speaker ... member of the ... of TSU, ... a student. There was very little of note to his ... he did discuss something regarding a book of the ... at TSU.

Another speaker was ... of San Antonio, ... The general tenor of his talk was a rambling attack ... capitalistic society of the United States. He des... capitalism as a system of mass exploitation. He ... could be accomplished in the United States until ... was defeated. He said the United States could not ... the capitalist ... and something must be ... to stop it. He gave a very poor rendition and was quite repetitive in what he had to say.

Another speaker was ... former Chair... ... inflammatory in ... He ... time for the ... He told of a confrontation he had had on the ... station with LOUIE ... of Houston. He said that he had walked out on ... television program including

ALLEN, RAY COWAN, who is employed with one ... television stations, and possibly several other individuals. JOHNSON used some of the phrases that had been utilized by Reverend EARL ALLEN in his talk that was given for Black Week ... session on February 18, 1968. ... recommended that black people go in different directions ... than be confronted by the power structure ... black people ... the streets in any forth- ... activity.

... white people at this black week session and among those were included JOHN STANFORD, mentioned above, DANNY ..., who is a member of SDS at UH, FRED BRODE and CHARLES ..., who describes himself as a Communist Party (CP) member in Austin, Texas. It was alleged that there were 65 or more ... persons at this session from Austin and San Antonio, Texas.

[redacted] ...

JOHN STANFORD ... Chairman of the CP of Texas, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA and Southern Regional Organizer of the CP, USA.

G. ...

[redacted] ...(68)

[redacted]

[redacted]

A characterization of RAM is set forth in the appendix of this report.

APPENDIX

HOUSTON COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On February 6, 1967, a source advised that during most of 1965 and all of 1966, Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCAV) existed in the Houston, Texas, area without specific membership, officers, or by-laws. It was a group of individuals devoted to protesting United States Action in Vietnam, primarily by demonstrations in public areas. It had no headquarters location and depended upon HCAV participants on a voluntary basis for performance of any necessary functions such as preparation of announcements, leaflets, and related work.

As of January 1, 1967, HCAV became known as Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV).

On February 3, 1967, at an HCEWV meeting in Houston, election of officers was held. Positions in HCEWV were then set up and were filled by voting or acclamation. Officers took these positions for a period of six months duration. As of February 3, 1967, the following persons assumed the positions indicated.

Chairman	BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Treasurer	ROCHELLE ELLISON
Secretary	MARY FRY (phonetic)
Recording Secretary	MONA SCHACHT
News Editor	DANIEL JAY SCHACHT, son of MONA SCHACHT

Another position, which was not referred to as an actual office, was that of Portfolio Member. This person would substitute for any other officers who were not available to perform their duties at a given time and it would also include assistance to any specific officers in their

appointed functions. FRED BRODE won this position by acclamation. BRODE has described himself as a Trotskyite.

On June 29, 1967, source advised MONA SCHACHT was no longer affiliated with HCEWV in any way. She had become unpopular as a result of her having rewritten an HCEWV letter or leaflet after it had been turned over to her for mimeographing.

On August 9, 1967, source advised election of officers was held at an HCEWV meeting, Houston, August 4, 1967, at which the following individuals were elected to the positions shown:

Chairman	-	BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Vice Chairman	-	LINDA DUVAL
Secretary	-	YVONNE HAUGE
Treasurer	-	ROCHELLE ELLISON
Co-Editors	-	DAVID SHROYER and MARGERY SHROYER

Positions of Recording Secretary, formerly held by MONA SCHACHT and Portfolio Member, previously held by FRED BRODE, were abolished. Source noted BRODE continued active with HCEWV.

A second source advised on July 27, 1967, that MONA SCHACHT was a current member of the State Committee of the Communist Party in Texas.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it would be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather thanto any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD, now residing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) cont'd

On January 23, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM.

APPENDIX

1.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL)
Formerly Known As The
Revolutionary Committee
of the Fourth International

A source advised on September 9, 1964, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. The source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were led by JAMES ROBERTSON.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that JAMES ROBERTSON announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

A third source advised on September 7, 1966, that the RCFI held a Founders' Conference of the Spartacist League at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1966. On September 4, 1966,it was stated that the objective of the SL was to destroy the capitalist system and the capitalist society and create a workers' class system and a workers' class society.

The May-June, 1967 issue of "Spartacist" reflects "Published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League".

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought [illegible] her many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of [illegible]minating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program.

[illegible] August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said [illegible] we'll [illegible] down". Later in February, 196[illegible] in [illegible] wrote, "America, [illegible] my people [illegible] revolt against [illegible] organize your [illegible] to revolt against you and to [illegible] children, your God, your poor, your country, [illegible] destruction and [illegible]

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 6, 1964, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 6, 1964, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Houston, Texas
May 29, 1968

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report at Houston, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
HOUSTON	ATLANTA	8/27/68	5/30 - 8/27/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		SJM
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RACIAL MATTERS		

REFERENCE: HOrep SA [redacted] 5/29/68.

- P -

LEAD:

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Houston, Texas.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED	NONE					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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2 - Houston (100-10390)

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REC-78

EX-100

15 AUG 28 1968

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Notations

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HO 100-10390

in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

One copy each of this report is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, Secret Service and four copies to MIG. Also one copy is being disseminated for NISO, Houston.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location of Information
[redacted]	[redacted] orally to SA [redacted], instant report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]. orally to SA [redacted] August 21, 1968
[redacted]	[redacted]

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CONFIDENTIAL

August 27, 1968

Office: Houston, Texas

Office File #: 100-10390

Bureau File #: 100-439190

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

IAL MATTERS

ss and officers of Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) set forth. Houston SNCC reported be relatively inactive for past few months.

- P -

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

(/68)

The Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continues to have its headquarters at 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas.

Characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

(5/1/68)

Several individuals, including LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of Houston SNCC and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Secretary of Houston SNCC, are residing at 2121 Oakdale, Houston, Texas, which is a private, two-story residence. This address is now called the "Houston SNCC Freedom House".

GROUP I
CONFIDENTIAL
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

HO (8/21/68)

Various persons, known to have been associated with Houston SNCC in the past, continue to meet together from time to time at Houston SNCC Headquarters, 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston Texas. While no regularly scheduled formal meetings of Houston SNCC are being held, source presumes the organization continues to exist although it is relatively inactive at this time.

II. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

[redacted] /10/68)

Houston SNCC continues to remain inactive with no regularly scheduled meetings being held.

III. PRESENT OFFICERS OF HOUSTON SNCC

[redacted] (7/20/68)

The following individuals continue to hold the designated officer's position in Houston SNCC:

FLOYD NICHOLS, Chairman

KENNETH SIMPSON, Vice Chairman

DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Secretary

STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, Treasurer

JIMMY " SCROOGE " LAZARE, Field Secretary Director

LARRY JACKSON, Public Relations Officer

For the past few months, Houston SNCC has been inactive, and it is known that for several months LARRY JACKSON, above, has been away from Houston, Texas, residing in the Austin, Texas area: that in recent weeks, FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, above, have been traveling in California; and for several months JIMMY LAZARE, above, has been away from Houston, destination unknown.

IV. ALLEGED AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

[illegible] ACTION TEAM (CAT)

[redacted] (6/19/68)

A commercial store space at 3940 Scott Street, [illegible]on, Texas, is now occupied by an organization known as Community Action Team (CAT). CAT has rented this space and appears to be a combination of the Afro-Americans for Black [illegible] [illegible] and the SNCC with representation coming from both the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas, and Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. DWIGHT ALLEN, who [illegible] identified as a leader of AABL at UH in past months [illegible] is a UH student, is heading CAT. ALLEN is assisted by [illegible] FREEMAN who is one of the TSU Five.

The TSU Five are five TSU students charged in [illegible]tion with rioting at TSU which took place May 16-17, 196[illegible], at which time a Hou[illegible] Police officer was shot and killed.

[redacted] (7/30/68)

Efforts have been made to organize a group known as the Afro-Americans for Black Liberation (AABL) at the UH [illegible] past school year but AABL never seemed to get under-[illegible]. A UH student named DWIGHT ALLEN has been in the [illegible]front trying to organize AABL. The apparent objective of AABL has been [illegible] improve the lot of black people.

[redacted] (7/5/68)

CAT is an organization located at 3940 Scott, Houston, Texas, and is headed by DWIGHT ALLEN, a student at the UH assisted by CHARLES FREEMAN, one of the TSU Five.

The organization appears to be dominated by SNCC members and a few militants at the UH. The purpose of the organization is to build respect in the community for black power advocates and the things which those advocates are attempting to achieve.

[illegible]. MISCELLANEOUS

APPENDIX

CONF

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, described itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down". Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life".

(1-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Houston, Texas
August 27, 1968

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report at Houston, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

971

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
HOUSTON	ATLANTA	11/22/68	8/28 - 11/20/6

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]
	CHARACTER OF CASE
	RM

REFERENCE: HOrep SA [redacted], 8/27/68.

- P -

LEAD:

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Houston, Tex

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from [redacted]

100-439190-19-83

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED NONE

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS

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the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

Information contained in this report predating date of referenced report was unavailable for inclusion at the time referenced report was dictated.

The usual format for an organizational report is not being followed in instant report because of information contained herein reflecting that Houston SNCC is defunct and not holding regular meetings. This case is continued to be kept pending, however, because of the factthat former SNCC [illegible] in [illegible] nationalist activities in Houston and while the SNCC organization itself is inactive the activities of several of the members have not changed to any appreciable degree.

INFORMANTS

[illegible] of Source	Location of Information
[redacted]	[redacted]; 100-10390-821, 822, 824; Orally to SA [redacted] [redacted] 11/15/68, instant report, and being channelized
[redacted]	100-10390-852, 853, 878
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted] 100-10390-8[illegible]; Orally to SA [redacted] [redacted] on 11/19/68, instant report
[redacted]	100-10390-821, 822

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100-10390-821, 822

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FD-204 (Rev. 3-[illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: November 22, 196[illegible]
Office: Houston, Texas

Field Office File #: 100-10390
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: [redacted]

- 1 -

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

HO 100-10390

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. STATUS OF THE HOUSTON STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A characterization of the SNCC is set forth in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] (11/15/68)

As an organization, Houston SNCC is defunct and inactive. It does not hold any regularly scheduled meetings and has no effective leadership.

On December 8, 1967, the following individuals were elected to serve as officers of Houston SNCC for the calendar year 1968:

Chairman, FLOYD NICHOLS

Vice Chairman, KENNETH SIMPSON

Treasurer, STANLEY WRIGHT

Secretary, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER

Field Secretary, JIMMY LAZARE

Public Relations, LARRY JACKSON

Practically from the time he was elected, LARRY JACKSON has been in the Austin, Texas area where he has attempted to establish a chapter of SNCC. He seldom returns to Houston, Texas and has afforded practically no attention or leadership to Houston SNCC.

Additionally, for the major portion of 1968, JIMMIE LAZARE has been away from Houston, exact whereabouts unknown to this source, and has given little, if any, leadership to Houston SNCC.

During the major portion of the spring, 1968, FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT absented themselves from Houston and gave no substantial leadership or direction to Houston SNCC.

For a considerable portion of the summer of 1968, KENNETH SIMPSON was away from Houston, Texas and during that time gave no leadership, guidance or direction to the organization.

Upon NICHOLS' return from the West Coast, a meeting was held at the headquarters of Houston SNCC during the latter part of July, 1968, and at that time FLOYD NICHOLS announced that effective as of that meeting, Houston SNCC would be considered dissolved.

[redacted] (9/19/68)

[redacted]

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] (10/9/68)

The Houston SNCC is reported to have only a handful of members left. It reportedly has become increasingly

difficult and almost impossible to recruit new members or interest former members in becoming active again in Houston SNCC.

(11/15/68)

STANLEY WRIGHT indicated on November 11, 1968 that Houston SNCC is broke and will, in all probability, have to abandon its offices at 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas, within the next several days.

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. General

(6/26/68)

(7/1/68)

FLOYD NICHOLS, Chairman of Houston SNCC, and STANLEY WRIGHT, Treasurer, have both returned to Houston, Texas, from the West Coast.

(7/3/68)

(7/5/68)

(7/23/68)

,(11/18/68)

The TSU Five are five young Negro males, formerly students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston,Texas, who were indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967 at which time a policeman of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and killed.

Two of the TSU Five are FLOYD NICHOLS and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER who were elected on December 8, 1967 to be respectively the Chairman and Secretary of Houston SNCC.

(7/23/68)

Within the last few days Houston headquarters of SNCC released a quantity of a leaflet bearing the caption "Black is Beautiful, Unite Now Because Tomorrow May Be Too Late". This leaflet bore the identification of SNCC, 2024 Eastex Freeway, phone 228-7531.

(9/23/68)

(9/9/68)

On August 28, 1968, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of Houston SNCC, was found guilty of selling marijuana and sentenced to thirty years in the State Penitentiary.

(9/19/68)

(9/20/68)

[redacted] (11/15/68)

WENDELL JOHNSON is the brother of LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of Houston SNCC, was ousted both as an officer and member of Houston SNCC in late 1967 and in December of that year, new officers were elected for Houston SNCC.

Since that time, LEE OTIS JOHNSON has nonetheless on various occasions reportedly held himself forth to individuals and to the public as continuing to remain a representative or member of SNCC. JOHNSON has attempted personally to exploit for self-gain the idea that he continues to remain affiliated with Houston SNCC even though he has not regularly attended meetings of Houston SNCC since December, 1967, and even though he was ousted from membership in and the officer's position he held with Houston SNCC reportedly on the advice of H. RAP BROWN who was at the time national chairman of SNCC.

As a consequence, there are certain cronies of JOHNSON's who reportedly refer to themselves on occasion as being associated with SNCC. As a matter of fact, however, these individuals are not representatives or members of Houston SNCC. JOHNSON's brother, WENDELL JOHNSON, for example, is not known to have ever been a member of Houston SNCC and he definitely is not the "leader" of Houston SNCC.

B. Expressed Desires by Individuals Affiliated With Houston SNCC To Organize A Black Panther Party; And A Group Known As The Black Berets

[redacted] (6/24/68)

(8/1/68)

LEE OTIS JOHNSON and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER have recently stated that they want to organize Black Panthers in Houston, Texas, although it has been generally indicated that Black Panthers and SNCC are practically one and the same at this time.

FLOYD NICHOLS is interested in organizing a group of Black Berets in Houston. NICHOLS, although Chairman of the Houston SNCC, seems to lean toward the Black Beret idea and has evidenced his interest by currently wearing black shirt, black trousers, black boots, black beret and black glasses.

(9/20/68)

Information has been received which indicates that there is extreme hard feeling between SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP) which has resulted in an open break between these groups.

This is as a result of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's completely disassociating himself from SNCC and becoming associated with the BPP on a full-time basis and engaging in attempting to raise money for the BPP through speaking engagements. CARMICHAEL did this on his own without the permission of the Central Committee of SNCC and as a result was thrown out of SNCC. He thereafter took the position of prime minister with the BPP and as a result was successful in taking some of his personal followers in SNCC with him.

BOBBY SEALS, who is the head of the BPP in Oakland, California, has issued instructions and orders that the BPP should move in the areas where SNCC is operating and attempt to take over the SNCC operations in these areas. It appears that CARMICHAEL may be behind this move in an attempt to retaliate against SNCC.

(10/9/68)

[redacted] (11/19/68)
(11/15/68)

To the best knowledge of these sources, neither LEE OTIS JOHNSON, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER or any other member or officer of Houston SNCC was ever successful in organizing a chapter of the BPP at Houston, Texas, and no such chapter is known to exist in Houston. Moreover, to the best of these sources' knowledge, FLOYD NICHOLS was never successful in organizing a group of Black Berets in Houston.

C. Efforts of Houston SNCC or Its Personnel For and On Behalf of the TSU Five

[redacted] (7/3/68)

The following leaflet, entitled "Black Brothers and Sisters - Protect and Defend Your Five Brothers", has been prepared for distribution by SNCC in the Houston area. It pertains to the forthcoming trial of the TSU Five.

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS -PROTECT AND
DEFEND YOUR FIVE BROTHERS

WE WERE THERE, YOU COULD HAVE BEEN THERE, BUT WHETHER YOU WERE THERE OR NOT MATTERS VERY LITTLE AND THEN, IT WOULD HAVE MATTERED A GREAT DEAL BECAUSE YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF THE SAME SITUATION THAT FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY STUDENT WERE THE VICTIMS OF. WHEN WE WERE THERE, IT WAS A STRUGGLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE AND THE STUDENTS THAT ATTENDED TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY. IF YOU HAD BEEN THERE AT THE TIME, IT WOULD BE THE SAME FOR YOU .

THE MANY PLEASURES THAT YOU ENJOY NOW..SUCH AS BETTER DORMITORY HOURS FOR WOMEN AND THE FOOD CONTAINERS THAT ALLOW YOU TO OBTAIN JUST ABOUT AS MUCH TO DRINKTHAT YOU DESIRE IS A PART OF THE RESULTS THAT OCCURRED FROM OUR FIGHT FOR STUDENT POWER.

THE RESULT OF THAT FIGHT LEFT MANY OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN JAIL AND FIVE INDICTED FOR MURDER. IT IS YOUR DUTY AS A BROTHER AND SISTER

E. Rally Held September 15, 1968 at Houston, Texas

advised on September 15, 1968 that plans had been made to hold a rally at 3:00 PM that afternoon in the 2600 block of Calumet Street, Houston, Texas, for the purpose of raising funds for the appeal and to protest the conviction of LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of the Houston SNCC, Houston, Texas, who was recently sentenced to thirty years in prison after being convicted at Houston for a narcotics violation. The rally was reportedly being planned by various representatives of SNCC at Houston, Texas.

advised as follows on September 15, 1968:

Commencing at approximately 3:45 PM, September 15, 1968, a rally was held in the 2600 block of Calumet Street, Houston, Texas. Several individuals spoke at the rally, the first of whom was Mrs. LEE OTIS JOHNSON, wife of LEE OTIS JOHNSON, above.

In her speech, Mrs. JOHNSON called for financial and moral support of LEE OTIS JOHNSON and told the audience that her husband, who had recently been convicted of a narcotics violation and sentenced pursuant thereto to thirty years in prison, was tentatively scheduled to have a retrial on September 26, 1968. She called for those in attendance to assure that on the day of retrial, the courtroom would be packed with Negro people. A collection was taken up for LEE OTIS JOHNSON and announcement made that $37.50 had been received.

Another speaker was LARRY JACKSON who described himself as the Director of SNCC at Austin, Texas. In his talk, JACKSON appealed for unity among the black people of the community and urged that closer ties be formed and better communication effectuated between the Houston, Austin and Dallas, Texas chapters of SNCC. In his speech, JACKSON pointed out that violence was no answer to the problems of the Negro and the ghetto, but that nonviolent solutions must be found.

Other speakers were CHARLES FREEMAN and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, each of whom is one of the TSU Five.

The TSU Five are five young Negro males, former students at Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas, who

were indicted following the riots at TSU during the evening of May 16-17, 1967 at which time a Houston police officer was shot and killed.

FREEMAN and WALLER both spoke for and on behalf of LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

Reverend (First Name Unknown) LOTT, pastor of a Baptist Church located on Cleburne Street, Houston, Texas, also spoke and a great portion of his speech was devoted to praising LEE OTIS JOHNSON as a leader of Negro people and he appealed for the Negro community to become more united and to stand behind and give support to the Negro leaders of the community.

[redacted] further advised that another speaker was a male Negro, name unknown, approximately 25 to 26 years of age, about 5'9" tall, who weighed about 160-165 pounds, dark ginger complexion, with scars on his forehead, and attired in a pink slip-over shirt and darker pink trousers who wore his hair in an Afro style. In his speech, this man advocated the use of violence as an aid in solving the problems of the Negro living in the ghetto areas. He called for the Negroes to arm themselves, stated that he was presently armed and asked if anyone else in attendance was armed. He also boasted of actually having helped to burn Detroit, Michigan; Los Angeles, California and Newark, New Jersey. After the rally he drove away in a beige colored Chrysler automobile, bearing 1968 Texas license plates DYT 618.

According to [redacted], the rally ended at about 6:00 o'clock without incident of violence.

[redacted] furnished the following information on September 16, 1968:

The rally commenced at about 3:45 PM, September 15, 1968 in the park area located in the 2600 block, Calumet Street, Houston, Texas. DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, member and Secretary of Houston SNCC, was in attendance and chaired the meeting which was held for the purpose of raising funds and lending moral support to LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

Among the speakers at this event were LARRY JACKSON, affiliated with SNCC at Austin, Texas; DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER; Mrs. LEE OTIS JOHNSON, wife of LEE OTIS JOHNSON; and a male Negro whose first name is CLAUDE and whose last name is unknown.

In his speech, CLAUDE (Last Name Unknown) spoke of the need for Negroes to resort to violence as a means of rectifying the social and economic ills they had traditionally been subjected to. He said that the Negroes should arm themselves and said that at the present time he himself was armed. He said that he had helped burn Detroit and Newark and that he would just as soon shoot a white baby as a white adult if it became necessary for him to do so.

CLAUDE (Last Name Unknown) is approximately 6' tall, weight about 150 pounds, has black hair which he wears in an Afro style, brown eyes, is about 24 years of age, has what appears to be a knife scar on his face below his right eye and below his right ear. He is allegedly from Detroit, Michigan and is presently residing somewhere in Austin, Texas.

[redacted] advised that approximately 45 persons were in attendance, most of whom were young Negro adults. According to this source, the rally ended without incident of violence.

[redacted] advised on September 16, 1968 that a rally was held on Sunday, September 15, 1968 commencing about 3:30 PM. Source advised the rally was an impromptu affair and there was a very poor turnout. Source advised people kept coming and going during the speeches and there were an estimated 50 people who remained during the rally. The rally was reportedly to gain support and money for LEE OTIS JOHNSON who had recently been sentenced to 30 years for a narcotics violation.

The speakers at the rally were the following:

Mrs. LEE OTIS JOHNSON
First Name Unknown, JOHNSON (brother of LEE OTIS JOHNSON)
RUSSELL JONES
DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER
CHARLES FREEMAN
LARRY JACKSON
Some Negro preacher
JOHN, the Black Devil

The speeches were generally to gain support for JOHNSON except the speech by JOHN, the Black Devil. His speech dealt with violence and the fact that he had engaged in shooting and burning during riots in Detroit, Newark, Chicago, and Los Angeles. JOHN, the Black Devil said he was from New York but he appeared to be an associate of LARRY JACKSON who

[illegible] involved in SNCC activities in San Antonio. JOHN, the Black Devil stated that the black people should get their guns. Source advised that although JOHN, the Black Devil gave a rather agitating type speech he did not get through to the people and the rally broke up with nothing accomplished except that they collected a few dollars reportedly for LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

F. Texas State-Wide Meeting of SNCC and The Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), September 21 to 22, 1968 at Austin, Texas

A characterization of the SDS is set forth in the appendix of this report.

[redacted] (9/17/68)

The following individuals from Houston, Texas, reportedly intend to attend a state-wide meeting of SNCC to be held at Austin, Texas, September 20 to 23, 1968: RONALD EVANS, FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT.

[redacted] (9/23/68)

From September 21 to 22, 1968 a proposed state-wide SNCC conference was held in Austin, Texas. Numerous individuals from the Houston SNCC organization were present during the conference and upon arriving in Austin, Texas, immediately went to the SNCC office located on Rosedale Street and met with LARRY JACKSON, the Austin chairman of SNCC. It was determined during the meeting that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, leader of the BPP, who was scheduled to attend the conference had postponed his trip for unknown reasons. Also, it was determined that PHIL HUTCHINS, national leader of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, had also cancelled his trip to Austin. JACKSON had indicated that HUTCHINS was unable to make the trip because of lack of funds. After a brief meeting at the Austin SNCC headquarters, the group proceeded to the Victory Grill which is located approximately two blocks from the SNCC office in Austin, Texas. The Victory Grill is a night spot and restaurant which caters to SNCC members and the general public.

The Victory Grill was picked for the conference because the owners are friends of SNCC and the grill has a banquet room located in the rear which can be sealed off from the public for special meetings. On Saturday night, September 21, 1968, no business was taken care of and everyone enjoyed the music played by a combo band and they danced and got drunk.

On September 21, 1968, it was learned at the Victory Grill that the SDS was at that time holding a meeting at the apartment of DICK REAVIS, located at 15th and Rio Grande Streets in Austin. This meeting reportedly was held to discuss the SNCC conference and the fact that the SDS members were planning how they could be represented at the SNCC conference.

At approximately midnight the party at the Victory Grill was over and LARRY JACKSON asked everyone to report to the Austin SNCC office in order to locate places for the visitors to stay that night.

The motels in the city were unavailable because of the football games between the University of Houston and the University of Texas. At the SNCC office, LARRY JACKSON telephoned DICK REAVIS of SDS and REAVIS made arrangements with a few of the SDS members to board some of the SNCC members.

It was determined that DICK REAVIS was already housing several SDS members from unknown cities, but stated that he would take in three more SNCC members who were identified as TERRY AUDREY from New York City, HELEN JOHNSON and PEGGY HOSKINS, both of Houston. Arrangements were made for other Houston people to stay at various places in Austin for the night. During conversations between SNCC and SDS members on the night of September 21-22, 1968, it was determined that SNCC and SDS would attempt to form a coalition between SDS, SNCC and the BPP. This was further brought out during a joint meeting between SNCC and SDS on September 22, 1968 which was opened by LARRY JACKSON. JACKSON stated that SDS and SNCC were going to form a coalition and join together on a state-wide basis. He thereafter called to the floor TERRY AUDREY from New York City to discuss charges against black leaders in Dallas, Austin, and Houston, Texas. AUDREY told that he was being sent from the SNCC office in New York City to try and help solve the problems of SNCC leaders throughout Texas. He discussed trumped-up charges against LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Houston, HELEN JOHNSON, Houston, EARNEST MC MILLAN, Dallas, the TSU Five, Houston, and LARRY JACKSON of Austin, Texas. He spoke of funds that were needed to help these black leaders who have been accused by the white power structure. TERRY AUDREY indicated he was a very good friend of DICK REAVIS of SDS and was in favor of joining with SDS.

DICK REAVIS thereafter spoke and gave a summary of SDS activities and stated that he and other SDS members were in favor of joining forces in a drive to raise funds for

black convicted leaders and set up "legal means" and also a "political issue". He indicated that the organizations are preparing to distribute propaganda literature across the State of Texas and nationally regarding black leaders who have been accused in Texas. Another speaker at the meeting was DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, SNCC leader in Houston who was not in favor of meetingwith the white SDS members and indicated during his talk that the white people in the audience are his enemies and spies. Of the 65 people in attendance at the conference, approximately half were white. A motion was passed to set up a general fund for all convicted SNCC leaders and also to set up a central committee which would be located in Austin, Texas under the leadership of TERRY AUDREY and DICK REAVIS. The two organizations also voted to end racism and form a political force to deal with problems of black and white people oppressed under the existing system. In summation, the conference was set up mainly to effect a coalition between SDS and SNCC in the State of Texas. It was brought out that a merger with SDS and black militant organizations would present a tighter bond between the organizations, as well as make a stronger fighting force to combat racism that exists.

Below is a three page document relative to the intention of the SDS to support members of the black nationalist organizations. This three page document was obtained from the material which was in the possession of TERRY AUDREY:

Septe[illegible] 68 Conta[illegible] New York Region
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE... S[illegible]
131 Prince St., NYC
(212) 674-8310

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC,
TEXAS SDS, AFRO-AMERICANS FOR BLACK LIBERATION
AND BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The New York office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) announced today its intention to act in support of members of the Black Panther Party, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Afro-Americans for Black Liberation and Texas SDS who have recently met political repression.

The decision stems from events within the past four weeks in Brooklyn and four cities in Texas.

In Brooklyn, concern centers around the arrest of members of the Black Panther Party and the harsh treatment given them by Brooklyn Criminal Court. At their arraignment, 150 helmeted policemen stood between the defendants and the judge. The accused were all given unreasonably high bail. Assistant D.A. Meglio justified this treatment by declaring, "These men are being used as tools by people intent on political movements bordering on anarchy..." Inordinately high bail was set to keep the Panthers out of circulation. It was later reduced, but not to the point where the men could afford to purchase their freedom.

In Texas many events occured which went unreported by the press. SNCC has been gaining strength in Texas and is now doing organizing work in at least seven cities around community control issues. Organizers have been subject to constant harassment, which has now intensified.

19

Organizers in Austin, Dallis, Houstin, and Killen have been jailed on various charges (some have already been sentenced), of which arose out of demonstrations of organizing activities. In Austin, SNCC, SDS, and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation demonstrated at a gas station about amonth ago. The owner, an open racist, refused to serve anyone with long hair or a beard. Lary Jackson, head of Austin SNCC, was arrested on a trumped-up assault charge. When he was arrested, the other demonstrators--about twenty of them--sat down; they were arrested under a Texas anti-labor law that prohibits the obstructing the labor of others. Lary was sentenced to two years probated and a $500 fine. Many of the others are still in jail, unable to pay bail, awaiting trial.

In Dallis, SNCC lead demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested; Ernest McMillan, SNCC Field Secretary, and his aide, received ten-year sentences within the past week for "destruction of private property worth over $50" (that is dropping merchandise).

Lee Otis Johnson, head of Houstin SNCC, has been harassed ever since he first came to Texas. Last week he was sentenced to 30 years on a trumped-up narcotics charge. His wife Helen is now on trial, charged with assault, and may receive a life sentence.

In Killen, near Fort Hood, the Summer of Support ran a coffee house which offered GI counseling. The Killen City Council had it closed last week as a "p ublic nuissance." Fifteen people, including its head, Josh Stroud, were arrested. Some were SDS organizers, some were with SNCC. They are still in jail.

Thirty-five more people were jailed last Saturday, August 31

on various charges. They are being processed rapidly by Texas courts and were scheduled for trials on Monday, September 2. They are charged with crimes (such as trespass) which are misdemeanors in New York, but, in Texas, are considered felonies. All of the 35 new defendants could receive up to ten year sentences. All have had no real legal defense, being forced to use Texas public defenders, for lack of funds.

Attorney William Kuntsler of New York has agreed to act as full-time legal coordinator for the Texas cases. He will help acquire volunteer movement lawyers for the accused.

We consider these attacks on SNCC, the Panthers, Afro-Americans for Black Liberation, and SDS instances of blatant political repression. We note particularly the use of the courts (a traditionally respected American institution) as an instrument of this repression. In the Texas and Brooklyn cases, individuals have been given "criminal" treatment for what were political activities.

SDS is planning support actions. The first of these will take place, in support of the Panthers, on Wednesday, September 4, the next date the Panthers are due to make a court appearance. A picket line and rally will be held at the court, 120 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, at 8:30 a.m.

In support of our brothers and sisters in Texas we are mounting a campaign to raise the funds needed for bail and legal defense. Contributors should wire money to: Austin SNCC, 1311 Rosewood Ave., Austin Texas. A support rally will be held on Saturday, Sept. 7, at 12:30p.m. in Union Sq[illegible], New York City.

G. Interest of Communist Party (CP) Displayed Towards SNCC

(10/21/68)

t

JOHN STANFORD is Chairman of the CP of Texas, member of the National Committee, CP USA and Southern Organizer, CP USA.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by Huey Percy Newton, Minister of Defense, and Bobby George Seale, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

Newton, afore-mentioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Literature [illegible] by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [illegible] headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., [illegible] itself as not being a [illegible] rather an agency attempting to stimulate and [illegible] growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born [illegible] which erupted across the South [illegible] 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North [illegible] brought together many of the [illegible] loose network of militant youth [illegible] SNCC in October, 1960.

[illegible] 1966, Stokely Carmichael was [illegible] by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, [illegible] as Chairman by H. Rap Brown [illegible] the position of Recruiter and [illegible] 1967, at the invitation of Fidel [illegible] participated in the Organization of [illegible] which was held in Havana, [illegible] traveled to Hanoi and other [illegible] returned to the United [illegible] passport was picked up [illegible] countries.

[illegible] elected Chairman of SNCC, [illegible] program of eliminating [illegible] election of H. Rap Brown [illegible] on a worldwide struggle for [illegible] against violations of [illegible] Government and to strengthen its [illegible] to the draft and to the United States [illegible].

Literature [illegible] 1968, identifies SNCC as an [illegible] revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that [illegible] necessary to develop a revolutionary [illegible] revolutionary program.

On [illegible] addressing a group in the [illegible] Brown said "You better [illegible]". Later in February, 1968, [illegible] "America, if it takes my [illegible] against you and to organize your [illegible] and to organize your children, [illegible] your country and to organize [illegible] ruin, then here's my [illegible]".

[illegible]

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston, Texas
November 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of SA [redacted] at Houston, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Section 12 of 19 sections

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
INDIANAPOLIS	ATLANTA	2/29/68	2/28/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		SA [redacted]		swr
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - SNCC		

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Albany, 1/31/68.

\- P -

LEADS:

DETROIT - INFORMATION

One copy of this report is being furnished to the Detroit Office for information due to the reported membership of ANN MAXWELL, of South Bend, Indiana, in a SNCC group at Niles, Michigan.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF Classification DATE 7-26-78

INDIANAPOLIS

At South Bend, Indiana

Will follow and report the activities of SNCC.

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
7/21/78

100-439190-21-7

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - MIG, Ft. Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (RM)
1 - NISO, Chicago, Ill. (RM)
1 - OSI, Chanute Field, Ill. (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Detroit (Info) (RM)
3 - Indianapolis (100-14281)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-4 ... -1986 REC-66

MAR 5 1968

EX-105 REC-44

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, CRD, [redacted] FDIU
HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW:
BY:

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

CONFIDENTIAL

IP 100-14281

CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Informants

Identity	Location
[redacted] CHARACTERIZATIONS OF:	This report, Pages 2,3,4 LEONARD A. JOYCE RANDALL C. FASNACHT JOHN DOTSON LAURA DOTSON ANN MAXWELL
[redacted] is [redacted] CHARACTERIZATION OF:	H. RAP BROWN

This report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" inasmuch as information reported from [redacted] if revealed, could result in the identification of a source of continuing value who is furnishing information concerning the national defense. It is noted that [redacted] is under development as a PSI.

[redacted] The names of LEONARD A. JOYCE and RANDALL C. FASNACHT are included inasmuch as they were instrumental in bringing SNCC organizers to South Bend.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Leads have already been set out for the Chicago Office by Indianapolis airtel to Director dated 2/6/68, captioned "MICHIANA COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM; IS-C," to contact sources in SNCC if such were available in an attempt to identify

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-204 (Rev. 9-23-60)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:
1 - MIG, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (RM)
1 - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (RM)
1 - OSI, Chanute Field, Illinois (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: INDIANAPOLIS

Date: 2/29/68

File Number: IP 100-14281
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

[redacted] ANN RUTH MAXWELL, Negro student at South Bend Campus of Indiana University, is nominal head of SNCC at South Bend and also reportedly belongs to SNCC group at Niles, Michigan.

\- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF declassification
DATE 7-25-78

DECLASSIFIED BY 3832
ON 7/21/78

IP 100-14281

DETAILS:

At South Bend, Indiana

[redacted] has advised that in January, 1968, LEONARD A. JOYCE, a white student at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, was chairman of the Michiana Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MCEWV).

[redacted] advised that in January, 1968, RANDALL C. FASNACHT, a white former graduate student at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, was active in the affairs of the MCEWV.

A characterization of the MCEWV is set forth on an appendix page to this report.

[redacted] related that prior to January 31, 1968, JOYCE and FASNACHT had attempted to interest Negro teen agers from the areas of South Bend, which had experienced racial disturbances during the summer of 1967, in the SNCC meeting.

Mr + Mrs

A characterization of SDS is set forth on an appendix page to this report.

IVII

Confidential informant IP T-2 has advised that H. RAP BROWN in May, 1967, was elected National Chairman of SNCC, replacing STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

advised that ANN MAXWELL is the nominal head of SNCC in South Bend, although it could not be said that SNCC has any formal organization. MAXWELL also claims to be a member of a SNCC group in Niles, Michigan. MAXWELL will take the credit for any

activities carried on in the name of SNCC; but, since she has no money nor transportation, the actual SNCC organizational activities are being carried on by FASNACHT and JOYCE.

GWENDOLYN PATTON

USA

. . . .

A P P E N D I X

MICHIANA COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

A source advised that in late March and early April, 1967, Audrey Helminen, Chairman of the Women's Club of the Communist Party (CP) at South Bend, Indiana, at the instruction of Simon Boorda, Chairman of the CP of Indiana, organized the April 15th Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (AMCEWV), which, as its first major endeavor, held a Peace Parley at the South Bend Public Library. The AMCEWV on April 19, 1967, changed its name to the Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam (MCAWV) and sponsored a Peace March held in South Bend on April 29, 1967. On May 23, 1967, the MCAWV changed its name to the Michiana Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MCEWV) and thereafter held open meetings each two weeks at the First Unitarian Church, 101 East North Shore Drive, South Bend.

The source further advised that the MCEWV, through its literature and sponsorship of demonstrations, has consistently opposed the draft and U. S. war efforts in Vietnam. Leonard A. Joyce, an undergraduate student at the University of Notre Dame (UND), is Chairman of the MCEWV and in April, 1967, had described himself as being to the "left" of "The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper. Those individuals who have participated in MCEWV activities have, for the most part, been students and faculty from UND and St. Mary's College (SMC) at South Bend.

The source advised on January 8, 1968, that the CP has retained its control of the MCEWV through Audrey Helminen, Recording Secretary, Simon Boorda's wife, Avanelle, Co-corresponding Secretary, and Simon Boorda, who regularly attends and participates in the meetings. The MCEWV continues to meet regularly and to oppose the draft and the war in Vietnam. It is attempting to gain additional support for its program from UND, SMC, and South Bend high school students.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Indianapolis, Indiana

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. IP 100-14281

February 29, 1968

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Indianapolis, Indiana.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
INDIANAPOLIS	ATLANTA	7/31/68	7/23/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	ndv
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] 2/29/68, at Indianapolis.

\- P -

LEADS:

DETROIT (INFORMATION)

One copy of this report is being furnished to the Detroit Office for information due to the fact that it has been reported that individuals from Niles, Michigan, have been attending SNCC meetings at South Bend, Indiana.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED JTM SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 9 - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
- 1 - MIG, Fort Harrison, Indiana (RM)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Chanute Field, Illinois (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (Info)(RM)
- 3 - Indianapolis (100-14281)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-10

17 AUG 5 1968

REC-23

EX-109

REC 112

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAO: BD,	IDIU,	CRIM,	SEC. SS
Request Recd.	ACSI,	OSI		
Date Fwd.	1/15			
How Fwd.	8/9/68			
By	PMB/Ue			

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

100 [illegible] 806 9+D

IP 100-14281

INDIANAPOLIS

<u>At Bloomington, Gary, South Bend, and Valparaiso, Indiana</u>

Will follow and report the activities of SNCC.

<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>:

<u>Identity of Informants</u>

Identity	Location
[redacted]	100-14281-120
[redacted]	100-14281-96 -126 Characterization of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN
[redacted]	Characterization of ROBERT LESLIE JOHNSON
[redacted]	Characterization of EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON
[redacted]	100-14281-117
[redacted]	100-14281-108 -109 -111 This report, page 4 and 5 Characterizations of ANN RUTH MAXWELL ROBERT BENJAMIN JOHNSON JOHN WILSON

IP 100-14281

Identity	Location
[redacted]	100-14281-110

This report is classified confidential inasmuch as information reported from [redacted] and [redacted] if revealed, could result in the identification of sources of continuing value who are furnishing information concerning the national defense.

C

COVER PAGE

IP 100-14281

has been unable to furnish any information indicating that ever had actually arrived in South Bend.

D*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - MIG, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Chanute Field, Illinois (Registered Mail)

Report of: [redacted] Office: INDIANAPOLIS
Date: 7/31/68

File Number: 100-14281 Bureau File: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

\- P -

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF Modification
DATE 7-31-78 MCA

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF class.
DATE 9-13-77 PCK

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
7/31/78 LBM

~~CLASSIFIED BY~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~
9/8/22

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix pages hereto.

SNCC ACTIVITIES, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

[redacted] has advised that ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN was director of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

[redacted] has advised that ROBERT LESLIE JOHNSON is residing with a JANE DILLENCOURT at 448 East Second Street, Bloomington, Indiana. JANE DILLENCOURT, in 1967, was elected Vice Chairman of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a characterization of which is attached in the appendix pages hereto, at Indiana University. Both JOHNSON and DILLENCOURT are students at Indiana University.

SNCC ACTIVITIES, GARY, INDIANA

IP 100-14281

[redacted] advised in August, 1967, that EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON, also known as "TUCK", was a graduate of Lincoln University and was a known "agitator" and "black power" advocate. [redacted] stated that ADDISON was opposed to the war in Vietnam [redacted]

SNCC ACTIVITIES, SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

[redacted] has advised that JOHN WILSON was head of the black anti-draft, anti-war caucus of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and was also connected

with SNCC, the exact connection not being known to [redacted]

[redacted]

IP T-6 has advised that ANNIE RUTH MAXWELL is Chairman of SNCC at South Bend, Indiana.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] in February, 1968, made available a list of names, addresses, or college and group affiliations for approximately 150 persons out of 200 to 250 individuals who had attended a black students conference held at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio, on the weekend of February 23 - 26, 1968. [redacted] had stated that the purpose of this conference was to unify students nationally and regionally and a number of those in attendance were members of SNCC. Militant Negroes of national prominence had been invited but none appeared. [redacted] commented that there was no ANN MAXWELL or anyone from Notre Dame or South Bend, Indiana, whose names appeared on this list.

[redacted]

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of Notrh Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to devlop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape of America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university campus, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965,described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Indianapolis, Indiana
July 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. IP 100-14281

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Indianapolis, Indiana

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to establish reliability.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
INDIANAPOLIS	ATLANTA	1/21/69	8/9/68 - 1/20/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	/css
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RM - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 7/31/68 at Indianapolis.

-C-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Informants

Informants	Location
[redacted]	This report
[redacted]	This report
[redacted]	This report
[redacted]	This report

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - Indianapolis (100-14281)

100-439190-21-12

25 JAN 24 1969

REC-8

ST-101

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Date Fwd.	2-3-69
How Fwd.	R/S
By	RTE/lies

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

56 FEB 5 1969

100 80644D

IP 100-14281

Identity of Informants (Continued):

[redacted]	This report
[redacted]	This report
[redacted]	This report

-B*
(COVER PAGE)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of: [redacted]
Date: 1/21/69
Office: INDIANAPOLIS

Field Office File #: 100-14281
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted] through [redacted] advised that SNCC is not active in South Bend, Valparaiso, Gary, or Bloomington, Indiana. [redacted] [redacted] advised no indication SNCC active in the State of Indiana.

-C-

DETAILS: A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix pages attached hereto.

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

On January 17, 1969, and January 20, 1969, [redacted] [redacted] advised that SNCC has not been active in the South Bend area for the last four months.

Both [redacted] and [redacted] stated the organizational efforts on the part of SNCC appear to have been abandoned.

On January 9, 1969, [redacted] [redacted] South Bend, Indiana, advised there has been no information developed through his sources that SNCC is active in the South Bend, Indiana, area.

On January 10, 1969, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, advised his sources on campus advised that there has been no activity on the part of SNCC at the University of Notre Dame.

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

On January 17, 1969, and January 20, 1969, respectively, and advised that no information has come to their attention that reflects that SNCC is active in Bloomington, Indiana, or on the campus of Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

VALPARAISO AND GARY, INDIANA

On January 20, 1969, and advised that no information has come to their attention that SNCC is active in Valparaiso or Gary, Indiana.

advised on January 20, 1969, that no information has come to the attention of his men or their sources that SNCC is active in the State of Indiana.

A P P E N D I X

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to

A P P E N D I X

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (Continued)

restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Indianapolis, Indiana

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-14281

January 21, 1969

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Indianapolis, Indiana

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 9 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 13

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Section 13 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	3/16/65	10/19/64 - 3/5/65

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY [redacted] — TYPED BY rg

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 9/21/64, at Atlanta.
Los Angeles letter to the Bureau dated 1/7/65.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 1/21/65.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

The pretext conducted on 12/16/64 was a pretext telephone call by SA [redacted] to JAMES GARRETT at his place of employment, [illegible] South San Pedro, Los Angeles, California. [redacted]

This report is classified CONFIDENTIAL because of information furnished by [redacted] [redacted] thru [redacted]. Disclosure of sources could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness.

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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[illegible] MAR 19 1965

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1 - FIO, Los Angeles, California
(REGISTERED)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488)
(REGISTERED)
2 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-63822-267 [redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Characterization of FRED RINALDO and FRANK PESTANA
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-34688-370

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-34688-279
[redacted]	100-34688-399
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-284
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

LA 100-63822

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA Will review the California Department of State records to determine whether or not SNCC or LA-SNCC has been incorporated.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA Will follow and report communist infiltration of LA-SNCC.

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
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1 - FIO, Los Angeles, California (REGISTERED)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Los Angeles, California
Date: March 16, 1965

Field Office File #: 100-63822 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Los Angeles Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located 8501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, Calif. Purpose and scope of LA-SNCC set forth. JAMES GARRETT, Chairman of LA-SNCC reported to have stated that he is member of a W. E. B. Du Bois Club.

\- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon information that two members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), had evidenced interest in the affairs of the Los Angeles Affiliate (LA-SNCC) of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of CP infiltration of the LA-SNCC, or whether the LA-SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles Affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC, when appropriate in this report.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters, "Central Office", of the SNCC is located at 8½ Raymond Street, NW Atlanta 14, Georgia.

The June 13, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal," a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

> "SNCC Moving Headquarters From Atlanta
>
> "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announced Friday that it will move its national headquarters from Atlanta to Greenwood, Miss....
>
> "...James Forman, executive secretary of the organization, said the Atlanta office will be maintained. It is located at 8½ Raymond Street, NW."

The September 2, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article:

> "Rights Group Returns Here
>
> "The National headquarters of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Tuesday moved back to Atlanta after temporary summer-long residence in Mississippi."

It was ascertained through an appropriate pretext on December 16, 1964, by a Special Agent of the FBI that the LA-SNCC, often referred to as the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC, has an office located at 8501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, California.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP
OF LA - SNCC

LA T-1 (9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," the contents of which are set forth below:

PURPOSE:

The program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three fold purpose: Education, Mobilization and Fund Raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council Of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized offices as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment

of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses. Each of these local Friends groups would have officers like Chairman, Secretary, Publicity Director, etc. and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and

supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the national office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program and work all over the south. An important part of the local friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE: This would be a Steering Committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, Women's Clubs, Social Clubs, Men's Clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings etc. may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Business men in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this Steering Committee must be channeled through the Southern California office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE: This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of Parents and Friends of the student

volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated National group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this Committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly news-letters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE: The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the Administrative Director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the National Policy, lies with the National office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS: Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free Press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO

Corner." Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one personwho could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

[redacted] (10/19/64)

In the Los Angeles, California, area there are not more than 20 individuals who participate in functions of LA-SNCC. This is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

[redacted] (10/11/62)

HERBERT PORTER

[redacted] (2/27/61)

Informant advised that HERBERT PORTER admitted being a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1948 to 1952, but dropped out due to dissatisfaction with CP leadership.

[redacted] (2/27/55)

Informant advised that although it was stated in the summer of 1954 that PORTER had been expelled from the CP, it was pointed out in the latter part of 1954 or early part of 1955, that he was not being dropped or expelled [redacted]

[redacted] (2/14/62)

Informant reported that PORTER was a member of the Los Angeles Chapter, National Lawyers Guild (see appendix).

AUGUST MAYMUDES

[redacted] (1/7/63)

As of January, 1963, AUGUST MAYMUDES was a member of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

[redacted] (3/7/63)

[redacted] (12/6/62)

(1/3/63)

It was ascertained through an appropriate pretext on December 16, 1964, by a Special Agent of the FBI, that JAMES GARRETT is Chairman of LA-SNCC, and works out of an office located at 8501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles.

JAMES GARRETT

(6/18/64)

The PW is a west coast communist newspaper.

(6/5/64)

(5/14/64)

JAMES GARRETT was in attendance at the annual May Day Celebration sponsored by the May Day Committee (see appendix), held May 1, 1964, at 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles.

ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 11 and 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN, husband of ANNE BRADEN, testified that CARL and ANNE BRADEN were known to her as members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, which was during the period of her (AHEARN's) CP membership.

(9/30/63)

10/19/64)

Two SCDCP members have indicated an interest in LA-SNCC. These two are FRED RINALDO and FRANK PESTANA, who have helped primarily with fund raising.

FRED RINALDO

[redacted] (10/5/64)

[redacted]

FRANK PESTANA

[redacted] (10/22/64)

FRANK PESTANA is [redacted] and has been a hostile witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He has served as legal counsel for other witnesses before the House Committee.

[redacted] (10/20/64)

[redacted]

[redacted] (11/2/64)

[redacted]

RESULTS OF THE CP PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND LA-SNCC AND INFLUENCE SNCC POLICY INCLUDING CP AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

(11/30/64)

Discussion Unlimited, Inc. (see appendix), sponsored a program and rally honoring the Negro people of Mississippi and the Mississippi Volunteer Workers, which was held at Fairfax High School Auditorium, 7850 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles, on October 16, 1964. JAMES GARRETT, who was project coordinator for his region in Mississippi, spoke of his experiences in Mississippi.

JAMES FORMAN, National Executive Secretary of SNCC, appeared as a special guest speaker. FORMAN spoke optimistically of SNCC's progress.

(2/27/65)
(2/8/65)

APPENDIX

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB, formerly known as the Youth Action Union and Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism

A source advised on May 12, 1964, that during the period January through March, 1962, a series of formation meetings to establish a "Socialist Youth Organization," was held in the Los Angeles area. LEONARD POTASH was acting chairman in charge of the group and PAUL ROSENSTEIN and FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were named to a provisional committee to help organize the new group. On April 3, 1962, the group officially selected the name of Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism, (LAYPS), and elected officers.

A second source advised that POTASH, ROSENSTEIN, and ALEXANDER as of 1963 were all members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

A third source advised on May 12, 1964, that the LAYPS was organized with the full knowledge and assistance of DOROTHY HEALEY, chairman of the SCDCP and that several Communist Party (CP) members had been approved by HEALEY to teach Marxist theory to members of the LAYPS. This source further advised that the LAYPS was to be a Marxist study and action group and that the teachings of KARL MARX were to be followed. Source also advised that although the alleged purpose of the group was to promote "Socialism" in the United States, the group considered themselves to be "Communist Party Orientated" and were anxious to study the brand of Marxism associated with the CPUSA.

The first source above further advised that in June, 1963, LAYPS changed the name of the organization to Youth Action Union (YAU) for two reasons: The first being that it was felt that LAYPS had gained a bad reputation because of its association with CP groups, the second because it was felt the word "Socialism" in the title was driving away possible recruits.

The first elected chairman of the LAYPS and YAU who continued in this position until early 1964, was

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB, formerly known as the Youth Action Union and Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism

MARVIN TREIGER, who as of April, 1964, was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above advised in October, 1964, that in the late summer of 1964, the YAU affiliated with the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America and adopted the name of Central Los Angeles W. E. B. DuBois Club. This club continues to operate under the above name and as of September, 1964, the chairman of this group was TONY PAZ.

The second source above advised that as of September, 1964, TONY PAZ was a member of the SCDCP.

LA 100-[illegible] 22

1

<u>APPENDIX</u>

<u>CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS</u>

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes this committee as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign of another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists [illegible] without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional [illegible] witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly [illegible] rallies without creating the impression that the party [illegible] with witnesses to withhold information from [illegible]."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April [illegible], 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)

<u>APPENDIX</u>

APPENDIX

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 4, 1963, noting its principal site of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "... to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems."

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 19[illegible], and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in staging panel forums and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was [illegible], who in 1961, was educational director of the Southern California District Communist Party.

This source was recontacted on May [illegible], and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited has not changed. It continues to present "left [illegible]" to at least partially non-committed audiences. It [illegible] to [illegible] specific activities around [illegible] issues [illegible] [illegible] basis. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum type organization.

APPENDIX

LA 100-68822

APPENDIX

MAY DAY COMMITTEE, etc.,
United May Day Committee

[illegible] advised on May 7, [illegible], that the May Day Celebration in Los Angeles, in recent years, (excepting [illegible]) has been covertly organized by the leadership of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) using the name May Day Committee, United May Day Committee, "Committee for '75 Years of May Day'", or variations thereof. [illegible] advised that no actual committee is formed for this purpose, but an appropriate name is selected for purposes of advertising and sponsorship of the celebration. The [illegible] arrangements for the celebrations have usually been made by [illegible] DORES, Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, with [illegible] and DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, SCDCP, sharing responsibility for chairing the celebration and [illegible] the "United". Funds [illegible] through the rally are usually used by the SCDCP to offset current deficits. In 195[illegible], the May Day Celebration was [illegible] sponsored by the SCDCP.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 5, 1964, that the National Lawyers Guild has chapters in various cities and that the Los Angeles Chapter and the Hollywood-Beverly Hills Chapter are affiliated with it.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations," revised December 1, 1961, page 121, describes the National Lawyers Guild as follows:

1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950).

3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

"(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91)."

APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB OF WEST LOS ANGELES

On April 28, 1964, a source advised that the W. E. B. DuBois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREENBAUM with the assistance of MARVIN TREIGER in February, 1964.

A second source advised on April 17, 1964, that as of April 1964, RUTH GREENBAUM was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) and that MARVIN TREIGER was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above stated that the DuBois Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Marxist-oriented students at the University of California at Los Angeles, (UCLA), but that the club eventually hopes to spread its influence into other areas in West Los Angeles.

The records of the Office of Dean of Student Activities at UCLA, revealed that the DuBois Club has filed for permission to hold meetings and other special functions on the UCLA campus and that permission has been granted. The chairman of the DuBois Club is listed as RUTH GREENBAUM. In making this application, the club listed a statement of purpose which states in part, "We the members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of West Los Angeles, join together to help further the development of a socialist system, free from [illegible], poverty, fear and the economic power exercised by the few over the many.

"Although we view socialism as the likely solution to the ills of the present society, we do not make this an a priori commitment for any honest person to join with us in fighting for a better America and a more rational world."

A third source advised on March 12, 1964, that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, February, 1964, [illegible] [illegible], Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, spoke [illegible] the CP youth movement and stated that the DuBois Club was one of two youth groups operating in the Los Angeles [illegible], both groups were Marxist-Oriented and that members considered themselves Marxist.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on October 5, 1964, that since its inception, the activities of the DuBois Club have been mainly limited to participation in protests against alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist classes and participation in conferences which lead to the creation of the W. E. B. Clubs of America in the summer of 1964. This source advised that the W. E. B. DuBois Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America and is operating as a chapter of that organization.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
March 16, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	9/24/65	8/18 - 9/17/65

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY [redacted] TYPED BY BJ

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] dated 8/16/65 at Los Angeles.
Los Angeles FD 205 dated 9/16/65.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential because of information furnished by [redacted] through [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted]. Disclosure of sources could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC SER; DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORW:
HOW FORW:
BY:

APPROVED / SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE / DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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SEP 28 1965

Bcc & cc LHM
808 RB

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By					

Notations

INT. SEC.

50 OCT 1 1965

LA 100-63822

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1 - 115th INTC, Region II,
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Maywood (REGISTERED)
1 - FIO, Los Angeles
(REGISTERED)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488)
(REGISTERED)
2 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

INFORMANTS:

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Characterization of ROSE ARIAN and ARTHUR ARIAN
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Characterization of SUSAN FAY ROMO and JOANN ESTHER PIONTKOWSKI
[redacted]	[redacted]

Source	Location
	100-63822-390
	100-63822-383 Characterization of MAX SCHOEN

LA 100-63822

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of MARVIN TREIGER

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-63822-605
[redacted]	100-63822-383

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA: (1) Will cause a check to be made of the records of the Secretary of State, Sacramento, to determine if the Los Angeles friends of SNCC or SNCC have filed articles of incorporation in the State of California.

(2) Will obtain names of officers, their addresses and pertinent information concerning the organization, if such information is available.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report communist infiltration of LA-SNCC.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 115th INTC, Region II, Pasadena (REGISTERED)
1 - CSI, District 18, Maywood (REGISTERED)
1 - FIO, Los Angeles (REGISTERED)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Los Angeles, California

Date: September 24, 1965

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Los Angeles friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Purpose and scope of LA-SNCC set forth. CLIFFORD A. VAUGHS is the new Regional Corrdinator and Director of LA-SNCC. [redacted] Several youths associated with the W.E.B. Du Bois Club, Youth Socialist Alliance, and Communist Party worked with LA-SNCC during 1965.

- P -

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon information that two members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), had evidenced interest in the affairs of the Los Angeles affiliate (LA-SNCC) of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of the LA-SNCC, or whether the LA-SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the SNCC.

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC, when appropriate in this report.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters, "Central Office," of the SNCC was moved from 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, during the latter part of May, 1965, to 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

It was ascertained from the new regional coordinator and director of LA-SNCC on September 2, 1965, that LA-SNCC has an office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF LA-SNCC

[redacted] (9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," the contents of which are set forth below:

PURPOSE:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three fold purpose: Education, mobilization, and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council of Federated Organizations (COFC) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized office as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach, LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses.

Each of these local Friends groups would have officers like chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the national office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program, and work all over the South. An important part of the local Friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE: This would be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be channeled through the Southern California office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE: This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing, and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE: The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the administrative director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the National Policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS: Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO Corner."

Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

[redacted] (10/19/64)

In the Los Angeles, California area there are not more than 20 individuals who participate in functions of LA-SNCC. This is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On September 2, 1965, CLIFFORD A. VAUGHS advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is now the Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC with office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. VAUGHS advised that JAMES GARRETT is no longer associated with LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (3/31/65)
(4/1/65)
(4/6/65)
(4/19/65)
(4/14/65)
(4/9/65)
(4/5/65)

(6/22/65)

On June 13, 1965, CLIFFORD VAUGHS spoke at a meeting of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (see appendix), 2936 West Eighth Street. VAUGHS gave a report on Mississippi and civil rights works.

On August 16, 1965, LYNN APPLEBAUM, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is one of the sponsors of the Long Beach area LA-SNCC and that this organization was founded by SAUL STOLZBERG and herself. She advised that they have obtained office space at 205 East Broadway, Suite 601, Long Beach, California.

LA T-29 (8/9/65)

A Bakersfield, California, Friends of SNCC was recently formed with headquarters at 618 California Avenue, Bakersfield. The following persons are the principal officers:

MELVIN A. BROWN, President
HAROLD J. BOEWER, Chairman and treasurer
MARSHALL GANZ, Organizer

There are approximately 35 people who work with SNCC in the Bakersfield area.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND LA-SNCC AND INFLUENCE SNCC POLICY

(2/2/65)

(2/11/65)

Information was received that a member of the Theodore Dreiser Youth Club, SCDCP, has LA-SNCC as his mass organization and that he has three possibilities for recruiting from this organization.

(4/6/65)

(8/16/65)

(3/19/65)

SAM KUSHNER has indicated that he was going to the Federal Court in Los Angeles on March 19, 1965 and distribute 100 copies of the "People's World" to the LA-SNCC and other civil rights demonstrators.

(3/22/65)

(4/9/65)

(4/19/65)
(4/14/65)
(4/9/65)

APPENDIX

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB
formerly known as the Youth Action
Union and Los Angeles Youth for
Peace and Socialism

A source advised on March 25, 1965, that during the period January through March, 1962, a series of formation meetings to establish a "Socialist Youth Organization," was held in the Los Angeles area. LEONARD POTASH was acting chairman in charge of the group and PAUL ROSENSTEIN and FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were named to a provisional committee to help organize the new group. On April 3, 1962, the group officially selected the name of Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism, (LAYPS), and elected officers.

A second source advised that POTASH, ROSENSTEIN, and ALEXANDER as of 1963 were all members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

A third source advised on May 12, 1964, that the LAYPS was organized with the full knowledge and assistance of DOROTHY HEALEY, chairman of the SCDCP and that several Communist Party (CP) members had been approved by HEALEY to teach Marxist theory to members of the LAYPS. This source further advised that the LAYPS was to be a Marxist study and action group and that the teachings of KARL MARX were to be followed. Source also advised that although the alleged purpose of the group was to promote "Socialism" in the United States, the group considered themselves to be "Communist Party Orientated" and were anxious to study the brand of Marxism associated with the CPUSA.

The first source above further advised that in June, 1963, LAYPS changed the name of the organization to Youth Action Union (YAU) for two reasons: The first being that it was felt that LAYPS had gained a bad reputation because of its association with CP groups, the second because it was felt the word "Socialism" in the title was driving away possible recruits.

The first elected chairman of the LAYPS and YAU who continued in this position until early 1964, was MARVIN TREIGER, who as of April, 1964, was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP. Since the organization's inception, key officers have been members of the CP.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB formerly known as the Youth Action Union and Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism

The first source above advised that in August, 1964, the YAU affiliated with the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and adopted the name of Central Los Angeles W. E. B. Du Bois Club. This club continues to operate under the above name.

APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes this committee as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 3, 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 4, 1965, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, aka Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights and the Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organization", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104 describes this committee as follows:

"A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950 and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General".

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12 and 51.)

"Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations.'

"Control of the local organizations * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the Party. * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, aka Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights and the Protection of Foreign Born

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949.' Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operating head' since the time of its organization.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

A source advised on May 25, 1965, that the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has also been using the name Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights and the Protection of Foreign Born and continues to be active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 18, 1965, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source advised on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CP,USA), including national functionaries, met in Chiago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the Founding Convention for the new youth organization was held during the period of June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American Democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or, if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source advised in April, 1965, the headquarters of the organization continues to be located at 1953½ McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Both sources have advised that at the Founding Convention two officers were elected: Philip Chapin Davis - President; Carl Ellenger Bloice - Publications Chairman.

A third source advised on October 26, 1962, Philip Davis attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source advised that Carl Bloice, reporter for the "People's World," was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB OF WEST LOS ANGELES

On April 23, 1964, a source advised that the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREENBAUM with the assistance of MARVIN TREIGER in February, 1964.

A second source advised on April 17, 1964, that as of April, 1964, RUTH GREENBAUM was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) and that MARVIN TREIGER was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above stated that the Du Bois Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Marxist-Orientated students at the University of California at Los Angeles, (UCLA), but that the club eventually hoped to spread its influence into other areas in West Los Angeles.

The records of the Office of Dean of Student Activities at UCLA, reveal that in February, 1964, the Du Bois Club filed for permission to hold meetings and other special functions on the UCLA campus and that permission was granted. The chairman of the Du Bois Club was listed as RUTH GREENBAUM. In making this application, the club listed a statement of purpose which states in part, "We the members of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, join together to help further the development of a socialist system, free from ignorance, poverty, fear and the economic power exercised by the few over the many.

"Although we view socialism as the likely solution to the ills of the present society, we do not make this an a priori commitment for any honest person to join with us in fighting for a better America and a more rational world."

A third source advised on March 12, 1964, that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, February, 1964, BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, spoke on the CP youth movement and stated that the Du Bois Club was one of two youth groups operating in the Los Angeles area, both groups were Marxist-Orientated and that members considered themselves Marxist.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on March 25, 1965, that since its inception, the activities of the Du Bois Club have been mainly limit d to participation in protests against alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist classes, participation in conferences which lead to the creation of the W. E. B. Clubs of America in the summer of 1964 and participation in demonstrations protesting U. S. intervention in Viet Nam. This source advised that the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and is operating as a chapter of that organization.

APPENDIX

WOMEN FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION

A source advised on May 1, 1963, that the Women for Legislative Action was formed in 1952, claiming to be an independent organization dedicated to non-partisan participation in legislative and civic activities. Its position in favoring or opposing legislation usually parallels the position of the Communist Party and related groups. It also supports legislation to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Membership in the Women for Legislative Action does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

Another source advised on May 18, 1965, that the Women for Legislative Action continues to be active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" ("YSA), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication "YS".

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and the the supporters of the "YS" have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 7, 1965, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left-socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 7, 1965, YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA is located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
September 24, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-63822

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	LOS ANGELES	4/?/66	2/15 - 3/14/66

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY [redacted] TYPED BY cdz

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] at Los Angeles dated 9/?/65.

Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta dated 2/4/66.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local military agencies for their information.

This report is classified confidential because information reported from [redacted] through [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] could result in the identification of sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

? - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - 115th INTC, Region II, Pasadena (RM)
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? - Los Angeles (100-63822)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

REC- 3?

REC- 34

APR 11 1966

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	4/15/66
How Fwd.	
By	RCB: J.

Notations

67 MAY 12 1966 re report 102940

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-679
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted] Instant report
[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]	100-63822-726 Characterization of ROSE CHERNIN
[redacted]	100-63822-726
[redacted]	100-63822-743
[redacted]	100-63822-383
[redacted]	100-63822-383
[redacted]	100-63822-750

Special Agent [redacted] was in contact with CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director LA-SNCC on 12/22/65.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report Communist Infiltration of LA-SNCC.

U. [illegible]TED STATES DEPARTMENT OF [illegible]USTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 115th INTC, Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, District 18, Maywood (RM)
1 - FIC, Los Angeles (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Los Angeles, California

Date: 4/7/66

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located at 5605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Purpose and scope of LA-SNCC and Communist Party efforts to infiltrate LA-SNCC set forth.

- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC, when appropriate in this report.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC, or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the SNCC.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

Secretary of State
State of California
Sacramento, California
(9/30/65)

On September 30, 1965, [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that the records of that Office contain no record of Articles of Incorporation for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or for the Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters, "Central Office", of the SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director on December 22, 1965, advised a Special Agent of the FBI, that the LA-SNCC has an office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (2/10/66)

LA-SNCC have an office at 316 East Anaheim Street, Long Beach, California.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF LA-SNCC

[redacted] (9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," the contents of which are set forth below:

PURPOSE:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three fold purpose: education, mobilization and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized office as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is

expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier etc. and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles, USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses.

Each of these local friends groups would have officers like chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California Office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the National Office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program, and work all over the South. An important part of the local Friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE:

This would be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be channeled through the Southern California Office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE:

This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put

pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE:

The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the administrative director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the national policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS:

Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free Press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO Corner". Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

LA T-19 (10/19/64)

SNCC is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On December 22, 1965, CLIFFORD A. VAUGHS advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is the Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC with office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

LA T-16 (2/10/66)

Officers of LA-SNCC, Long Beach, California, as of January 10, 1965, were shown as THOMAS ADDISON, President-Chairman; HENRY SMALZ, Vice-President; RONALD FOSTER, Secretary.

(9/21/65)

(1/14/66)

(2/1/66)

JULIAN BOND, Publicity Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, arrived in Los Angeles via Delta Airlines on

February 1, 1966. He was immediately taken to appear on the Louis Lomax Show. LOMAX is a Negro narrator of a controversial television show in Los Angeles.

[redacted] (2/3/66)

After JULIAN BOND made his appearance on the Lomax Show on February 1, 1966, he attended a reception in his honor at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, sponsored by the Californians for Liberal Representation. (The Californians for Liberal Representation is self described in its literature as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action".) BOND spoke for about five minutes concerning his not being seated in the Georgia Legislature.

The PW is a West Coast communist newspaper.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (Supra)

[redacted] (10/12/65)

The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of Los Angeles as of October 12, 1965 are scheduled to support a demonstration in the form of a motorcade in Los Angeles on October 15, 1965 carrying signs protesting the Vietnam war. It is not known if this demonstration will definitely take place. LA-SNCC, SCDCP, and other organizations are to participate in the demonstration.

[redacted] (10/21/65)

As of October, 1965, LA-SNCC was maintained on the regular active mailing list of the W.E.B. DuBois Club.

"PEOPLE'S WORLD" (PW)
(Guard)

[redacted] (2/10/66)

As of February, 1966, the LA-SNCC was maintained on the PW subscriber's list.

DEMONSTRATIONS

[redacted] (1/12/66)

On January 5, 1966, LA-SNCC sponsored a picket demonstration at the Federal Building in Los Angeles.

CLIFFORD VAUGHS was in charge of the demonstration.

Participants included members of the SCDCP, LACDBLPFB and W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

The demonstration was in protest of the killing of a civil rights exponent in Alabama.

[redacted] (2/12/66)

On February 12, 1966, there was a picket demonstration in front of the 77th Street Station, Los Angeles Police Department, for civil rights and protesting the war in Vietnam. LA-SNCC, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, SCDCP, and other organizations participated.

JOHN LEWIS, National Executive Chairman, SNCC, participated in the demonstration. LEWIS made a short speech from the front steps of the police station comparing the war in Vietnam to the civil rights war. LEWIS said he advocates bringing the United States troops out of Vietnam and spending the money, which is being spent on this war, in poverty areas of the United States.

OTHER ACTIVITY TO INFILTRATE LA-SNCC

[redacted]

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104 describes this committee as follows:

"A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October 1950 and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees *** constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General".

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12 and 51.)

"Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born' their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29,1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

A source advised on December 2, 1965 that in June, 1965, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had elected to expand its defense activity to include individuals who were not foreign born and that on September 15, 1965, the organization became officially known as the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born. Source further advised that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born, still referred to as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born by many individuals, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL - SWP)

On May 18, 1965, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 7, 1965, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 3, 1965, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM

aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS FOR ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITES COMMITTEE, also known as Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms

A source advised on January 25, 1966, that the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms (CCPAF), 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, has changed its name to Southern Californians for Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The change in name was voted on at a special meeting of the CCPAF Executive Board on January 8, 1966, subject to approval by all Executive Board members and local sustainers of the CCPAF. Approval was rendered by an overwhelming vote to adopt the new name of Southern Californians for Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes the CCPAF as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort

APPENDIX CONTINUED

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS FOR ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE, also known as Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms

"was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the Committee."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 3, 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)

APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

In October, 1965, a source advised "The New Left School of Los Angeles" originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District, Communist Party. DAN BESSIE originated the idea, and more or less organized the school. As of October, 1965, approximately 100 persons were enrolled in the school. Source further advised that as of October, 1965, JOHN HAAG appeared to be one of those involved in [illegible] organizational work of the school.

Another source advised as of July, 1965, DAN BESSIE was a member of the Education Commission, Southern California District, Communist Party.

Another source advised in September, 1965, JOHN RICHARD HAAG was present as Chairman of a meeting of the Los Angeles Area Council, Du Bois Clubs of America, at 1733 West Temple Street, Los Angeles. At this meeting he stated he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP), because if he joined, his wife, ANNA, who is not a citizen, could be deported. He also stated if he became a member, he would lose effectiveness in the community because many people look up to him as an independent radical. He stated he would join the CP if it were legal and not under pressure by the Government.

In May, 1965, another source advised that EDWARD [illegible], commonly known as Theodore Edwards, had been voted approval by the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP) to associate himself with "The New Left School of Los Angeles" as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

Another source advised September, 1965, that [illegible] ANTHONY KOVACS, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, is the organizer of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and alternate member of the National Committee, SWP.

Another source advised on May 18, 1965, that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues [illegible]. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

of the socialist alternative."

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included Chairman HUGH STERLING FOWLER, II (who, according to the third source, attended a CP cadre encampment held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, in June, 1965, and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, attended another national CP cadre youth conference held on September 9-12, 1965, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); Director of Publicity CARL ELLENGER BLOICE (who was elected to the San Francisco County Committee CP in April, 1964 according to a fifth source); Educational Director MATTHEW "DYNAMITE" HALLINAN (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth representative on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary TERENCE "KAYO" HALLINAN (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, with the District Staff of the Illinois CP to discuss the proposed DCA Midwest Summer Project), and Treasurer SUSAN PHYLLIS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source, has attended meetings of the Youth Club of the CP of Illinois during 1965 in connection with the DCA Summer Project).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB OF WEST LOS ANGELES

On April 23, 1964, a source advised that the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREENBAUM with the assistance of MARVIN TREIGER in February, 1964.

A second source advised on April 17, 1964, that as of April, 1964, RUTH GREENBAUM was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) and that MARVIN TREIGER was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above stated that the Du Bois Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Marxist-Orientated students at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), but that the club eventually hoped to spread its influence into other areas in West Los Angeles.

The records of the Office of Dean of Student Activities at UCLA, reveal that in February, 1964, the Du Bois Club filed for permission to hold meetings and other special functions on the UCLA campus and that permission was granted. The chairman of the Du Bois Club was listed as RUTH GREENBAUM. In making this application, the club listed a statement of purpose which states in part, "We the members of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, join together to help further the development of a socialist system, free from ignorance, poverty, fear and the economic power exercised by the few over the many.

"Although we view socialism as the likely solution to the ills of the present society, we do not make this an a priori commitment for any honest person to join with us in fighting for a better America and a more rational world."

A third source advised on March 12, 1964, that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, February, 1964, BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, spoke on the CP youth movement and stated that the Du Bois Clubs were one of two youth groups operating in the Los Angeles area, both groups were Marxist-Orientated and that members considered themselves Marxist.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on May 25, 1965, that since its inception, the activities of the Du Bois Club have been mainly limited to participation in protests against alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist classes, participation in conferences which lead to the creation of the W. E. B. Clubs of America in the summer of 1964 and participation in demonstrations protesting U. S. intervention in Viet Nam. This source advised that the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and is operating as a chapter of that organization.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-63822

April 7, 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	10/7/	9/8 - 10/3/66	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
		[redacted]		jae
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC		

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] Los Angeles dated 2/7/66.
Bureau airtel to Albany dated /66.
Los Angeles letter to Bureau dated /8/66.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local military agencies for their information.

This report is classified con because information reported from [redacted] through [redacted] and [redacted] through [redacted] could result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

The records of the Articles of Incorporation, Secretary of State, State of California, Sacramento, California, are being

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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- 1 - NIO, Los Angeles (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

Notations

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.			10/19/66	
How Fwd.				
By			PTB	

checked for any information concerning Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) and will be reported in next semi-annual report.

SA [redacted] was in contact with CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director, LA-SNCC on 9/21/66.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	100-63822-363
[redacted]	100-63822-710
[redacted]	On 9/20/66 orally to SA [redacted] [redacted] (instant report), characterization of WILLIAM TAYLOR
[redacted]	100-63822 (not serialized)
[redacted]	100-63822-712
[redacted]	[redacted] Characterization of CLIFFORD VAUGHS orally to SA [redacted] 9/20/66 (instant report)

Characterization of GEORGE DAVIS

100-63922-32

Characterization of BILL BEASLEY, characterization of Committee to End the War in Vietnam, characterization of Freedom Now Committee

Characterization of MARVIN TRIEGER

Characterization of FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, characterization of ROBERT DUGGAN, characterization of ALLAN ZAK

LA 100-63822

Characterization of AL LEWIS

Characterization of KAREN KOONAN,
characterization of ROBERT NIEMAN,
characterization of CLIFFORD VAUGHS

Characterization of SUE DOUGLAS

100-63822-[illegible]

Characterization of LENNY GOLDBERG

Characterization of LENNY GOLDBERG

Characterization of GEORGE DALLIS

Characterization of IDA GOLDBERG

Characterization of IDA GOLDBERG

Characterization of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Characterization of MALCOM LITTLE,
aka Malcom X

Characterization of MALCOM LITTLE

Characterization of MALCOM LITTLE

Characterization of BEN RATNER

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report activities of LA-5[illegible].

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
1 - FIO, Los Angeles (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 10/7/66

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63822

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Chapters of LA-SNCC located at Bakersfield and Long Beach, California. Purpose, scope, and subversive connections of LA-SNCC set forth.

\- P* -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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LA 100-63822

DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC when appropriate in this report.

All individuals whose names are followed by an asterisk appear in the glossary section of this report.

I. SCOPE

[redacted] (9/25/64)

Source furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption, "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC." Excerpts from this article state, "The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three-fold purpose, education, mobilization and fund raising. The Los Angeles SNCC program is geared toward students and adults who are interested in broad national SNCC policy, its program and work all over the south. An important part of the local group would be recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

[redacted] (9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption, "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," contents of which are set forth below:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three fold purpose: education, mobilization and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is

a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized office as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses.

Each of these local friends groups would have officers like chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California Office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting

direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the National Office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program, and work all over the South. An important part of the local Friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE:

This would be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be channeled through the Southern California Office. The funds rasied here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE:

This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal

Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing, and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE:

The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the administrative director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the national policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS:

Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free Press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO Corner." Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

III. ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

Secretary of State
State of California
Sacramento, California
(9/30/65)

[redacted] advised that the records of that office contain no record of articles of incorporation for the SNCC or for the LA-SNCC.

On September 21, 1966, CLIFFORD VAUGHS*, Regional Coordinator and Director, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that LA-SNCC was not incorporated.

IV. HEADQUARTERS

CLIFFORD VAUGHS*, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC advised a Special Agent of the FBI on September 21, 1966, that their main offices were located at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (9/22/66)

Source stated that KAREN KOONAN*, Secretary of LA-SNCC, advised that SNCC had two main chapters at Long Beach and Bakersfield, California.

[redacted] (2/10/66)

Source advised that LA-SNCC has a branch office at 316 East Anaheim Street, Long Beach, California.

[redacted] (5/27/66)

Source stated that LA-SNCC has a chapter headquarters at 316 Anaheim Street, Long Beach but has recently moved to 906 East Pacific Coast Highway, Long Beach, California, which is an income tax service office of the LA-SNCC chapter president, at Long Beach, THOMAS ADDISON*. This chapter is known as the Long Beach chapter of SNCC.

BAKERSFIELD

[redacted] (3/4/66)

Source advised that BEN RATNER* is chairman of the Bakersfield chapter of LA-SNCC with headquarters at 318 California, Bakersfield, California.

V. OFFICERS

SNCC OFFICERS

An article appearing in the "Los Angeles Herald-Examiner," Los Angeles, California, on May 17, 1966, which revealed a change in the national leadership of SNCC, read as follows:

"Two of the nation's most militant civil rights leaders, John Lewis and James Foreman, were deposed yesterday by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). One source said they were considered 'too moderate.'

"Stokely Carmichael, a founder of the all-Negro 'Black Panther political party' in Alabama, was named to succeed Lewis as SNCC chairman and he promptly announced the organization would

"'intensify its efforts in the area of independent politics.'

"A 24-year-old West Indies native now living in New York, Carmichael will be part of a ruling triumvirate including executive secretary Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson of Atlanta and program secretary Cleveland Sellars of Denmark, S.C.

"Carmichael, one of the original 'freedom riders' who brought about desegregation of interstate transportation facilities, accused the Federal Government of 'inaction' in insuring equal political rights for Negroes. He is expected to lead SNCC toward greater activity in voter registration and elections.

"Lewis, 25, and Foreman, 37, remain on SNCC's central committee, which was reduced from 21 to 10 members."

OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On September 21, 1966, CLIFFORD VAUGHS* advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (1/22/66)

Source advised that KAREN KOONAN* is Secretary of LA-SNCC and works out of their headquarters at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

OFFICERS OF THE BAKERSFIELD CHAPTER OF SNCC

[redacted] (3/4-8/66)

Source advised that BEN RATNER* is Chairman of the Bakersfield chapter of SNCC. The other officers in the chapter are FRANK BRUINS*, Vice-Chairman, EUNICE BRUINS*, Secretary, and BETTY SCEALES*, Treasurer.

LA 100-63822

[redacted] (9/26/66)

On September 26, 1966, source advised that the Bakersfield chapter of SNCC maintains an office at 618 California Avenue, Bakersfield, California, but there have been no SNCC meetings during the past several months. BEN RATNER* has resigned as Chairman of SNCC and MELVIN A. BROWN* former SNCC President has been inducted into the United States Army. Bakersfield chapter of SNCC has no present leadership and all of its officers are no longer with the organization.

OFFICERS OF LONG BEACH
CHAPTER OF SNCC

[redacted] (2/10/66)

On February 10, 1966, the records of the [redacted] Long Beach, California, were checked and noted that THOMAS ADDISON* of 19216 Harlan Avenue, Compton, California, [redacted] and at that time declared himself as President-Chairman of the Long Beach chapter, Friends of SNCC, for its new location at 316 East Anaheim Street, Long Beach, California. The officers, according to the record, were HENRY SMALZ*, Vice-President, and DONALD FOSTER*, Secretary.

[redacted] (9/27/66)

VI. MEMBERSHIP

[redacted] (9/22/66)

Source stated that LA-SNCC is not a membership organization but they are trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself the Friends of SNCC and is fundamentally a paper organization.

[redacted] (9/20/66)

Source stated that SNCC is not a membership organization but a loose-knit group with approximately 12 people who have identified themselves with LA-SNCC. Their leader is CLIFFORD VAUGHS* and their headquarters is at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles, California.

MEMBERSHIP OF BAKERSFIELD CHAPTER OF SNCC

[redacted] (3/8/66)

Source furnished a list of the following individuals who have associated with the Bakersfield chapter of SNCC. They are as follows:

BEN RATNER* Chairman
FRANK BRUINS*, Vice-President
EUNICE BRUINS*, Secretary
BETTY SCEALES*, Treasurer
RICHARD VINEYARD*, Publicity Director
CLEO SUTTON

[redacted] (9/26/66)

On September 26, 1966, source advised that BEN RATNER* has resigned as Chairman of SNCC and that MELVIN A. BROWN, forme SNCC President has been inducted into the United States Army.

LA 100-63828

Source stated that SNCC is disorganized at the present because of the absence of all top officers and no new officers have been installed to date.

MEMBERSHIP OF LONG BEACH CHAPTER OF SNCC

[redacted] (9/27/66)

On September 27, 1966, source advised that the only active member of the Long Beach chapter of SNCC is their Chairman THOMAS ADDISON*. Other individuals who have been active in the past in this chapter are MIKE SWEENEY*, MARY ANN MC CARTHY*, HENRY SHAIZ*, and DONALD FOSTER*.

VII. ACTIVITIES

[redacted] (2/18/66)

On February 1, 1966, a meeting was sponsored by LA-SNCC at the Embassy Room of the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, California. The meeting honored JAMES BOND*, a young Negro who was recently elected to the Georgia House of Representatives and was refused by a two-thirds vote of his fellow lawmakers for making public statements criticizing the conflict in Vietnam.

[redacted] (7/18/66) (7/21/66)

[redacted] (3/1/66)

VIII. POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

COMMITTEE TO END THE
WAR IN VIETNAM (CEWV)

[redacted] (6/5/65)

On June 5, 1965, source stated that CEWV is an amalgamation of representatives from numerous peace-oriented and/or civil rights groups and includes representatives of the Southern California District of the Communist Party (SCDCP), the Los Angeles Local-Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP)(see appendix), etc. and its objective is to protect the United States involvement in Vietnam and cause withdrawal of all American troops from that country.

[redacted] (2/10/66)

[redacted] (3/22/66)

[redacted] (4/15/66)

A CEWV demonstration on April 7, 1966, originated at Sunset and Vine in Hollywood, California, which was a protest against the war in Vietnam. The demonstrators walked for several blocks on Hollywood Boulevard then went south on La Brea Avenue and then east on Sunset to their starting point. BILL BEASLEY* represented SNCC at this demonstration.

[redacted] (9/1[illegible]/66)

[redacted] (9/17/66)

IX. PUBLICITY

CLIFFORD VAUGHS*, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, on September 21, 1966, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that "The Movement" is a monthly newspaper published by the SNCC of California in San Francisco, California, and is the publication for SNCC on the west coast.

"The Movement" of September, 1966, page 2, contains an article which lists the location of the editorial office for the newspaper at 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California. The Los Angeles staff for this newspaper was listed as KAREN KOONAN* and BOB NIEMAN*.

An article appears in "The Movement" of September, 1966, page 3, column 3, entitled "Malcom X* defines black power," which reads as follows:

"The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces."

An article appears in "The Movement" of September, 1966, page 6, which was written by STOKELY CARMICHAEL*, leader-chairman of SNCC, entitled "Black Power not anti-white, unless whites make it that way." It reads as follows:

"Over the years, SNCC has been concerned above all with making changes in the daily life of impoverished Southern Negroes, basic changes, not 'tokenism.' Almost from the start in 1960 SNCC realised that political and economic power was the key to this and that Negro-controlled political groups must be formed to achieve it.

"Disenfranchisement, maintained by racist terror, made this impossible at the time. The right to vote had to be won and SNCC workers addressed themselves primarily to winning the vote from 1961 to 1965. That struggle was eased, though far from won, with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. SNCC workers could then address themselves to the logistics of self-determination; getting a Negro sheriff into office, winning power.

"Black power means that in Lowndes county, Alabama (80% negro), if a Negro is elected tax assesor, he will be able to tax equitably and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving Negroes. If elected sheriff, he can end police brutality. Where black people lack a majority, it means proper representation and sharing of control. On state or national levels it means that black people can say to white authorities, 'We need X million dollars to fix our roads, and we have X million votes behind us.' Without power they can only say, 'Please, we need it.'

"We seek, then, to create power bases which can make important changes in daily life on a local level and go on to change state wide or nation wide patterns of oppression through negotiation from strength rather than weakness. Negroes cannot form political alliances with the white community until they have strength and until there are whites with whom they can form coalitions. This is not the case in the deep South today. But it is one of our hopes and goals to encourage poor whites to build a base with which poor Negroes may eventually combine their strength.

"Essential in the process of organizing Negroes to win power is the conquest of fear and the development of 'black consciousness' self-respect, pride in black history, our culture and institutions. We must change the attitude expressed by an Alabama Negro who voted for the white sheriff on May 3, saying, 'We aren't ready to have a colored sheriff. The white folks wouldn't have liked that a bit.'

"The acquisition of political power responsible to black people is the current stage in our struggle to create a society in which people can make free choices as equals about all aspects of their daily lives. This is our goal and our concept of integration. Too often the goal 'integration' has been based on a complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education, Negroes must move into a white neighborhood or go to a white school. What does this mean? First of all, it reinforces among both Negroes and whites the idea that 'white' is automatically better and that 'black' is by definition inferior. Secondly, it allows the nation to focus, for example, on a handful of Negro children who finally get by Southern racist mobs and into white schools, and to ignore the 94% who are left behind in unimproved, all-black schools. Such situations will not change until Negroes have political power--to control their own school boards, for example. With the achievement of such control, Negroes can become truly equal--and integration then becomes relevant, meaningful.

"None of this thinking is new in SNCC. 'Pro-Black' has never meant 'anti-white' unless whites make it so. We continue to believe, as always, that SNCC's leadership must be black. We have concluded that Negroes make the best organizers in Southern Negro communities because they encourage the idea that Negroes can do something for themselves. This releases the energy and creativity needed to create change.

"Today SNCC's field secretaries face even greater danger and poverty than before. As Negroes register to vote and begin to organize white resistance stiffens. Any Negro who runs for office faces loss of job, eviction from his home, death itself. SNCC works full-time to overcome the genuine fear, white and black, North and South."

An article appears in "The Daily Trojan" the newspaper of the University of California at Los Angeles, California, on April 27, 1966, entitled "Friends of SNCC Begin Working for Civil Rights," which reads as follows:

"Friends of SNCC, a support group for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, became an official campus organization yesterday after a five-month struggle for recognition.

"The group, which has been operating off campus with approximately 65 members, will inform students of civil rights activity in the South, raise support for SNCC projects, and involve USC students in work to bring about a change in existing conditions in the South.

"Negro Leadership

"SNCC itself is a civil rights organization operating in the South that focuses on the development of local organizations and the training of emerging Negro leadership.

"It is a coordinating committee of student protests that originated in Greenboro, North Carolina, lunch counter sit-ins in 1960.

"Friends of SNCC at USC will support SNCC by calling on politicians to lend more federal support to civil rights movements.

"USC workers will collect food and clothes for Southern Negroes and whites involved in community development projects.

"They will also raise money to build community centers and libraries for southern communities that lack such facilities, and establish 'freedom schools' for Negroes who have no access to formal education.

"Exert Pressure

"Friends of SNCC will operate as a pressure group to force politicians at all levels of government to become more

"involved in civil rights action. The group will also serve as an important means of financial support for SNCC activities.

"SNCC members try to pressure the current power structure in the South to chang_ their attitude toward Negroes and allow the Negro to become a first-class citizen.

"Some SNCC members feel campus recognition of Friends of SNCC was delayed because of the controversial aspect of SNCC itself.

"Campus organizers, however, said their own inability to write a constitution played a part in the delay.

"SNCC, with its byword of 'one man, one vote,' is trying to create s_lf-awareness and dignity in the Negro. The group want_ to bring about a peaceful social revolution through the application of direct action techniques as sit-ins and picketing."

An article appears in the "Daily Collegian" the newspaper for Fresno State College, Fresno, California, on May 9, 1966, entitled "SNCC Stages Noon Hoot, Protest Forum," which reads as follows:

"Folksingers protesting the Viet Nam war and the Delano farm strike highlighted Monday's Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee's forum.

"An array of singers sang for three hours on the platform behind the Student Activities Booth before a crowd that ranged from 300 to 500 students. Local folksinger Mark Spoelstra and Badger King, a San Francisco singer and author, were the main entertainment for the 'hoot.' King also spoke on the Delano strike situation and most of his songs were directed at President Johnson's administration and United States foreign policy. King said he thought that 'hoots' should go on everyday at Fresno State College.

"Between the folk and protest songs various students and professors used the platform to make informal statements on the views they held. English professor Richard Yanowitz rose to the occassion and warned students that it was their duty 'to violate bad laws.'

"On civil disobedience Yanowitz said he is 'utterly' disappointed in students who merely sit around discussing social problems. He proposed that if a person is to find evils in society he can't always use a rational approach to discover them. 'If the law is wrong, break it,' he said.

"Yanowitz said most laws are made to maintain the present power structure or they are out of date by the time they are enacted."

An article appears in the "Fresno Bee" daily newspaper Fresno, California, entitled "FSC Draft Test is Set for Tomorrow" on May 13, 1966, which reads as follows:

"About 450 Fresno State College male students will put their draft status on the line tomorrow along with some 900,000 other young Americans in examination halls all over the country. The tests have drawn considerable opposition around the country and FSC campus groups have announced plans to give their own test tomorrow morning. The Friends of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) have a publication called 'The Draft and You,' which they just distributed yesterday and said they plan to give their own test of 'fair and objective questions' about the Viet-nam war and American policy.

"Associate Dean of Students Gordon Wilson said the college administration has asked the groups not to interfere with the draft test. He said, however, representatives of the organization will be free to pass out literature in prescribed areas."

An article appears in the "Los Angeles Times," Los Angeles, California, entitled "SNCC and Black Nationalism" on May 16, 1966, which reads as follows:

"A shakeup in the top command of the radical Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has brought into positions of power younger and apparently even more militant Negro leaders.

"As a result some observers now expect that in its activities throughout the South SNCC will turn increasingly to more aggressive black nationalist policies, thus further dividing itself from the main current of the civil rights movement.

"The potential threat this poses to Negro progress and to a lessening of racial tensions is a serious one. SNCC's radicalism has already provided fuel for white extremists. If, as expected, it now concentrates on militant, separatist tactics, it could also dangerously divide and weaken the gathering Negro political strength in the southern states.

"The shakeup in SNCC saw two longtime leaders, John Lewis and James Foreman--neither ever accused of being a moderate--replaced over the weekend by Stokely Carmichael, 24, and Mrs. Doris Robinson, 23. Carmichael, long known as one of SNCC's more radical leaders, organized the all-Negro Black Panther political movement in Alabama, termed by Hosea Williams, an aide to Martin Luther King, a form of 'reverse racism.'

"Carmichael has promised that SNCC will 'intensify its efforts in the area of independent politics.' This apparently means that it will work to expand an all-Negro political base. Many white supporters of SNCC have already been driven from the movement.

"SNCC's chief tactic has always been direct action. It also emphasizes maximum, though largely undefined, freedom. A former SNCC worker, in a critical article in the recent anthology 'The New Student Left', notes that 'as a part of a group or personal ideology, this sort of freedom can and does provide a rationalization for numerous anti-social and selfish actions.'

"Whether SNCC will become a stronger force in the South under its more aggressive leadership remains to be seen. Certainly its appeal to younger Negroes, increasingly frustrated by

"the slow pace or even seeming halt in progress toward equal rights, could be major. Certainly, too, it will have an appeal to those for whom radicalism provides its own reward.

"Yet it should be clear that militant black nationalism, by definition divisive, isn't going to further general Negro progress. Its most predictable result rather would be to strengthen the stand of die-hard segregationists, and to rekindle the fears of many recently converted white moderates. If this is what SNCC's new leaders want, they can hardly claim to be working in the cause of Negro betterment.

An article appears in the "Los Angeles Times," Los Angeles, California, entitled "'Black Power'--The SNCC Manifesto" in the home edition of August 9, 1966, which reads as follows:

"Advocates of the 'black power' doctrine have often complained that the term is misunderstood or distorted by press and public. But a manifesto released last week by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and statements by SNCC's chairman, Stokely Carmichael, show that responsible critics of black power have understood only too well what this line of thought involves, and what dangers it presents.

"The SNCC manifesto, drawn up last May, is a shrill, abusive call for Negro nationalism and separatism, a denunciation of white liberals who have aided the civil rights movement, and a blanket condemnation of the nation's whites as 'in reality 180 million racists.' The document calls for a Negro divorce from American society, and a rejection of that society's values.

"In Cleveland over the weekend Carmichael elaborated on these points.

"'When you talk of black power,' he told a crowd, 'you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything Western civilization has created. When you talk of black power, you talk of picking up where Malcom X*(the late Black Muslim leader) left off.'

"Carmichael and his youthful followers, whatever their pretensions, certainly are in no position to bring this nation 'to its knees.' But these racist radicals are, unfortunately, capable of deepening seriously the divisions betweeen Negroes and whites and of smashing, not the products of Western civilization, but much of the progress and understanding and goodwill that has evolved in relations between the races in recent years.

"A white extremist reaction to black power has already become evident. So, too, has a white liberal backlash. Contributions and moral support for SNCC, and for the equally-militant CORE, have fallen dractically. But the radicals have only become more vocal. They seem to glory in their growing isolation. Separatism, after all, is what they preach. They are achieving it.

"Black power has been denounced by all responsible civil rights leaders. But the ugly danger remains that the racism and excesses of SNCC will become identified in the popular mind with the entire Negro movement. Wrong though this would be, it is apparently what Carmichael and his kind seek.

"Their goal is an unbridgable gap of hate between the races, a revoluntionary bipolarization of 'us' against 'them.'

"This objective, it hardly need be said, is not that of the great majority of American Negroes. Their goal instead is the just one of equal opportunity and equal rights within American society, not outside or against it.

"The black power doctrine is a malicious and ultimately futile exercise. But unless it is kept in proper perspective, its potential for inciting racial hatred will be great."

The names of LIONEL JOHNSON* and GEORGE BALLIS* appeared in separate news articles in the "Fresno Bee," Fresno, California, in September and October of 1966 in which they were identified as spokesmen for SNCC.

An article appears in the "Daily Collegian", Fresno State College newspaper, on April 2[illegible], 1966, and lists DAVID BRADLEY*, HANK BRADLEY* and DENNIS GILBERT* as participating in a SNCC rally at Fresno State College in April, 1966.

An article appears in the "Fresno Bee", a Fresno, California, newspaper, in October, 1966, which lists JOANNE "JODY" [illegible]*, LIONEL JOHNSON* and DENNIS GILBERT* as individuals active in the Fresno Chapter of SNCC at Fresno State College, Fresno, California.

An article appeared on page [illegible] of the March 10, 1966, edition of the "Rampage", the newspaper of the Fresno City College, Fresno, California, which listed Professor RICHARD YANOWITZ and JACK KAUFMAN of Fresno City College, Fresno, California, as faculty sponsors for SNCC activities on the college campus.

X. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

A. CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

[redacted] ([illegible]/1/66)

[redacted] (3/[illegible]5/66)

LA 100-63822

In respect to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), it is noted that the Preamble of the SDS Constitution states "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left...; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right."

During the 1965 National Convention of the SDS, the Preamble of the Constitution was amended to eliminate "counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right." The SDS is opposed to present American foreign policy in Vietnam.

(3/25/66)

(4/5/66)

(5/10/66)
(6/3/66)

[redacted]

[redacted] 6/20/66)

The SCDCP Spring Convention was held at Dooto's Music Center, 135th and Central Avenue in Compton, California. DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the SCDCP, reported that she was in agreement with SNCC's policies and backed the philosophy of "black power". This convention was held on June 12, 1966.

[redacted] (7/11/66)

[redacted]

[redacted] (7/19/66)

On July 15, 1966, a meeting of the SCDCP was held at Baces Hall, Los Angeles, California. WILLIAM C. TAYLOR* spoke on the Negro question and indicated that SNCC and the CP had a great deal in common because the CP has always held the present views of SNCC such as "black power".

[redacted] (8/3/66)

[redacted]

(3/16/66)

(3/23/66)

(7/1/66)
(6/14/66)
(6/13/66)
(6/15/66)

(7/5/66)
(7/19/66)

On June 18 and 19, 1966, the DCA National Convention was held at the Coliseum, Washbash Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was agreed that the convention should go on record as supporting SNCC's position on the issue of "black power". It was also agreed that the convention should attempt to enlist the support of SNCC in its future demonstrations.

(6/22/66)

On June 17, 1966, a meeting of the DCA was held at Channing Hall, First Unitarian Church (See Appendix), Los Angeles, California. Several of the persons in attendance are active in LA-SNCC.

(7/19/66)
(7/16/66)

On July 17, 1966, a meeting of the Los Angeles DCA was held at the Sunset Recreation Center, University

of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. ROBERT DUGGAN* commented at the meeting that SNCC was represented at the National DCA Convention that was recently held in Chicago, Illinois.

D. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

LA 100-63822

STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)

[redacted] (6/14/66)
[redacted] (5/31/66)

On May 28, 1966, the SDS sponsored a demonstration protesting the manufacturing of napalm at the Dow Chemical Corporation, 305 Crenshaw Boulevard, Torrance, California. Several representatives from LA-SNCC spoke and deplored the use of napalm which is being used to burn innocent victims in Vietnam and urged the United States to withdraw their troops from Vietnam.

[redacted] (5/18/66)

(4/27/66)
(4/27/66)
(4/28/66)

(6/28/66)

"PEOPLE'S WORLD"
(PW)

The "PW" is a west coast communist newspaper.

FREEDOM NOW COMMITTEE
(FNC)

LA T-10 (9/27/66)

The FNC is a voluntary association having no membership as such, whose purpose is to

unite the various peace, civil rights, and anti-poverty groups for social progress. The committee is opposed to the United States involvement in Vietnam and is concerned with the problems of the Negro community and the civil rights movement.

█████ (3/3/66)
(2/17/66)

On February 1?, 1966, the FNC sponsored a demonstration protesting the war in Vietnam and police brutality in front of the 77th Division Station of the Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles, California. JOHN LEWIS*, Director of SNCC, was one of the main speakers. LEWIS likened the struggle of the Negro in the south to that of the Vietnamese.

XI. GLOSSARY

THOMAS ALLISON

█████ (2/17/66)

Source advised that THOMAS ALLISON is Chairman of the Long Beach Chapter of SNCC.

FRANKLIN ALEXANDER

█████ (4/21/66)

Source advised that FRANKLIN ALEXANDER is the National Chairman of the DCA. █████

GEORGE BALLIS

█████ (11/23/65)

Source advised that BALLIS is active in the Fresno area as a representative of SNCC.

BILL BEASLEY

[redacted] (3/28/66)

Source advised that BEASLEY is an active member of the FNC and has been associated with LA-SNCC.

HAROLD J. BOWER

[redacted] (3/8/66)

Source advised that BOWER is the former chairman of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC and continues to be a member of that Chapter.

DAVID BRADLEY

An article in the Fresno State College newspaper, "Daily Collegian", Fresno, California, the edition of April 29, 1966, lists BRADLEY as a participant at an SNCC rally at Fresno State College.

HANK BRADLEY

An article in the Fresno State College newspaper, "Daily Collegian", Fresno, California, the edition of April 29, 1966, lists HANK BRADLEY as a participant at an SNCC rally at Fresno State College.

EUNICE BRUINS

[redacted] (3/8/66)

Source advised that EUNICE BRUINS of 3512 Canadian, Bakersfield, California, is secretary of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

FRANK BRUINS

[redacted] (3/8/66)

Source advised that FRANK BRUINS, 3512 Canadian, Bakersfield, California, is Vice Chairman of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

GEORGE DAVIS

[redacted] (2/10/66)

Source advised that GEORGE DAVIS is a member of the Executive Committee of the LAL-SWP.

JOANNE DIETIKER

The name of JOANNE DIETIKER appeared in a news article of the "Fresno Bee", a newspaper in Fresno, California, in October, 1965, as a leader of SNCC at Fresno City College, Fresno, California.

[illegible] DOUGLAS

[redacted] (7/6/66)

Source advised that DOUGLAS is a candidate member of the Los Angeles PLP. A candidate member is a term used [illegible] a member who is in a six-month probationary [illegible] before being admitted to a full membership.

ROBERT DUGGAN

[redacted] (3/19/66)

During March, 1966, source advised that ROBERT DUGGAN is Chairman of the Los Angeles area DCA and is a member of the Youth Commission of the SCDCP.

DONALD FOSTER

[redacted] (2/10/66)

Source advised that DONALD FOSTER is Secretary of the Long Beach Chapter of SNCC.

DENNIS GILBERT

In February, 1966, DENNIS GILBERT was identified in the "Fresno Bee", Fresno City newspaper, Fresno, California, as Secretary-Treasurer of the Fresno State College Chapter of SNCC

IDA GOLDBERG

(7/10/66)

IDA GOLDBERG subscribed to the "PW" on December 11, 1965.

(1/23/53)

Source advised in January, 1953, that GOLDBERG was a member of the International Workers Order (IWO) in January, 1938, and continued as a member until 1951.

The IWO was designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

JENNY GOLDBERG

(7/5/66)
(7/5/66)

JOHN HUSAR

es

LIONEL JOHNSON

The name of LIONEL JOHNSON appears in an article in the "Fresno Bee", a Fresno City newspaper, Fresno, California, in September, 1965, as a "spokesman for SNCC".

JACK KAUFMAN

The name of JACK KAUFMAN appeared in an article of the Fresno State College newspaper, "Rampage", on March 10, 1966, which listed KAUFMAN as a faculty sponsorer of SNCC at Fresno State College, Fresno, California.

KAREN KOONAN

[redacted] (6/13/66)

On June 9, 1966, source advised that KAREN KOONAN was a member of the CP and a Secretary at the headquarters of LA-SNCC.

AL LEWIS

[redacted] (6/1/66)

Source advised that AL LEWIS has been active in the LA-SWP.

JOHN LEWIS

LEWIS is publicly known as the former director of SNCC

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[redacted] (6/29/66)

Source advised in June, 1966, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was elected to the National Committee during the CP National Convention which was held in New York City from June 22 to June 26, 1966.

MALCOLM LITTLE, also known as Malcolm X

[redacted] (7/9/61)
(7/28/61)
(8/1/61)

Sources advised on the indicated dates that subject is a National Nation of Islam (NOI) (See Appendix) Official

and is the Minister of the NOI Temple Number 7 located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City, New York.

JUDITH NIEMAN

[redacted] (1/10/66)

Source advised that NIEMAN is an active member of the University of California at Los Angeles Chapter of DCA.

DEN RATNER

[redacted] (7/11/63)

[redacted] (9/14/65)

Source advised that RATNER is now Chairman of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

BETTY SCALES

[redacted] (3/1/65)

Source advised that BETTY SCALES, 4116 Coronado Avenue, Bakersfield, is Treasurer of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

HENRY SMALE

[redacted] (2/10/66)

Source advised that HENRY SMALE is Treasurer of the Long Beach Chapter of SNCC.

CLEO SUTTON

[redacted] (2/8/66)

Source advised that CLEO SUTTON, 912 Second Street, Bakersfield, is associated with the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC

LA 100-63832

WILLIAM TAYLOR

[redacted] (3/14/66)

Source advised that WILLIAM TAYLOR is Vice Chairman of the SCFCP.

MARVIN TRIAGER

[redacted] (7/29/66)

On July 12, 1966, source advised that TRIEGER is a member of the Youth Commission of the SCFCP.

CLIFFORD VAUGHS

[redacted] (6/13/66)

[redacted] (3/31/66)

Source advised that CLIFFORD VAUGHS was Director of LA-SNCC and has attended meetings of several CP front groups.

RICHARD VINEYARD

[redacted] (3/8/66)

Source advised that VINEYARD is Publicity Director of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

BRUCE R. WISHARD

The name of BRUCE R. WISHARD appears in a news item of the "Fresno Bee", a newspaper of Fresno, California, in October, 1965, as a leader of SNCC at Fresno State College.

RICHARD YANOWITZ

The name of RICHARD YANOWITZ, Professor at Fresno City College, appears in the Fresno City College newspaper, "The Rampage", of March 10, 1966, which describes YANOWITZ as a professor in the English Department and identified as representative of SNCC".

ALLAN TAK

[illegible]

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on July 25, 1965, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 1[illegible]-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, [illegible], 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 4/25/66 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 12, 1966, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised that Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised that Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised that Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, stated that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York. It also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

In October, 1965, a source advised "The New Left School of Los Angeles" originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District, Communist Party. DAN BESSIE originated the idea and more or less organized the school. As of October, 1965, approximately 100 persons were enrolled in the school. Source further advised that as of October, 1965, JOHN HAAG appeared to be one of those involved in the inner organizational work of the school.

Source further advised as of July, 1965, DAN BESSIE was a member of the Education Commission, Southern California District, Communist Party.

A second source advised in September, 1965, JOHN RICHARD HAAG was present as chairman of a meeting of the Los Angeles Area Council, Du Bois Clubs of America, at 1733 West Temple Street, Los Angeles. At this meeting he stated he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP) because if he joined, his wife, ANNA, who is not a citizen, could be deported. He also stated if he became a member, he would lose effectiveness in the community because many people look up to him as an independent radical. He stated he would join the CP if it were legal, and not under pressure by the Government.

In May, 1965, a third source advised that EDMOND KOVACS, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, had been voted approval by the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP) to associate himself with "The New Left School of Los Angeles" as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

This source further advised in September, 1965, that EDMOND ANTHONY KOVACS, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, was the organizer of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP), and alternate member of the National Committee, SWP.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on May 12, 1966, that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 2, 1966, a fifth source reported that The New Left School continues to operate at 1853 South Arlington Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and that DAN BESSIE continues to be one of the driving forces in the operation of the school.

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

LA 100 638[illegible]

Los Angeles, California

October 7, 196[illegible]

Title	[illegible] STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Los Angeles, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	4/7/67	3/23 - 4/5/67

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY

TYPED BY NAK

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] at Los Angeles, dated 10/7/66. Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/26/66, at Atlanta.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local military agencies for their information.

This report is classified confidential because information reported from [redacted] through [redacted] [redacted] could result in the identification of [illegible] of continuing value.

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REC-35

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

SA [redacted] was in contact with CLIFFORD VAUGHS, National Coordinator and Director, LA-SNCC on 3/29/67.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report pertinent activities of Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC).

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	100-62822-383
[redacted]	[illegible] to SA [redacted] [redacted] 3/27/67 ([illegible] report), page [illegible]
	Characterization of ROLF THIRKIN KUSTITZ
[redacted]	100-63142-303

- E -

COVER PAGE

LA 100-[illegible]

SOURCE	LOCATION
	[illegible] 22-541-1511
	[illegible]-35
	Characterization of ROBERT BROCK
	Characterization of DANNY GRAY
	Characterization of TOMMY JACQUETTE
	Characterization of JOHN SHABAZZ
	Characterization of KAREN M[illegible]GHAN
	Characterization of FRANK GREENWOOD

LA [illegible] 63[illegible]

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Characterization of JOHN [illegible] HARRIS, JR.
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Characterization of R[illegible] BROCK
[redacted]	Characterization of R[illegible] [illegible]MAN

COVER PAGE

LA 100-63822

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted] Characterization of LOUIS SMITH
[redacted]	[redacted] Characterization of LOUIS SMITH

- E* -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - Region II Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
1 - [illegible] San Diego (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Date: [illegible]

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63[illegible]22

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) headquarters located at 7923 Romaine Street, Los Angeles, California. CLIFFORD VAUGHN is Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC and resides at 7923 Romaine Street, Los Angeles. Chapters of LA-SNCC located at Long Beach, California and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Los Angeles, California. Purpose, scope, and subversive connections of LA-SNCC set forth.

- 1* -

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LA 100-63922

TABLE OF CONTENTS

All individuals whose names are followed by an asterisk (*) appear in the glossary section of this report.

DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials "SNCC" and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials "LA-SNCC", when appropriate in this report.

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC, or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the SNCC.

II. SCOPE

CLIFFORD [illegible], Regional Director of LA-SNCC, advised on March [illegible], that the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three fold purpose: Education, [illegible], and fund raising. The LA-SNCC program is geared toward students and adults who are interested in broad national SNCC policy, its programs, and work all over the South. An important part of the local group would be recruitment of volunteers and other people to continue the work of SNCC. New emphasis is being placed on politics and SNCC will organize the Negro into a political force.

III. AIMS AND PURPOSES

[redacted] ([illegible]/25/64)

Informant [illegible] of a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC", contents of which are set forth below:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three fold purpose: Education, mobilization, and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of [illegible] and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center and this calls for a broader base of operation. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of [illegible] of Organizations (COFO) this past summer, [illegible] have increased ten fold and its successes [illegible] hampered [illegible] lack of mobility, which in turn has [illegible] the centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of decentralized offices so as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located [illegible] the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the [illegible] already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC

and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues, which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC, working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), University of Southern California (USC), California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech), California State College at Los Angeles (CSCLA), California State College at Long Beach (CSCLB), Los Angeles City College (LACC), and all other campuses.

Each of these local friends groups would have [illegible] chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., [illegible] would conduct [illegible] own program of education and fund [illegible] in the area or institution and [illegible] coordinating [illegible] particularly for larger functions. The local [illegible] of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the [illegible] California Office concerning the national policy of [illegible] in regard to initiation and support [illegible] action [illegible] involvement and channeling of funds to the [illegible] Office. All funds must be channeled through the [illegible] Office with a complete itemized account of expenditures [illegible] receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program, and work all over the South. An [illegible] part of the local friends groups would be the [illegible] of volunteers and staff people to continue the [illegible] SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE:

This would be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and much of the success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be channeled through the Southern California Office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE:

This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function

It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing, and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country, where Parents groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs, and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the administrative director has primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the national policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the [illegible] and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, [illegible], and/or time to SNCC, which would add [illegible] prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS:

Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the "Sentinel", the "Eagle", and the "Free Press". We should, for instance, in these newspapers call our [illegible] the "[illegible]" or "SNCC Corner". Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer, or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing rapport with members of the press.

IV. ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

Secretary of State
State of California
Sacramento, California
[illegible]

[redacted] advised that the records of that office contain no record of articles of incorporation for the SNCC or for the LA-SNCC.

On March 29, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Director, LA-SNCC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that LA-SNCC was not incorporated.

V. HEADQUARTERS

CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI on March 29, 1967 that their office was located at his residence, 7923 [illegible] Street, Los Angeles.

VAUGHS indicated that there are no present recognized chapters of LA-SNCC, but a chapter was being reorganized in Long Beach, California and will have its headquarters at 2626 East Anaheim, Long Beach, California, and a group that calls themselves the UCLA Friends of SNCC, at the University of California (UCLA), Los Angeles, California has been formed.

VI. OFFICERS

OFFICIALS OF LA-SNCC

On March 29, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHS advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (3/27/67)

Source advised that KAREN KOEHLER is Secretary of LA-SNCC.

OFFICERS OF LONG BEACH CHAPTER OF LA-SNCC

[redacted] (10/10/66)

On September 28, 1966, source advised that THOMAS ADDISON is Chairman of the Long Beach Chapter of LA-SNCC and the chapter headquarters will be at [illegible] East Pacific Coast Highway, Long Beach, California.

On March 29, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that the Long Beach Chapter of LA-SNCC Headquarters are located at 2626 East Anaheim, Long Beach, California.

OFFICERS OF UCLA FRIENDS OF SNCC

An article appearing in the "UCLA Daily Bruin", the UCLA student newspaper, dated October 27, 196[illegible], written by TOMI MC KAY, entitled "Local Civil Rights Group Aids National SNCC", indicated that BOB NETHAN[illegible] is Chairman of UCLA Friends of SNCC.

An article appearing in the "UCLA Daily Bruin", the UCLA student newspaper, dated December 1, 1966, written by [illegible], entitled "Friends of SNCC", indicates that [illegible] is the Present Chairman of UCLA Friends of SNCC.

VII. MEMBERSHIP

On March 19, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director, LA-SNCC, indicated that LA-SNCC is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure [illegible] to assist them in their various programs and [illegible]. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is [illegible] a paper organization.

VIII. PUBLICITY

CLIFFORD VAUGHS, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, on March 19, 1967, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that "The Movement" is a West Coast monthly newspaper published by SNCC in San Francisco, California.

"The Movement" of February, 1967, Page 2, contains an article which lists the location of the Editorial Office

for the newspaper at 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California. The Los Angeles Staff for this newspaper was listed as KAREN [illegible]* and BOB HEIMANN*, Post Office Box 117, 30[illegible] Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, California.

III. ACTIVITIES OF PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC IN LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (11/26/66)

On November 26, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL*, National Chairman of SNCC, spoke at a Black Power Rally at 1:30 p.m. at Will Rogers Park, 103rd and Central Streets, Los Angeles, with approximately 3000 persons in attendance at the rally. CARMICHAEL, the main speaker, warned the whites "That the [illegible] were not afraid of them and they would deal with the whites whether they liked it or not."

[redacted] (12/5/66)

A rally, sponsored by the Black Congress, featuring [illegible] CARMICHAEL*, National Chairman of SNCC, was held at [illegible] Rogers Park, 103rd and Central in Los Angeles, [illegible] on November 26, 1966.

The sponsoring organization, Black Congress, was [illegible] on November [illegible], 1966 by RON KARENGA*. The other persons [illegible] assisted in forming the Black Congress were JOHN SHABAZZ*, [illegible] JACQUETTE*, ROBERT BROCK*, DANNY GRAY*, FRANK GREENWOOD*, [illegible] SMITH* and CLIFFORD VAUGHS.

[illegible] [illegible]/20/[illegible]7)
([illegible]/[illegible]/67)

On February 20, 1967, sources advised that on Saturday, February 1[illegible], 1967, a Black Power Conference was held at 1[illegible] East [illegible] Street, Los Angeles, California, under the sponsorship of "US", which is headed by RON KARENGA*, an acknowledged Black Nationalist, with the featured speaker being STOKELY CARMICHAEL*, National Chairman of SNCC.

KARENGA* described "US", which is headquartered at [illegible] West Santa Barbara Avenue, Los Angeles, California, as primarily a [illegible] oriented organization rather than a politically oriented organization. KARENGA* stated that the purpose of the organization "US" is to help the Afro-American identify himself by emphasizing the culture and history of the Afro-American. The ultimate goal of "US" is to establish a Culture Center, preferably in the Watts area of Los Angeles, for the purpose of teaching Negro History and culture and to provide training for Negroes, so they, the Negroes, could learn trades and help to improve themselves [illegible].

X. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

A. CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

[illegible] ([illegible]/[illegible]/66)

On August 16, 1966, a youth meeting of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) was held at Norm's Restaurant at Sunset and Vermont in Los Angeles. KAREN

[illegible], Secretary of LA-SNCC, who is a member of the CP Youth Club, indicated that Communist youth should support SNCC and its activities in the civil rights movement.

[redacted] ([illegible]/[illegible]/66)

[redacted]

[redacted] ([illegible]/27/66)

[redacted]

[redacted] (11/7/66)

[redacted]

[redacted] (10/14/66)

[redacted]

LA 100-63[illegible]2

[illegible] 12/1[illegible]/66)
(12/1[illegible]/66)

On December [illegible] 1966, the Annual Banquet of the LADDER was held at the [illegible]-Hilton Hotel, [illegible] Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles. Several organizations were praised for their work in the Freedom Movement, which included SNCC. It was stated that SNCC is considered to have the same goals and philosophy as the LADDER.

[illegible] 1/11/67)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE (UCLA VDC)

[illegible], according to the UCLA newspaper, "[illegible]" is a UCLA campus organization of members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) (See Appendix) and the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) (See Appendix) and others who are in protest of United States action in Vietnam.

(1[illegible]/66)
(1[illegible]/66)

On October 2[illegible], 1966, a teach-in against the War in Vietnam was held at the UCLA Student Union [illegible]room, which was sponsored by the UCLA-VDC. Many SNCC members were present and spoke out against the War in Vietnam.

LA 100-63812

XI. GLOSSARY

1. ROBERT BROCK

[redacted] (3/27/67)

Source advised on March 27, 1967, that ROBERT BROCK was a member of the CP from 19[illegible] to 1958 [redacted]

[redacted] (8/66)

Source advised on August 3, 1966, that BROCK attended a party in honor of [illegible] on July 21, 1966 at 118 [illegible] Avenue, Los Angeles. [illegible] is Executive Secretary [illegible] SCLC.

2. STOKELY CARMICHAEL

FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER, in an article written for the November, 196[illegible] issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, characterizes CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of [illegible] as "The black extremist leader, who advocates Black Power, civil disobedience and going to jail rather than fight for his country."

6. TONY JACQUETTE [illegible]

[redacted] ([illegible]/27/[illegible])

Source advised that JACQUETTE is a Black [illegible] Leader and heads a [illegible] Black Nationalist Organization, called Self [illegible] for All Nationals [illegible] Today (S[illegible]), which is an organization for self-determination [illegible] the [illegible] Americans.

7. [illegible] (True Name [illegible] [illegible] Evere[illegible])

[illegible] KARENGA [illegible] the [illegible] the Director of "US", which was [illegible] and [illegible] in [illegible]ruary, 1[illegible]6. [illegible] "US" which is headquartered at [illegible] Santa Barbara Avenue, Los Angeles, [illegible] primarily a culturally-oriented [illegible] rather than a politically-[illegible] organization. He stated that the purpose of the organization "US" [illegible] Afro-American identify himself by [illegible] the culture and history of the Afro-American. The ultimate goal [illegible] is to establish a Cultural Center, preferably in the [illegible] area of Los Angeles, for the purpose of teaching Negro History and Culture and providing training for Negroes, so that they (the Negroes) can learn trades and help [illegible] themselves economically.

8. DANNY GRAY

[redacted] [illegible]

Source advised on March 27, [illegible] that DANNY GRAY has been active in numerous [illegible] front organizations in the Los Angeles area, which [illegible] Discussion Unlimited (DU) (See Appendix) Los Angeles Committee [illegible] [illegible] (LA[illegible]), [illegible] Du Bois Clubs of America and has attended several functions of the LAL-[illegible]. He is also [illegible] to be armed and dangerous.

[illegible]. FRANK [illegible]

[redacted] [illegible]

On July [illegible] source advised that FRANK [illegible]

[illegible] that he was organizing [illegible] Black Nationalist Youth Group [illegible] Los Angeles

[illegible]. JOHN [illegible] HARRIS, [illegible]

[redacted] [illegible]

Source advised on March 2[illegible], [illegible] that HARRIS is a [illegible] and an organizer [illegible] the FLN.

9. KAREN [illegible]

[redacted] (10/1/66)

[illegible] October 12, 1966, source advised that KAREN K[illegible] is a member of the [illegible] Group of the [illegible]. [illegible]HAN is the Secretary for LA-S[illegible] and is on the staff [illegible] West Coast [illegible] newspaper "The [illegible]".

[illegible] ROSE CHE[illegible] KUSNITZ

[redacted] [illegible]/27/[illegible]

[illegible] 17, 1967, source advised that ROSE CHE[illegible] is Organizational [illegible],
[illegible].

[illegible] RO[illegible]

[redacted] [illegible]10/[illegible]

[illegible] August 10, 19[illegible], source advised that [illegible] is a member of the [illegible] Clubs of America.

11. [illegible]

[redacted] (3/22/[illegible])

Source advised on March 22, 1967, that SHABAZZ [illegible] Henry M[illegible]

[illegible] minister of the Nation of Islam ([illegible])(See Appendix) Temple [illegible] Los Angeles, California.

1[illegible]. LOUIS [illegible]

[redacted] (11/1[illegible]/6[illegible])

Source advised on November 1[illegible], 1[illegible], that LOUIS [illegible] is Western Regional Director of the Congress of Racial Equality ([illegible]).

[redacted] ([illegible])

Source advised on February [illegible], [illegible], that LOUIS [illegible] has been active in the [illegible] Committee ([illegible]) and has voiced support [illegible] [illegible] for the NOI [illegible]

[illegible] advised on September 2[illegible], 1[illegible], that the [illegible] is a voluntary association, having [illegible] membership as such, whose purpose is to unite the various peace, civil rights and anti-poverty groups for social [illegible]. The committee is opposed to the [illegible] involvement in Vietnam and is concerned with the problems of the Negro community and the civil rights movement.

XII. APPENDIX

APPENDIX

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED, INC.

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June [illegible], 1963, noting its principal site of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "...to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems".

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1962, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in staging panel forums and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was BERNARD LUSHER, who in 1961, was educational director of the Southern California District Communist Party.

This source was recontacted on April [illegible], [illegible], and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited, Inc. has not changed. It continues to present "left ideas" to at [illegible] non-committed audiences. It proposes to [illegible] activities around various issues on an [illegible] basis. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum-type organization.

On May [illegible], 1966, another source reported that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. continues to operate as a forum-type organization.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows

1. "A branch of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the actual management, direction and supervision of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.' 'The American Committee and the various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act) under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a Communist-front organization and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General.'"

> (Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. [illegible]-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 19[illegible], pp. 4, 8, 12 and 91.)

2. "Cited as a regional organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complete affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'."

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957 pp. 86, 97, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of [illegible]/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 4/25/66 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 12, 1966, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised that Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that, Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 8, 1958, the first source advised that Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM

On May [illegible], 19[illegible], a third source advised that Muhammad [illegible], early in [illegible], 19[illegible], decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his program.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-year member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, stated that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the ultra-right and big business forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the Armed Forces power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 160 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

On April 28, 19[illegible], a source advised that the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREENBAUM with the assistance of MARVIN [illegible] in February, 19[illegible].

A second source advised on April 1[illegible], 196[illegible], that as of April, 19[illegible], RUTH GREENBAUM was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) and that MARVIN [illegible] was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above stated that the Du Bois Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Marxist-oriented students at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), but that the club eventually hoped to spread its influence into other areas in West Los Angeles.

A third source advised on March 1[illegible], 196[illegible], that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, in February, 19[illegible] [illegible], Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, spoke on the CP youth movement and stated that the Du Bois Club was one of the youth groups operating in the Los Angeles area, both groups were Marxist-oriented and that members considered themselves Marxist.

A fourth source advised on March 25, 1965, that since [illegible] inception, the activities of the Du Bois Club have been mainly limited to participation in protests against alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist classes, participation in conferences which led to the creation of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America in the summer of 1964 and participation in demonstrations protesting U.S. intervention in Viet Nam. This source advised that the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America and is operating as a chapter of that organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

The above source further advised on April 2[illegible], 1966, that in February, 19[illegible], the Los Angeles area Du Bois Clubs consolidated into one large city-wide club known as the Los Angeles Du Bois Club. The West Los Angeles Du Bois no longer exists as a separate club but members of the club are now members of the UCLA committee, which is one of several committees formed at the time of consolidation of the Los Angeles area Du Bois Clubs.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

<u>APPENDIX</u>

<u>YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE</u>

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist", (YS), Page 1, Column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, Page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively its National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

<u>APPENDIX</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-63[illegible]22

Los Angeles, California
April 7, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-8-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	[illegible]/67	[illegible]/67 - 1[illegible]/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	Rb
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] dated 4/7/67, at Los Angeles.
Report of SA [redacted] dated [illegible]/12/67, at Atlanta.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local military agencies for their information.

This report is classified confidential because information reported from [redacted] through [redacted] could result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED	None				ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

[signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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- [illegible] - Los Angeles (100-63822)

100-439190-[illegible]

REC 1[illegible]

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	[illegible]
Request Recd.	[illegible]
Date Fwd.	[illegible]
How Fwd.	[illegible]
By	[illegible]

Notations

LA 100-63829

All persons mentioned herein, from the Southern California area, are either [illegible] or [illegible]

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report pertinent activities of Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC)

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
	100-63829-[illegible] Orally to SA 10/[illegible]
	100-[illegible] Orally to SA 10/3/6[illegible] (Instant report)
	100-6[illegible]
	100-63829-[illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 10/6/[illegible]

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63822

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) has discontinued its operation. Headquarters formerly located at 7923 Romaine Street, Los Angeles, California, has been closed. Former Regional Director of LA-SNCC resigned. There are no official organized chapters of SNCC in the Los Angeles area. SNCC activities and subversive connections set forth.

\- P -

DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreivated by the initials "SNCC" and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials "LA-SNCC", when appropriate in this report.

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC, or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

CONFIDENTIAL

II. HEADQUARTERS

(10/3/67)
(10/3/67)

On October 3, 1967, sources indicated that LA-SNCC had closed its office at 7923 Romaine Street, Los Angeles, California, in May 1967. Due to financial reasons and the [illegible] of key leaders in LA-SNCC there are no plans to open a new headquarters for LA-SNCC.

[illegible] indicated that there are no present recognized chapters of LA-SNCC. Formerly there were SNCC chapters at Fresno, Bakersfield, Long Beach and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), California, but these have all been discontinued.

III. OFFICERS

(7/21/67)
(/13/)
([illegible])

MEMBER [illegible]

Source indicated on the above dates that CLIFFORD [illegible], [illegible] National Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, [illegible] his position with SNCC in June 1967. There [illegible] officers in LA-SNCC.

([illegible])

CLIFFORD [illegible], former [illegible] Director of LA-SNCC, [illegible] his position with SNCC and is presently [illegible] the "Los Angeles Times".

An article entitled "[illegible]" appeared in the [illegible], a Los Angeles, California, newspaper, [illegible] June [illegible], 1967, which said, "We understand that Cliff [illegible], formerly head of SNCC in the Los Angeles area had [illegible] SNCC..........."

IV. MEMBERSHIP

([illegible])
([illegible])

On [illegible], 1967, sources indicated that LA-SNCC is not a membership organization. SNCC [illegible]

[illegible] to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization. The few LA-SNCC supporters have become dissatisfied with SNCC and have joined [illegible] militant black nationalist organizations.

V. ACTIVITIES OF PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC IN LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (5/24/67)

On May 24, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of SNCC, [illegible] secretary, and H. RAP BROWN were present [illegible] Pauley Pavilion, (UCLA). CARMICHAEL, the [illegible] speaker, [illegible] this gathering of approximately 4,00[illegible] [illegible] concerning his views on integration, the President and Vice-President of the United States; and the war in Vietnam.

[redacted] [illegible]/27/67)

On May [illegible], 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave the [illegible] [illegible] at the California Black Conference (scheduled [illegible] 1967) on May 2[illegible], 1967, at Jefferson High School, [illegible] East 41st Street, Los Angeles. CARMICHAEL [illegible] that they were present to organize for a revolution, and to organize a legal political structure together with an [illegible] and army of guerrillas.

[redacted]

H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, spoke at a rally outside of US Headquarters (an Afro-American Negro organization), 8[illegible] South Broadway, Los Angeles, at a rally sponsored by US on August 13, 1967. In his speech, BROWN referred briefly to United States Senator EDWARD BROOKE and the recent riots in Detroit. He said, "There has been too much lootin during the rebellion and not enough shootin."

VI. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

A. CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

[redacted] (5/17/67)

On April 30, 1967, a May Day meeting sponsored by the Southern California District of the CP was held at D[illegible]'s Music Center, 1900 North Central, Compton, California. At this meeting it was announced that in the back of the hall was a table containing printed material concerning SNCC and people present were urged to read and support SNCC.

B. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

[illegible] COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS ([illegible]) (See appendix)

[redacted] (5/8/67)

On April 29, 1967, the annual conference of the [illegible] was held at Larchmont Hall, 118 North Larchmont Avenue. Several delegates represented SNCC at the conference.

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL (PAC) (See appendix)

[redacted] (6/8/67)

At a meeting of the PAC at the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, 4607 Prospect, Hollywood, California, on June [illegible], 1967, it was announced that H. RAP BROWN, new National Chairman of the SNCC, has agreed to be a speaker at the June [illegible], 1967, Anti-War demonstration at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, California.

[illegible]/14/67)
[illegible]/19/67)

PEOPLE'S WORLD (PW)

The PW is a west coast Communist newspaper.

LA T-9 (3/24/67)

As of March 24, 1967, the LA-SNCC, 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, was a recipient of a yearly PW subscription which would terminate February 12, 1968.

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for [illegible] of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. [illegible]-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates [illegible] identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation [illegible] themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, [illegible] affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

[illegible] FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

[illegible] the local organizations * * * was made possible [illegible] virtue of the fact that the leaders of the [illegible] were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates [illegible] were actually little more than administrative [illegible] it was to implement the program of the [illegible] respective areas.

[illegible] 1950 [illegible] the Los [illegible] Protection of Foreign Born had [illegible] November 29, 1949. Positively identified Communist [illegible] served as 'the operation head' since [illegible].

[illegible] American Activities [illegible] House [illegible] Communist Political Subversion, [illegible] pp. 86, 87, 55, [illegible] [illegible] in Annual Report [illegible] 1956, [illegible] February 11, [illegible]"

[illegible] West Coast communist newspaper [illegible] an account [illegible] of [illegible] the Los Angeles Committee for [illegible] Rights and Protection of Foreign Born [illegible] accomplishments include a change [illegible] to Los Angeles Committee for [illegible] inasmuch as Defense of the Bill [illegible].

[illegible] on 5/16/57 that the Los Angeles [illegible] Defense of the Bill of Rights still referred to [illegible] the Los Angeles Committee for Protection [illegible] currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

In October [illegible] a source [illegible] "The New Left School of Los Angeles" originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District [illegible] Party. DAN BESSIE originated the idea and [illegible] the school. [illegible] of October, [illegible], approximately [illegible] persons were enrolled in the school. Source further [illegible] that as of October, [illegible] HAS [illegible] involved in [illegible] organization [illegible] of the [illegible]

Source further advised [illegible] DAN BESSIE was a member of the Education Commission, Southern California District [illegible] Communist Party.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] EDWARD ANTHONY [illegible] [illegible] Los Angeles [illegible] Party [illegible] member [illegible]

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL [illegible] LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on May [illegible], 196[illegible] that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the [illegible] and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWF [illegible] aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order [illegible].

On May 14, 196[illegible] a fifth source reported that the New Left School continues to operate at [illegible] South Arlington Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and that [illegible] continues to be one of the driving forces in the operation of the school.

APPENDIX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 10 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 13 (CONTINUED)

APPENDIX

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

The "People's World", a weekly west coast communist newspaper, in its issue of November 5, 1966, in an article [illegible], described the Peace Action Council (PAC) as, "a coordinating agency for peace activists" which conducts emergency mobilizations and demonstrative actions against the war in Vietnam.

On July [illegible], 1966, a source reported that the PAC, [illegible] also been known as the Greater Los Angeles Peace [illegible] (GLAPAC), was formed during the early summer [illegible] for the express purpose of protesting the war in [illegible] during the National Governors' Conference held in Los Angeles, California, from July 4, to July 8, 1966. Following [illegible] of that conference, the PAC members decided [illegible] as a coordinating group to sponsor similar protest demonstrations at later dates.

This source was recontacted on May 10, 1967, and [illegible] that the PAC continues to operate under the same [illegible].

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 19[illegible] that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April [illegible]-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page [illegible], reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor [illegible] was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for assertedly [illegible] the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly [illegible], "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper; and [illegible] a West Coast newspaper.

The [illegible], 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-[illegible] the working man and women own and control their homes, [illegible], the police, courts, and the entire government of every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that [illegible] utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, [illegible] New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, [illegible] Square West, New York City, where PLP publications are [illegible].

APPENDIX

FD-263 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-[illegible]

OCT 6 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST
Reference	Report of [redacted] [illegible], at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	5/29/68	3/9/68 - 5/17/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE				rah
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RACIAL MATTER		

REFERENCES: Los Angeles airtel to Bureau dated 3/13/68.
Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 4/15/68.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 5/1/68.
Atlanta report of SA [redacted] dated 5/14/68.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED WSS — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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26 - 26 DEC 6

8 JUN 4 1968

EX-110

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2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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Date Fwd.	6/5			
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

70 JUN 24 1968

rec'd/rpt 866 949

LA 100-63822

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from the date of this report.

LA 100-63822

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	100-63822-1153 through -1188
	[redacted]
	Orally to SA [redacted] 5/16/68
[redacted]	157-1312-31
[redacted]	100-63822-139 through -1189
	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-68783-68
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63322-1588

LA 100-63822

100-63822-1558

100-63822-1562

100-63822-1168

100-63822-1168

100-63822-1168

100-63822-1180 through -1181

100-63822-1185

100-63822-1189

100-63822-(not serialized)

- E -
COVER PAGE

100-63822-1197

157-1507-125

100-63822-1151

100-63822-1151

100-63822-1151

Characterization of
WILLIAM and ELIZABETH ROTTGER

157-1426-41

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CON[illegible]

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1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - INS, San Diego (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Los Angeles, California

Date: 5/29/68

Field Office File #: 100-63822 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) reorganized 2/27/68, Los Angeles, California. LA-SNCC headquarters at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, telephone 731-7378. Officers and identified members set forth. [redacted] and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. National SNCC officers activity and travel to Los Angeles set forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members set forth. Individuals with Communist Party affiliations furnished. LA-SNCC MEMBERS HAVE BEEN URGED TO BE ARMED AT ALL TIMES AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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CON[illegible]IAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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LA 100-63822

DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the glossary of this report.

I. REORGANIZATION OF LOS ANGELES STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC)

[redacted] (3/11/68)

[redacted]

Records [redacted]
Los Angeles, California
(3/11/68)

On March 11, 1968, the records of the above agency indicated that LA-SNCC is a tenant at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, as of February 26, 1968. Their account indicates that TOMMY JACQUETTE is president, FRANKLIN ALEXANDER is vice-president, and JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD is secretary of this political organization which has not been incorporated. [redacted] The office is open from 11:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. and employs ten office workers. The owner of this property is ALBERT COYCAUL, 417 East 52nd Street, Los Angeles.

[redacted] (5/6/68)

Source indicated that LA-SNCC was reorganized by TOMMY JACQUETTE, who appointed himself director of LA-SNCC in February 1968. This office was supposedly opened at the request of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN when they were in Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968.

II. LA-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

Records [redacted]
Los Angeles, California
(3/11/68)

On March 11, 1968, the records of the above agency indicated that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California.

Records [redacted]
Los Angeles, California
(3/11/68)

Records of the above company indicated that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, and have telephone number 731-7378.

[redacted] (5/16/68)
(5/16/68)

On May 16, 1968, the above sources advised that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

III. OFFICERS

[redacted] (3/11/68)

[redacted] (4/18/68)

(5/16/68)

RONALD LEROY WILKINS is president, Mrs. BARBARA RENE HARDING is secretary, and JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD is treasurer of LA-SNCC.

(5/16/68)
(5/16/68)

IV. MEMBERSHIP

(4/6/68)

On April 6, 1968, advised that four Negro males were arrested at SNCC headquarters, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard on April 5, 1968, when they were observed standing in front of LA-SNCC headquarters carrying shotguns and side arms.

On attempting to arrest these individuals, they barricaded themselves in SNCC headquarters and it was necessary for LAPD officers to force their way into the office and arrest CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN; GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS; MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS; and MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, who all claimed to be members of SNCC. The four persons arrested had two Reising .45 caliber automatic rifles; one .30 caliber carbine, and one shotgun. While at the office, [redacted] observed a membership list which contained the following names:

TOMMY JACQUETTE
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER
JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD
RONALD LEROY WILKINS
ANGILA Y. DAVIS
STANLEY ALEXANDER
BARBARA RENE HARDING
CLARICE ALLEN
SHIRLEY GRANT
WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.
CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS
MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS
MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN
HIRAM CHANNEL
ELIZABETH ALLEN
DANNY J. BAKEWELL, SR. **MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION**
THOMAS LOUIE VALENTINE
THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT
JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR.
FRANK C. HARDING
BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES
ANTHONY CHARLES ASHLEY

[redacted] 5/16/68)
[redacted] 5/16/68)

The above sources indicated on May 16, 1968, that SNCC is not a membersh p organization per se but any Negro person who believes and follows National SNCC policy is considered to be a SNCC member, and there are no dues, initiations, or lists to sign or any type of formal membership to join LA-SNCC.

V. FINANCIAL

[redacted] advised that CAROL RUTH SILVER, KENNETH WILLIAM ROTTGER, and ELIZABETH ROTTGER were contributors and/or subscribers to SNCC.

[redacted] (2/19/68)

[redacted] (4/30/68)

[redacted] (4/30/68)

[redacted] (5/8/68)
(5/8/68)

On May 8, 1968, sources furnished a brochure published by LA-SNCC which called for a protest against the LAPD for the arrest of FRANKLIN and STANLEY ALEXANDER, STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, THOMAS VALENTINE, BETTY ALLEN, and MARK SIMIEN, who are involved with SNCC on charges of armed robbery. They were released on a Writ of Habeas Corpus, bail fixed at $6,200 each. The literature indicated that the arrests followed a series of acts of racist terror by police and were calculated to incite a white backlash and halt the developing black protests.

[redacted] (2/26/68)

On February 21, 1968, a meeting was held at the South Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, which brought together RON KARENGA of US (see appendix) and representatives of SNCC, which included STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JAMES FORMAN. The purpose of the meeting was to divide funds from a rally which was hed at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968. This meeting showed a definite split between US and LA-SNCC because of disputes over the distribution of funds.

[redacted] (3/20/68)

On March 2, 1968, a reception was held for the Defense of H. Rap Brown at 1830 Hi Point Street, Los Angeles, California. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, officer of LA-SNCC, was the featured speaker and indicated that $100,000 was necessary to meet the bond set for BROWN. He indicated at this meeting that LA-SNCC had just reorganized and would attempt to raise a good portion of this money.

[redacted] (3/12/68)

(3/12/68)

On March 12, 1968, source received a pamphlet advising "A People's Tribunal" to be convened at 3:00 p.m. March 17, 1968, in South Park, 51st and Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles. The purpose of this tribunal is "to try" a LAPD officer who killed GREGORY CLARKE, a male Negro, during an arrest in South Los Angeles on February 18, 1968. Individuals were requested to contact LA-SNCC office for further details.

(4/9/68)

On March 20, 1968, a demonstration was held at the New Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, sponsored by LA-SNCC in protest of the arrest of H. RAP BROWN.

(4/2/68)

On March 22, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC was holding weekly meetings in their headquarters at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles.

(3/22/68)

(3/29/68)

(4/18/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (4/5/68)

On April 5, 1968, LA-SNCC called for a general strike on this day to commemorate the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. A tribute to MARTIN LUTHER KING was held at the South Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, which was sponsored by LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (4/9/68)

LA-SNCC sponsored a protest at the Broadway Department Store, 4101 South Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, due to the failure of the store to close during MARTIN LUTHER KING's funeral.

[redacted] (4/18/68)

On April 11, 1968, LA-SNCC sponsored a fund raising affair at 1800 North Vermont, Los Angeles. FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, officer of LA-SNCC, was one of the featured speakers.

[redacted] (4/18/68)

On April 5, 1968, the LAPD arrested three LA-SNCC members, GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS, MICHAEL ANTHONY SIMIEN, and MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS for possession of loaded weapons in front of LA-SNCC headquarters, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles.

[redacted] (5/18/68)

On April 5, 1968, at 8:30 p.m. at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, the headquarters for LA-SNCC, GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, and MICHAEL R. SEALS were observed entering LA-SNCC headquarters carrying weapons. These three persons were observed to remove two .30 caliber M-1 carbines and a pump type shotgun. When the LAPD officers arrived at the headquarters, the above persons slammed the front door and locked it. After they were commanded to open the door, HOPKINS

and SIMIEN came out and were placed under arrest. LAPD officers then forced entry into the building and recovered the above weapons which were in the back room at this location. The above carbine had a 30 round magazine fully loaded and inserted into the carbine and a 12 gauge shotgun pump action containing four rounds of Super X, 00 gauge buckshot was also recovered.

(5/16/68)

(5/16/68)

On May 4, 1968, the following SNCC members were arrested at 2837 South Bronson for suspicion of robbery:

STANLEY ALEXANDER
MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS
THOMAS LOUIE VALENTINE
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT
BETTY ALLEN

When these individuals were arrested, they possessed two nine millimeter Astra automatics; one .38 colt revolver; and one .380 caliber Browning automatic.

(5/4/68)

On May 4, 1968, source furnished a brochure published by LA-SNCC indicating that BARBARA RENE HARDING,

program director, would be the featured speaker at 1830 Hi Point Street, Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (5/14/68)

On May 14, 1968, source advised that MIKE WILLIAMS, a member of SNCC was passing out LA-SNCC literature to students at Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, California.

VII. CHARACTERIZATION OF SNCC

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968,

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

VIII. ASSOCIATION WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMMUNIST PARTY BACKGROUND

[redacted] (5/16/68)
(5/16/68)

As of May 16, 1968, FRANKLIN D. ALEXANDER, assistant director of LA-SNCC, was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

IX. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (2/14/68)

On February 2, 1968, JAMES FORMAN, a representative of National SNCC was one of the featured speakers at a mass rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles.

[redacted] (2/19/68)
(2/23/68)
(2/23/68)
(2/23/68)

The above sources advised that H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL were featured speakers at a Black Congress sponsored rally for the Defense of Huey P. Newton at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, on February 18, 1968.

X. TRAVEL BY LA-SNCC OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

[redacted] (4/7/68)

[redacted] (4/22/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (5/15/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (4/9/68)

On April 9, 1968, source indicated that TOMMY RAY JACQUETTE would be speaking at Arizona State University on May 14, 1968.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

[redacted] (5/16/68)
[redacted] (5/16/68)

The above sources indicated that LA-SNCC members have been instructed to purchase weapons and to be armed at all times. According to the above sources, most SNCC members are armed and if they do not have weapons on their person, they will either have them in their automobiles or their residence.

LA-SNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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XII. GLOSSARY

FRANKLIN DELANO ALEXANDER

Vice-president of LA-SNCC

[redacted] (3/11/68)

Source indicated that ALEXANDER is a member of the SCDCP.

STANLEY ALEXANDER, also known as "Deacon"

Office manager of LA-SNCC

Described in SNCC literature as young black leader who was one of the first members of the SNCC Youth Corps, and is involved in the black draft resistance movement.

BETTY JO ALLEN

Office worker of LA-SNCC

Described in LA-SNCC literature as young dedicated office worker who was formerly involved in National SNCC schools

CLARICE ALLEN

[redacted] (3/11/68)

Source advised that CLARICE ALLEN is an office secretary for LA-SNCC.

ANTHONY ASHLEY

[redacted] (3/11/68)

Source indicated that ASHLEY is a member and officer of LA-SNCC.

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DANNY J. BAKEWELL, SR.

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Carried on the membership list of LA-SNCC.

HUBERT GEROYD BROWN, also known as H. Rap Brown

Publicly known as National Chairman of SNCC.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Publicly known as the former chairman of National SNCC and is presently organizer and representative for National SNCC.

HIRAM CHANNEL

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source advised that CHANNEL is a member of LA-SNCC and is part of the LA-SNCC security force.

ANGILA Y. DAVIS

DAVIS is publicly known as a member of SNCC.

RONNIE MC KINLEY EVERETT, also known as Ron Karenga

Chairman of US.

JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD

In the LA-SNCC literature, FLOYD has been given the title of organizer, secretary-treasurer, and is presently called chairman of LA-SNCC.

JAMES FORMAN

FORMAN is publicly known as the director of international affairs for National SNCC.

CHARLES GORDON

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that CHARLES GORDON is a member of LA-SNCC.

SHIRLEY GRANT

[redacted] (3/9/68)

Source indicated that SHIRLEY GRANT is office secretary at LA-SNCC.

BARBARA RENE HARDING, also known as Rene Hodges

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that HODGES is currently secretary and program chairman for LA-SNCC.

FRANK C. HARDING

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that HODGES is the spouse of BARBARA RENE HODGES (characterized above) and is a member of LA-SNCC and has been given the assignment of purchasing weapons for LA-SNCC members.

WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.

[redacted] (5/16/68)

HAYES is considered a spokesman for LA-SNCC and is a constant companion of LA-SNCC member JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD.

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

[redacted] (5/16/68)

BOBBIE HODGES is office secretary and former assistant treasurer of LA-SNCC.

GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS

[redacted] (4/6/68)

Source indicated that HOPKINS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and has been arrested by the LAPD for possession of loaded firearms at SNCC headquarters.

TOMMY RAY JACQUETTE

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source related that JACQUETTE is an extreme Black Nationalist militant and was former LA-SNCC director and is presently field director for SNCC.

HUEY P. NEWTON

[redacted] (5/16/68)

NEWTON is minister of defense for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (see appendix), Oakland, California.

JOHNNIE E. RAINES

[redacted] (5/16/68)

RAINES is a member of LA-SNCC.

JAMES ROBERTSON

[redacted] (5/16/68)

ROBERTSON is a LA-SNCC member who has aspirations for a leadership positon in LA-SNCC.

ELIZABETH ROTTGER

[redacted] (11/29/67)

LA 100-63822

[redacted] (5/16/68)

KENNETH ROTTGER

See characterization for spouse, ELIZABETH ROTTGER.

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that SCOTT is LA-SNCC photographer and writes many of their pamphlets.

MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS

[redacted] (4/6/68)

Source indicated SEALS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters and charged with possession of loaded firearms. He has been arrested by LAPD in the past for assault and battery.

MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN

[redacted] (4/6/68)

Source advised on April 6, 1968, that SIMIEN is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested at their headquarters for possession of loaded firearms.

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CAROL RUTH SILVER

On January 17, 1968, SILVER advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is a member of the Los Angeles Communist Alert Patrol, an organization of Black Nationalists who spy on police officers performing their duties in South Los Angeles and is an attorney with the California Rural Assistance League, which is a private agency operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN

[redacted] (4/6/68)

Source indicated that SULLIVAN was arrested on April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters for interfering in the arrest of three SNCC security officers.

THOMAS VALENTINE

[redacted] (4/8/68)

Source furnished literature on April 8, 1968, which indicated that VALENTINE is a staff worker for LA-SNCC.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, also known as Mike

[redacted] (5/16/68)

On May 16, 1968, source indicated that WILLIAMS is a member of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crooke

[redacted] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that WILKINS at one time was listed in SNCC literature as president of LA-SNCC but has recently been reported in SNCC pamphlets as being spokesman and leader.

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STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT

[redacted] (4/18/68)

Source furnished a LA-SNCC brochure which listed WRIGHT as a student of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas. He is alleged to have killed a Houston policeman and is presently on the West Coast to speak on college campuses for SNCC.

XIII. APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE, Also Known As Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 14, 1967, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). In recent months the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1966, it was instrumental in originating and putting into effect a campaign advocating support for "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1966 Congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is MARY CLARKE. A second source advised in July, 1955, that CLARKE was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the Spring of 1955, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACCP.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, and receives mail through Post Office Box 1[illegible]757, Los Angeles 19, California.

APPENDIX

"US", Also known as
"US" Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose ... based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture."

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga", authored by MAULANA RON KARENGA, also known as Ronald Mc Kinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

"...US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture. ...The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos. ...We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically. ..."

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

"...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. ...The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. ...When the word is given we"ll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are. ..."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"...We must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. ...We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have

APPENDIX CONTINUED

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
May 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-63822

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

to get power by talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia--let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power. ..."

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

"...The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when the thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity. ..."

"...Jesus said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow'. Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes', or worse yet--washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it. ..."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga".

The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third, and highest level of membership, is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	9/18/68	8/27/68 - 9/16/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		SA [redacted]		fsc
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RACIAL MATTER		

REFERENCES: New Orleans airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 6/5/68.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 8/19/68.
Atlanta letter to Director dated 9/4/68.
New York letter to Los Angeles dated 9/10/68.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been prepared at the request of Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, concerning certain documents and information contained in referenced New Orleans airtel and LHM dated 6/5/68.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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5 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (100-147963) (Info) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

26-56

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REC- 50

EX-100

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	CRIM [redacted]: [redacted], RAO 10/10
Date Fwd.	HOW FWD: RIS
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: [illegible]
By	BY: [illegible]

CC: Assist. Att. Gen. 10C - 806d

LA 100-63822

This report is being classified "Confidential" since information reported from [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness thereof.

<u>INFORMANTS</u>

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-63822-1312-1313
[redacted]	100-63822-1541
[redacted]	100-63822-1541
[redacted]	100-63822-1541
[redacted]	100-63822-1510 through 1517 Orally to SA [redacted] 9/13/68 (Instant Report)
[redacted]	100-63822-1536
[redacted]	[redacted]

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: 9/18/68

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-53822

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Documents obtained from Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) members in New Orleans, Louisiana, during 5/14/68 through 5/25/68 are set forth. Enclosed are authors, authorization, purpose, and dissemination of documents set forth. SNCC Youth Corps, its curriculum, and program set forth. SNCC Youth Corps program terminated in Los Angeles.

- P -

DETAILS:

PREDICATION

Investigation in this matter was requested by Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., concerning certain literature and programs of the SNCC organization.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) (See Appendix)

[redacted] (6/4/68)

On June 4, 1968, source furnished documents which were obtained from members of LA-SNCC (See Appendix) who were in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the period of

May 14, 1968 through May 25, 1968, for the trial of H. RAP BROWN then National Chairman of SNCC. The following documents were furnished:

> "A Black Survival Curriculum"
> "National SNCC Community Projects in Effect in Los Angeles"
> "Don't Shut Me Out"

"A BLACK SURVIVAL CURRICULUM"

A BLACK SURVIVAL CURRICULUM

by

HERMAN FERGUSON

Los Angeles S.N.C.C.
1994 West Jefferson
Los Angeles 90018
731-7378

2

A Black Survival Curriculum

There are as many definitions for the word curriculum as there are word merchants in education who specialize in defining words into complete confusion. For our purposes here we will deal with word curriculum to mean all of the forces both inside and outside the school, waking and sleeping, that affect and influence every thought and action of the child. It is the responsibility of the curriculum planner to recognize and to understand the exact nature of the child's myriad of daily experiences, and then translate these into a structured learning pattern that does not destroy him in the process.

A cursory examination of the American public school curriculum is sufficient to reveal that what is taught and how it is taught has no connection with no relevency for black pupils at all. In as much as the current curriculum does reflect the experiences of the anglo-saxon society, it is obvious that the absence of anything relating to the African-American is deliberate and by choice.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for this cruel commission. The time for establishing a rationale for the many crimes committed against Black people in America has long been exhausted. Great Black heroes such as Robert Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, Denmard Vesey, Malcolm X, pointed out time and time again that we must ACT in a bold and defiant manner if we are to survive as a people.

It is not enough for us to demand the control of our schools. Once we really take this control we must be prepared to teach our black youth how to survive in the hostile society that we do not yet control.

Our course of study will be based on the premise that the Anglo-Saxon based curriculum is one enslavement for our children and that in addtion to substituting an African-American based curriculum in it's place, we must teach black students to survive until such time as the instinctive creativity that all black people possess in abundance is freed to create a new order of things.

Let us take a look at a school in which the Black student is learning self-determination, self-control and self-defense as a vital element in his learning process. Our Black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great Black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Muhammed Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as, "Learn or Burn", "Teach or Reach", "Instruct or Duck", "Unite or Perish", "Keep on Pushing", ect. His school day begins in his homeroom with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones, "We Are Beautiful People".

After the morning exercises are over he goes to Physical Training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practiced on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instruction in weaponry, gun handling and gun safety. His next class takes place in the gymnasium where he is given a lesson in one of the eastern martial arts of self-defense. [illegible] his study of Original languages more functional and to motivate him to master his native tongue, all instruction in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba. He

will not be able t[illegible] [illegible]ion adequately in these c[illegible] [illegible]ntil he can speak the language in which they are taught. Immediately following this class he reports for instruction in his original language to his language teacher who is responsible for including in his lesson plan provisions for the vocabulary necess ry for use in the Self-Defense and Weaponry classes. These two courses of study will be the prestige courses of study will be courses in the school. In as much as a good course is weaponry must include basic information from such disciplines as Math, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, and since his Physical training will deal with developing his neuro-muscular system to high degree of ifficiency, a total curriculum could be planned using these two areas as the core or base.

As our Black Student moves about the building, loud speakers placed in the ceilings continuously bathe him with the quiet sound of Malcolm X speaking, LeRoi Jones reading one of his poems, Aretha Franklin singing a soul song, and other Black heroes speaking to him and filling him with a constant pride in his blackness. His afternoon is spent studying the traditional subjects of reading writing, and arithmatic. The reading material has a historical and geographical flavor and it focuses on the life stories of Black heroes like Malcolm X, Garvey, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Charmichael, LeRoi Jones, Nat Turner, and other lesser known Black people. The readers are graded and beautifully illustrated with pictures that reflect the image of the Black child. His math will not only deal with the mechanics of the science, but go deeply into the history and the logic of numbers. His math problems will focus on such practical matters as wind velocity, muzzle velocity, and other mathematical considerations involved in firing, repairing and making weapons.

Program material put togeth[illegible] by Black programmers is presented to the student to expose him at an early age to computers and other equipment.

Boys and girls are exposed to the same curriculum. The Home Economic course stresses first aid and how to survive of the surrounding environment if all found and fuel supplies into the Black community are cut off. Shop courses focus on such functional skills as making and repairing various types of electronic equipment and gunsmithing.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to understand fully the unique constributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the would.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to understand fully the unique constributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the world.

The school day ends with a 15 second period of silent meditation in memory of the millions of Black heroes who have given their lives that we might survive for another day. He now hurries to the many after school activities that are provided for him in the building and the allow him to extend and to apply the skills he learned during the formal school day in a more informal setting.

His school is the focal point for all community activities. Social events, political meetings, cultural programs, etc., are held in the building because the building belongs to the community. His school is controlled by an elected parent group that is fully responsible for setting standards, hiring and firing all personnel, evaluation of the program, and budget control with all money alloted to the school deposited in a Black bank to the account of the controlling parent group.

Parent participation in all phases of the school life is welcomed and given freely. It is impossible to distinguish between the professional teacher and the parent teacher. A Black child who completes this course of study will emerge with his mind intact and with a full understanding of his role in the society as it stands presently.

Our graduates will not be found dying in far off places in an army that represents the same forces that oppress and exploit us daily. He will know exactly wher his battlefield is.

The March 9, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" (See Appendix) on Page 16, contained a column captioned "A Black Survival Curriculum" which is identical in content to that which is furnished above. The column is written by HERMAN FERGUSON who is described by the editors as an ex-school principal and current consultant to the Board of Intermediate School, 201, New York City, New York.

[redacted] (6/1/68)

On June 1, 1968, source furnished a copy of "A Black Survival Curriculum" obtained from the headquarters of the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), 58 West 25th Street, New York City. Inscribed next to the title were the words "By HERMAN FERGUSON". The source was unable to ascertain the author of the words. A second pamphlet was obtained from YAWF by source on the same date and was captioned "Another Look at the Case of the Queen's 17" by HERMAN FERGUSON. This contained information about the New York trial of 17 Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) (See Appendix) members charged with criminal anarchy.

[redacted] (8/30/68)

On August 30, 1968, source advised that "A Black Survival Curriculum" was written by HERMAN BENJAMIN FERGUSON, for use in SNCC's Liberation Schools. He related that SNCC is currently attempting to create a liberation school project on a national basis. The FERGUSON article is being considered for inclusion in the curriculum. The project itself has not yet been instituted and appears to be somewhat dormant according to this source.

[redacted] (9/6/68)

On August 3, 1968, source obtained a copy of "A Black Survival Curriculum" [redacted] [redacted] The source stated that the philosophies set out in the document are a rewording of the RAM philosophy prepared by RAM leaders.

On [redacted] at LA-SNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, source obtained "A Black Survival Curriculum" which was furnished to all SNCC members present. Source indicated that the author of this pamphlet was HERMAN FERGUSON from New York City, New York, but was unaware of his connections with the SNCC organization.

(9/3/68)

A source from Atlanta, Georgia, where the Headquarters for the National SNCC organization is located, indicated that he was not familiar with the literature written by HERMAN FERGUSON entitled "A Black Survival Curriculum".

The article captioned "A Black Survival Curriculum" which appeared in the "National Guardian" on March 9, 1968, on Page 16, which was mentioned above written by HERMAN FERGUSON is as follows:

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Liberatio[n]
Forum

A black survival curriculum

There are as many definitions for the word curriculum as there are word merchants in education who specialize in defining words into complete confusion. For our purposes here we will deal with the word curriculum to mean all of the forces, both inside and outside the school, waking and sleeping, that affect and influence every thought and every action of the child. It is the responsibility of the curriculum planner to recognize and to understand the exact nature of the child's myriad of daily experiences, and then translate these into a structured learning pattern that does not destroy him in the process.

A cursory examination of the U.S. public school curriculum is sufficient to reveal that what is taught and how it is taught has no connection with nor relevancy for black pupils at all. Inasmuch as the current curriculum does reflect the experiences of the Anglo-Saxon society, it is obvious that the absence of anything relating to the African-American is deliberate and by choice.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for this cruel omission. The time for establishing a rationale for the many crimes commited against black people in America has long been exhausted. Great black heroes such as Robert Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, Denmark Vesey and Malcolm X, pointed out time and time again that we must act in a bold and a defiant manner if we are to survive as a people.

It is not enough for us to demand control of our schools. Once we really take this control we must be prepared to teach our black youth how to survive in the hostile society that we do not yet control.

Our course of study will be based on the premise that the Anglo-Saxon based curriculum is one of enslavement for our children and that in addition to substituting an African-American based curriculum in its place, we must teach black students to survive until such time as the instinctive creativity that all black people possess in abundance is freed to create a new order of things.

Let us take a look at a school in which the black student is learning self-determination, self-control and self-defense as a vital element in his learning process.

Our black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Muhammad Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as "Learn or Burn," "Teach or Reach," "Instruct or Duck," "Unite or Perish,"

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

16 Guardian

Date: 3/9/68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

The author was formerly an assistant principal and is now a consultant to the community governing board of Intermediate School 201 in New York's Harlem. He was recently jailed and held under $100,000 bail for urging black people to arm for self-defense during a Malcolm X memorial service at IS 201.

"Keep on Pushing," etc. His school day begins in his homeroom with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones' "We Are Beautiful People."

After the morning exercises are over he goes to physical training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practice on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instruction in weaponry, gun handling and gun safety. His next class takes place in the gymnasium where he is given a lesson in one of the Eastern martial arts of self-defense. To make his study of original languages more functional and to motivate him to master his native tongue, all instruction in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba. He will not be able to function adequately in these classes until he can speak the language in which they are taught. Immediately following this class he reports for instruction in his original language to his language teacher who is responsible for including in his lesson plan provisions for the vocabulary necessary for use in the self-defense and weaponry classes. These two courses of study will be the prestige courses in the school. Inasmuch as a good course in weaponry must include basic information from such disciplines as math, physics, chemistry and biology, and since his physical training will deal with developing his neuromuscular system to a high degree of efficiency, a total curriculum could be planned using these two areas as the core or base.

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His afternoon is spent studying the traditional subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic. The reading material has a historical and geographical flavor and it focuses on the life stories of black heroes like Malcolm X, Garvey, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, LeRoi Jones, Nat Turner and other lesser-known black people. The readers are graded and beautifully illustrated with pictures that reflect the image of the black child. His math not only deals with the mechanics of the science, but goes deeply into the history and the logic of numbers. His math problems focus on such practical matters as wind velocity, muzzle velocity and other mathematical considerations involved in firing, repairing and making weapons.

Programmed material put together by black programmers is presented to the student to expose him at an early age to computers and other electronic equipment that is used in a technological society so that he will be familiar and at ease with the language and the operation of this type of equipment.

Boys and girls are exposed to the same curriculum. The home economics course stresses first aid and how to survive off the surrounding environment if all food and fuel supply lines into the black community are cut off. Shop courses focus on such functional skills as making and repairing various types of electronic equipment and gunsmithing.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to fully understand the unique contributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the world.

The school day ends with a 15-second period of silent meditation in memory of the millions of black heroes who have given their lives that we may survive for another day. He now hurries to the many after-school activities that are provided for him in the building and that allow him to extend and to apply the skills he learned during the formal school day in a more informal setting.

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A black child who completes this course of study will emerge with his mind intact and with a full understanding of his role in society as it stands presently. Our graduate will not be found dying in far-off places in an army that represents the same forces that oppress and exploit him daily. He will know exactly where his battlefield is.

Herman Ferguson

It would appear that the SNCC organization in Los Angeles, California, attached a cover sheet to the copies of FERGUSON's article taken from the "National Guardian" and misspelled his name.

"NATIONAL SNCC COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES"

A copy of the pamphlet "National SNCC Community Projects in Effect in Los Angeles" is as follows:

[illegible] S.N.C.C. COMMUNITY PRO[illegible]S

IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES

PROJECT # 1 - LEGAL DEFENSE - MEDICAL CADRE

A committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aide to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work i.e. accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on the job triaining for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT # 2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aide our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT # 3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black community of events which directly effect our survival, also it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to

give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the White press! Informing Black people of information and services vital to our survival.

The Newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of Black people.

PROJECT # 4 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self-Defense. We will form riffle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of the Black community. Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black Karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the Martial Arts - our survival depends on this.

PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGE STATIONS

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people through the community will be instructed in first aide and will in turn come back into the community and teach other brothers and sisters.

PROJECT # 6 - AFRO-AMERICAN SKILLS BANK

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be intial, hopefully throughout all of the Third World, and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

PROJECT 7 - NBAWADU (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR-ANTI-DRAFT UNION)

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance through the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives, and an escape mechanism.

LA 100-63822

(8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source obtained a copy of the above pamphlet at LA-SNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

(9/13/68)

On September 13, 1968, source indicated that the above program has not been established in LA-SNCC, and to date there has been no attempt to establish this curriculum for the organization.

"DON'T SHUT ME OUT"

The pamphlet "Don't Shut Me Out" also known as "Some Thought of How to Move a Group of People from One Point to Another or Some Basic Steps Toward Becoming a Good Political Organizer!" written by JAMES FORMAN then Organizational-Secretary of SNCC is as follows:

DON'T SHUT ME OUT

SOME THOUGHTS ON HOW TO MOVE A GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM ONE POINT TO ANOTHER

OR

"SOME BASIC STEPS TOWARD BECOMING A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER"

THIS PAPER IS DIVIDED INTO FOUR SECTIONS.

A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POWERLESS.

B. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER.

C. THREE QUALITIES OF A GOOD ORGANIZER.

D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE.

PREPARED FOR S.N.C.C.'S PROGRAMMATIC WORKSHOPS HELD IN ATLANTA, GEORGA,
FEBRUARY 1 THROUGH 24, 1967.
THIS PAPER IS ALSO A RESPONSE TO SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT LEADERSHIP
RAISED IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF ROCK BOTTOM.

JAMES FORMAN
ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY

A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POWERLESS.

POWER
ORGANIZATION
EDUCATION
HARD WORK

POWER = ORGANIZATION + EDUCATION + HARD WORK

PEOPLE SEEK POWER THROUGH EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION WHICH CAN BEST BE MAINTAINED BY CONTINUOUS INTERNAL EDUCATION AND THAT MEANS HARD WORK.

GOT IT!

POWER IS OBTAINED THROUGH ORGANIZATION AND THIS IS MAINTAINED THROUGH CONSTANT POLITICAL EDUCATION AND THAT TAKES HARD WORK.

HARD WORK + EDUCATION + ORGANIZATION = POWER

POWER
ORGANIZATION
EDUCATION
HARD WORK

1. YOU WORK AND WORK AND WORK AND WORK AND IF YOU'RE NOT WILLING TO WORK, THERE'S NO NEED TO READ FURTHER, FOR IN ORDER TO ORGANIZE PEOPLE YOU MUST BE WILLING TO OUTWORK THOSE YOU ORGANIZE AND YOU MUST NOT LOOK FOR ANY THANKS OR PRAISE. YOU HAVE THE STRENGTH FROM WITHIN THAT WHAT YOU ARE DOING IS GOING TO HELP IN THE LONG RUN OF HISTORY AND THAT IS YOUR REWARD!

2. YOU EDUCATE SOME PEOPLE IN THE BEGINNING AS TO WHAT YOUR OBJECTIVES ARE WHICH MUST BE IDENTICAL WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

YOU SAY:

"THIS IS THE PROGRAM OF S.N.C.C. AND WE WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND WHY THIS PROGRAM IS IMPORTANT TO US AND WHY IT SHOULD BE IMPORTANT TO YOU...IF YOU AGREE WITH THIS PROGRAM WE EXPECT YOU TO EDUCATE OTHERS ABOUT IT. WE HAVE A PROGRAM OF INTERNAL EDUCATION FOR THOSE WHOM WE ORGANIZE AND WE WANT YOU TO USE IT SO THAT ALL OF US MAY GROW STRONG. THE MORE PEOPLE WE HAVE WHO ARE UNITED THE STRONGER WE WILL BE. AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST ORGANIZE, AND HAVE ORGANIZATION.

3. "WE MOVE AS A POLITICAL UNIT. WE ARE ORGANIZED INTO SIMILAR UNITS IN OTHER PLACES. WHAT I AM TELLING YOU ALL OUR ORGANIZERS ARE SAYING TO PEOPLE JUST LIKE US, POOR BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE SO MUCH POWER, BUT THAT POWER IS UNORGANIZED. IT RESIDES IN YOU AND ME, BUT WE MUST BAND TOGETHER FOR STRENGTH THAT IS WHY WE ARE ORGANIZING INTO FREEDOM ORGANIZATIONS.

WE INTEND TO USE THOSE ORGANIZATIONS AS A FORCE, A RESISTANCE FORCE AGAINST RACISM, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION. WE WILL TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF JOBS, OF INCOME, OF AUTOMATION, BAD HOUSING, LACK OF QUALITY EDUCATION. WELFARE AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR CULTURAL TIES IN AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARRIBEAN. AND WE WILL ALSO WORK WITH YOUNG PEOPLE FOR WE MAY WELL BE A LOST GENERATION BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE FUTURE. WE MUST HAVE ORGANIZATION ON ALL LEVELS. EVERY TIME ONE, TWO, OR THREE OF US ARE GATHERED WE MUST ORGANIZE OURSELVES AND EDUCATE OTHERS AND WORK HARD.

4. THIS IS A PROGRAM FOR POWER, FOR BLACK POWER, POWER FOR US.

B. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER.

THROUGHOUT S.N.C.C.'S HISTORY WE HAVE HAD VARIOUS CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED VERBALLY AND IN ACTION. WE HAVE ALSO SEEN OURSELVES AS SELF-EFFACING ORGANIZERS WHO ARE NOT LEADERS IN ANY SENSE OF THE WORD. WE HAVE ON THE OTHER HAND SEEN STRONG LEADERSHIP EXERCISED BY SELF-EFFACING, SO-CALLED NON-LEADERS. SOME HAVE SAID THAT WE GO INTO A COMMUNITY AND WORK ON WHATEVER THE PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN. OTHERS HAVE SAID THIS IS NONSENSE; WE HAVE IDEAS AND WE WORK TO SEE THESE IDEAS IMPLEMENTED. THERE IS AN INTERACTION BETWEEN US AND PEOPLE.

NOTWITHSTANDING OUR WORDS, EXCEPT FOR VERY FEW INSTANCES, WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD PLANS -- DIRECT ACTION, VOTER REGISTRATION, FREEDOM SCHOOLS, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, SOME ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, AND SO FORTH.

THE DEBATE OVER ORGANIZING IN A COMMUNITY ALSO FOUND ITSELF IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT HOW WE ORGANIZE S.N.C.C. WE HAVE PASSED THROUGH MANY STAGES -- THE BELOVED SOCIETY, THE COMMUNITY OF EQUALS, THE LEADERLESS LEADERS, INTERWEAVING AND CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, FREEDOM HIGH, "ADVANCED STAGE OF CAMUSISM", BEGINNING STEPS OF FANON -- AND NOW, I HOPE, INTO THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ORGANIZERS, DISCIPLINED, CAPABLE AND WILLING TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP WITHOUT GUILT.

HENCE, THIS SECTION STARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT ANY ORGANIZER IS A LEADER, BUT IT MAKES THE STRONG ASSERTION THAT ANY ORGANIZER WHO IS WORKING ON A POLITICAL PROGRAM IS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER, A POLITICAL LEADER. VIEWING HIMSELF IN THIS CATEGORY, HE MUST UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES THIS LEADERSHIP IMPOSES UPON HIM, FOR A POLITICAL ORGANIZER OCCUPIES A STRATEGIC POSITION OF LEADERSHIP.

FIRST, THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER REALIZES THAT HIS LEADERSHIP ARISES FROM AND IS NURTURED BY THE PEOPLE. WHILE HE BRINGS PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS TO THE GROUP, THESE PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS FIND EXPRESSION THROUGH THE GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED AND THE PEOPLE HE ORGANIZES.

THE ORGANIZER MUST PROVIDE LEADERSHIP THROUGH EXAMPLE, WORK, EDUCATING, AND TRAINING OTHERS. HE MUST BE WILLING TO DO THE NITTY GRITTY AND SHITTY WORK THAT PEOPLE ARE OFTEN NOT WILLING TO DO. AT THE SAME

TIME THROUGH HIS OWN EFFORTS HE DEVELOPS AN AWARENESS IN OTHERS THAT THEY TOO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DO THE SO-CALLED DIRTY WORK. FAILING TO DO THIS, HIS LEADERSHIP WILL BECOME NEGATIVE AND THE PEOPLE WILL SOON LET HIM KNOW IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER: "JACK, YOU GOT TO MAKE IT. AIN'T NOTHING HE... FOR YOU TO DO. YOU GOOFED!"

LEADERSHIP IMPLIES THE WILLINGNESS TO GIVE DIRECTION AND TO STRUGGLE FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. IT IMPLIES A RESPONSIBILITY FOR PLANNING, NOT ONLY PLANNING MEETINGS, BUT OTHER COURSES OF ACTION THAT MUST BE TAKEN. BUT IT ESPECIALLY IMPLIES PLANNING FOR MEETINGS OF ALL SIZES. PEOPLE ARE BUSY AND LEADERSHIP MUST BE EXERCISED IN ORDER TO MAKE MATTERS MORE EFFICIENT.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZER MUST INSPIRE CONFIDENCE AND THIS RESULTS FROM A WILLINGNESS TO WORK HARD, TO EDUCATE AND TRAIN OTHERS, AND TO REALIZE HIS ACTIONS WILL EFFECT THE LARGER GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED. THEREFORE, HE UNDERSTANDS THAT HE HAS TO UPHOLD THE STANDARDS OF THE GROUP, BOTH THE GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ORGANIZING AND THE ONE WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED (S.N.C.C. IN OUR CASE). WHEN ONE MEMBER OF A LARGER UNIT GOOFS IN THIS PLACE IT IS VERY HARD FOR ANOTHER TO GO AND SALVAGE THE SITUATION. TIME MOVES ON BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO RETARD OR SLOW DOWN THE CLOCK.

THE ORGANIZER MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS VERY HARD FOR PEOPLE TO SAY I DON'T KNOW. THEY ARE PROTECTIVE OF THEIR EGOS AS WE ALL ARE. BUT AS A LEADER, THE ORGANIZER IS VERY SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THOSE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. HE TRIES TO FIND A STYLE OF WORK THAT IS HELPFUL WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVING DIGNITY. AS HE DOES THIS HE AND THE PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP MORE AND MORE STRENGTH AND WILL OPENLY TALK ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS AND SEARCH FOR ANSWERS.

THE ORGANIZER IS GOING TO FIND THAT HIS POSITION OF LEADERSHIP WILL MAKE HIM THE CENTER OF PROBLEM SOLVING, IF HE ALLOWS THIS TO HAPPEN. THAT IS, MANY PEOPLE WILL WANT HIM TO SOLVE THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE GROUP. ALSO, DEPENDING UPON THE SIZE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP, HE WILL FIND THAT MANY OF THE YOUNGER AND MORE INVISIBLE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP WILL EXPECT HIM TO RUN INTERFERENCE WITH SOMEONE WHO IS IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION, TO CUT THROUGH THE RED TAPE. HE, THE YOUNGER AND LESS VISIBLE MEMBER, HAS NOT FOUND THE STRENGTH OR THE METHOD BY WHICH HE CAN CUT THROUGH SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS OR GET AROUND THE "BUREAUCRATIC HANG-UP."

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST FIND WAYS TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM HIM AS THE PROBLEM SOLVER. ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OR STRUCTURES MUST BE FOUND TO MINIMIZE CONFLICTS THAT ARE BOUND TO OCCUR. ALSO, PEOPLE WHO ASSUME ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS MUST RECOGNIZE A DIFFERENCE IN ROLES AND A CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN WHAT THEY MUST DO AND WHAT THEY MUST DO AND WHAT THE "NON-ADMINISTRATOR" WANTS TO DO. THE "NON-ADMINISTRATOR" HAS TO ALSO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS AND THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATOR. THESE MATTERS CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT CONSTANT DISCUSSION. FAILING TO DISCUSS THEM AND ARRIVING AT A POINT OF VIEW HEALTHY FOR THE ENTIRE UNIT --- THE FIGHT IS ON, TIME IS LOST, ENERGY IS WASTED, FEELINGS ARE HURT, ANIMOSITY AND HATRED BEGINS TO

GROW THAT AFFECT THE UNITY IN MANY STRANGE WAYS. SOMETIMES THE SO-CALLED NON-ADMINISTRATOR TURNS TO SELF-DESTRUCTIVE ACTS AND INCIDENTS THAT FORCE PEOPLE TO BECOME AWARE OF HIS EXISTENCE. THE ADMINISTRATOR REACTS NEGATIVELY AND THE CIRCLE GOES AROUND AND AROUND. A SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND!

THERE ARE OTHER WAYS THIS PROBLEM CAN BE STATED: IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANY POLITICAL UNIT EVERY PERSON WHO JOINS IT SHOULD BE ASSIGNED AND SHOULD ASSUME SOME ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY. EVERY POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS AN ADMINISTRATOR IN SOME SENSE OF THE WORD. THERE REALLY IS THEN ONLY A DIFFERENCE IN THE HIERARCHY OF ADMINISTRATORS. HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENCE IN THE AUTHORITY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SOME PEOPLE WITHIN THE UNIT. SOMETIMES THERE DEVELOPS WITHIN DIFFERENT PEOPLE WHO ARE WORKING ON A HIGHER LEVEL OF AUTHORITY THAN OTHERS A CERTAIN VESTED INTEREST IN THE ROLES THEY ARE PERFORMING. MANY TIMES THEY MAY NOT BE AWARE OF THESE INTERESTS THEMSELVES. NOR AM I ASSUMING THAT THESE VESTED INTERESTS ARE ALL NEGATIVE. YET THESE INTERESTS OFTEN CLASH WITH THE VESTED INTERESTS OF SOMEONE WHO IS ON A LOWER LEVEL OF AUTHORITY, WHAT HE HAS TO DO IN ORDER TO GET HIS JOB DONE IS NOT THE SAME THAT THE PERSON IN A HIGHER POSITION OF AUTHORITY. THE REVERSE SITUATION DOES OCCUR.

LLET US RAISE THIS QUESTION ANOTHER WAY, FOR THE S.N.C.C. POINT OF VIEW. A PERSON HAS BEEN WITH THE ORGANIZATION A LONG PERIOD OF TIME AND HAS EXECUTED ALL ASSIGNMENTS, MANY OF THEM VERY HAZARDOUS. HE IS STILL WILLING TO TAKE THESE ASSIGNMENTS. YET, HE WORKS IN AN OBSCURE PLACE, AWAY FROM THE CAPITOL OF S.N.C.C. OR EVEN AROUND IT. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS THAT IN MANY LITTLE DIFFERENT WAYS THERE ARE NEGATIVE REACTIONS TO HIM UNTIL THERE IS AGAIN A HAZARDOUS ASSIGNMENT. HE HAS TO STRUGGLE TO GET SOME RESOURCES AND YET OTHERS DO NOT HAVE TO MAKE THE SAME STRUGGLE BECAUSE THEY ARE A PART OF THE SO-CALLED IN-GROUPS, HE FEELS.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST BE AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AS HE BUILDS UNITS. HE TRIES TO MAKE ALL THOSE WITH WHOM HE WORKS REALIZE THEY MUST STRUGGLE AGAINST INCONSIDERATION SOMETIMES CAUSED BY OVERWORK AND NOT ENOUGH TIME TO THINK OF THE PROBLEM FROM THE OTHER MAN'S POINT OF VIEW. AT THE SAME TIME THE GOALS AND WORK OF THE UNIT MUST BE AGREED TO BY ALL OR OTHERWISE THE PROBLEM WILL INCREASE, COMMON GOALS, ACCEPTANCE OF LINES OF AUTHORITY, DISCIPLINE, HARD, FORMS OF APPEAL AND CONSTANT DISCUSSIONS ARE SOME METHODS BY WHICH THE PROBLEM OF CONFLICTING INTEREST CAN BE SOLVED.

THERE IS A RULE OF ADMINISTRATION THAT SAYS ONE CAN DELEGATE AUTHORITY BUT HE CANNOT DELEGATE RESPONSIBILITY. THIS SIMPLY MEANS THAT IF I AM IN CHARGE OF X PROJECT I CAN GIVE ASSIGNMENTS AND AUTHORITY TO THIS OR THAT PERSON BUT IF THE CHIPS GO DOWN AND I AM CALLED ON THE CARPET IT IS ADMINISTRATIVELY UNSOUND AND A WEAK-KNEED POSITION TO PUT THE BLAME ON SOMEONE WHO IS WORKING UNDER ME. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS AWARE OF THIS RULE AND ACCEPTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FAILURES OF THIS OR THAT PROJECT NOT WORKING IF IT IS UNDER HIS JURISDICTION OR SUPERVISION. HE DISCUSSES WITH THOSE WHO WERE ASSIGNED TO CARRY OUT CERTAIN FUNCTIONS AND FAILED TO DO THIS AND HE MAY EVEN TAKE ACTION. HOWEVER, HE SHOULD NOT SHIFT THE BURDEN OF THE RESPONSIBILITY

TO SOMEONE ELSE. AFTER ALL, HE WAS IN CHARGE.

SINCE HE IS A LEADER, THE ORGANIZER MUST STRENGTHEN THE UNIT AND THE TRANSITION IN HIS OWN LEADERSHIP. THIS IS BEST DONE THROUGH THE PROCESS OF INTERNAL EDUCATION. ANY ORGANIZER CARRIES WITH HIM CERTAIN SKILLS, INFORMATION, CONTACTS, TRAINING AND ASSOCIATION WITH A LARGER GROUP AND THE ONE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. YET HE MUST TRY TO TRANSFER SOME OF THESE TO AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE. WITHOUT THIS ATTITUDE, THE STRUGGLE ENLARGES ITSELF AT A MUCH SLOWER PACE THAT NECESSARY. NATURALLY IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING AND DEVELOPING AN INTERNAL EDUCATION PROGRAM, THE ORGANIZER IS GOING TO LEARN MUCH FROM THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE IS WORKING. THEIR IDEAS AND THEIR BEHAVIOR ARE GOING TO MODIFY MANY OF HIS IDEAS AND BEHAVIOR.

WHEN AND HOW THE TRANSITION IN LEADERSHIP WILL TAKE PLACE IS A VERY KNOTTY QUESTION AND THE BEST SOLUTION IS COLLECTIVE DECISION ABOUT THE PROBLEM. IT IS HIGHLY DEBATABLE IF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER ALONE IS BEST ABLE TO MAKE THIS DECISION. IN FACT, HE SHOULD NOT EVEN TRY. HE MAY WELL LOOK AT THE SITUATION FROM TOO PERSONAL A PERSPECTIVE AND THEREBY CAUSE DAMAGE TO THE UNIT.

THE ACID TEST OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP BY THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS HIS WILLINGNESS TO SUBMIT HIS ROLE FOR EXAMINATION, EVALUATION AND CRITICISM. HE MUST BE WILLING TO DO THIS WITH THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE IS WORKING AND WITHIN THE UNIT HE REPRESENTS. IT IS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO LEAD THIS DISCUSSION AND TO ALWAYS INSIST THAT HIS ROLE IS UP FOR CONSTANT EVALUATION. NATURALLY HE MUST BE WILLING TO EVALUATE HIS OWN EFFORTS, TO ADMIT MISTAKES, TO CORRECT THEM AND MOVE ONE, FOR THERE IS WORK TO BE DONE.

IT IS OF COURSE EASY TO CRITICIZE THIS ACTION OR THAT ONE. IT IS NOT SO EASY TO SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES, BUT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE WHO TAKE POTSHOTS AT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZER TO SUGGEST DIFFERENT METHODS OF PROCEEDING -- FOR THE INTENT OF CONSTANT CONSTRUCTIVE EVALUATION IS TO BUILD SOMETHING BETTER, FOR THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE.

FINALLY, THE ORGANIZER MUST HIMSELF REALIZE THAT HE IS HUMAN. HE WILL MAKE MISTAKES. THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH THAT HE CAN DO IN A GIVEN PERIOD OF TIME AND THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH THAT OTHERS CAN DO. PERFECTION-SEEKING IS A DANGEROUS TRAIT AND LEADS TO MORE DESTRUCTION THAN PERFECTION. WE DO WHAT WE CAN IN THE LIMITED TIME WE HAVE. WE MAKE DECISIONS BASED ON INFORMATION AT THE MOMENT, INFORMATION WE MAY WELL FIND NOT VALID FIVE YEARS FROM NOW, BUT WE MUST MOVE AHEAD, THERE IS INDEED MUCH WORK TO BE DONE. THE HARVEST IS GREAT BUT THE REAPERS ARE FEW.

C. THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER. THESE THREE CHARACTERISTICS OR QUALITIES OR TRAITS APPLY TO ANYONE WHO CONSIDERS HIMSELF AN ORGANIZER IN ANY FIELD OR ANY AREA, WHETHER IT IS SOCIAL WORK, POLITICAL ORGANIZING, ADMINISTRATION, OR FUND RAISING.

1. HE IS CREATIVE. HE IS A SELF STARTER. HE MOVES WITH A PLAN, WITH LONG AND SHORT RANGE GOALS LEARNED FROM COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION WITH HIS

UNIT. IF ANY CAT TELLS YOU THAT HE HAS NOTHING TO DO, THAT HE IS WAITING DIRECTION WHILE HE SITS IN A PILE OF DIRT OR SEES A DIRTY FLOOR, AND DOES NOT GET A BROOM RIGHT AWAY, THEN THAT CAT IS NOT AN ORGANIZER. HE IS SAYING IN FACT: "I AM LAZY AND I'M NOT REALLY A GOOD HUSTLER OF WORK."

2. HE IS A PUSHER. HE HAS A GOAL IN MIND, HE MUST GET FROM A TO Z IN X AMOUNT OF TIME. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THERE ON TIME UNLESS HE PUSHES HIMSELF AND PUSHES OTHERS WHO ARE WORKING WITH HIM. VERY IMPORTANT THAT HE PUSHES HIMSELF FIRST OF ALL, FOR HE HAS NO RIGHT TO EXPECT OTHERS TO FOLLOW A PHONEY LEAD. IF HE PUSHES HIMSELF AND WORKS HARD, THEN OTHERS WILL WILLINGLY FOLLOW. WE KNOW WHEN THE PUSHER IS SHUCKING AND JIVING. SLAVERY IS ALMOST DEAD WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.

3. HE PAYS ATTENTION TO DETAILS AND HE FOLLOWS THROUGH. LACK OF FOLLOW-UP IS THE GRAVEYARD OF MOST IDEAS AND PLANS. THIS DEATH OFTEN FLOWS FROM TAKING ON TOO MANY JOBS, INADEQUATE PLANNING OR RECORD KEEPING, AND SOMETIMES DOWNRIGHT LAZINESS.

D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE. COMBINED WITH THE THREE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER IN ANY FIELD, THESE SEVEN STEPS THEREFORE CONSTITUTE TEN BASIC STEPS IN BECOMING A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER.

1. HE THINKS HE KNOWS AND, YET HE MAY NOT KNOW. THE OTHER GUY MAY BE RIGHT, FOR THE ORGANIZER MUST LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. THEY CAN TEACH HIM SOMETHING AND HE MUST LEARN IT. THERE IS NO PLACE FOR A DOGMATIC POSITION NOR A BELIEF THAT I, THE ORGANIZER, AM ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. I MUST HAVE THE LAST WORD. THIS ATTITUDE MAY WELL LEAD TO THE FINAL WORK, BUT THERE WILL BE FEW PEOPLE AROUND WILLING TO LISTEN.

2. THE GOOD ORGANIZER SEEKS TO UNDERSTAND THE CUSTOMS, THE LANGUAGE, THE HISTORY, THE STRONG POINTS AND THE WEAK POINTS OF THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. FAILING TO DO THIS, HE WEAKENS HIS OWN EFFECTIVENESS. ONE OF THE TRAGEDIES OF SOME MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE WORKING IN THE SOUTH IS THAT IT TAKES THEM A LONG TIME TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO THE WAYS OF THE PEOPLE AND BY THE TIME THEY DO THEY ARE READY TO RETURN HOME, SOMETIMES FULL OF ROMANTIC NOTIONS ABOUT THE PURITY OF THE LOCAL FOLKS AND THEIR BEAUTY IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY, DISEASE, DEGRADATION AND DEATH.

3. HE ASSIGNS WORK TO PEOPLE, TO MEN AND TO WOMEN AND TO YOUNG PEOPLE HE TAKES THE ATTITUDE: "I MUST MOVE ON AND ORGANIZE OTHERS AND IF YOU REALLY WANT TO DO THIS YOU MUST TAKE STEPS YOURSELF. I CAN HELP YOU GET STARTED, BUT IF YOU AIN'T WILLING TO WORK FOUR YOUR OWN LIBERATION -- THEN I MUST GO!
HAVE SKILLS. MUST TRAVEL.
NO TIME FOR CLINGING VINES.
FERTILE FIELDS I MUST FIND."

4. THE ORGANIZER MUST ALSO CONCERN HIMSELF WITH HIS OWN SURVIVAL AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNIT WITH WHICH HE IS WORKING. HE SHOULD FIRST LOOK FOR THE NECESSARY RESOURCES FOR SURVIVAL IN THE AREA WHERE HE IS WORKING. THERE IS A RULE THAT NO ARMY IS STRONGER THAN ITS SUPPLY ROUTES.

THE FIRST EFFORT OF THE ENEMY IS TO ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE SUPPLY LINES. E.G. VIETNAM. IF THE RESOURCES ARE COMING FROM THE AREA IN WHICH ONE IS WORKING, IT BECOMES MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT TO CUT THEM OFF UNLESS THE WORK ITSELF IS DESTROYED.

5. HE SEIZES EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF STRUGGLE IN THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. HE MUST BE ALERT AND LOOK AROUND FOR WEAK POINTS IN THE SYSTEM AND MOTIVATE SMALL AND LARGE STRUGGLES. HE KNOWS PEOPLE GROW AND LEARN AND DEVELOP FROM COMMITMENTS AND INVOLVEMENT. A SPIRIT OF DEFIANCE AND FIGHT DOES NOT ARISE JUST FROM STUDY. ACTION IS KEY TO CHANGE AND MASS MOBILIZATION WILL KNOCK DOWN ALL SORTS OF DOORS.

6. YOU MUST HAVE A SENSE OF TIMING. PUSHING TOO FAST WHEN PEOPLE ARE NOT READY WILL LEAD TO NEGATIVE REACTIONS AND THE ORGANIZERS WILL LOSE TIME. YET, THERE ARE SOME ISSUES WHICH CANNOT WAIT NO MATTER WHAT THE PLAN MIGHT BE. PEOPLE MUST REACT SINCE WE DO NOT LIVE IN A CONTROLLED VACUUM OR A SEALED BOX. AN AWARENESS THAT POSITIVE ACTION IS BETTER THAN NONE AND WILL HAVE POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH WE MIGHT NOT KNOW ... THIS IS FUNDAMENTAL TO DEVELOPING A SOCIAL AWARENESS AND A SENSE OF STRUGGLE IN OURSELVES AND THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE WORK.

7. HE MUST CONSTANTLY IMPROVE HIS OWN INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT. HE MUST TAKE TIME TO READ, TO WRITE, TO REST. HE MUST CONSTANTLY EVALUATE HIS ACTIONS AND THE ACTIONS OF OTHERS AND DISCUSS THEM COLLECTIVELY WITH HIS FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKERS. WE LIVE IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD AND THE GOOD ORGANIZER MUST BE KEPT ABREAST OF WORLD EVENTS.

IF THE ORGANIZER KEEPS READING, STUDYING, AND WRITING ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES, THE ENTIRE UNIT WILL GROW AND THE ORGANIZER HIMSELF WILL ACQUIRE SKILLS THAT MAKE HIM VERY MOBILE, ABLE TO MOVE INTO MANY DIFFERENT KINDS OF SITUATIONS ... AN ABSOLUTE MUST IN OUR TIME.

This particular pamphlet is self-explanatory in its authorization and purpose.

[redacted] and [redacted] had no knowledge of a pamphlet written by JAMES FORMAN entitled "Don't Shut Me Out".

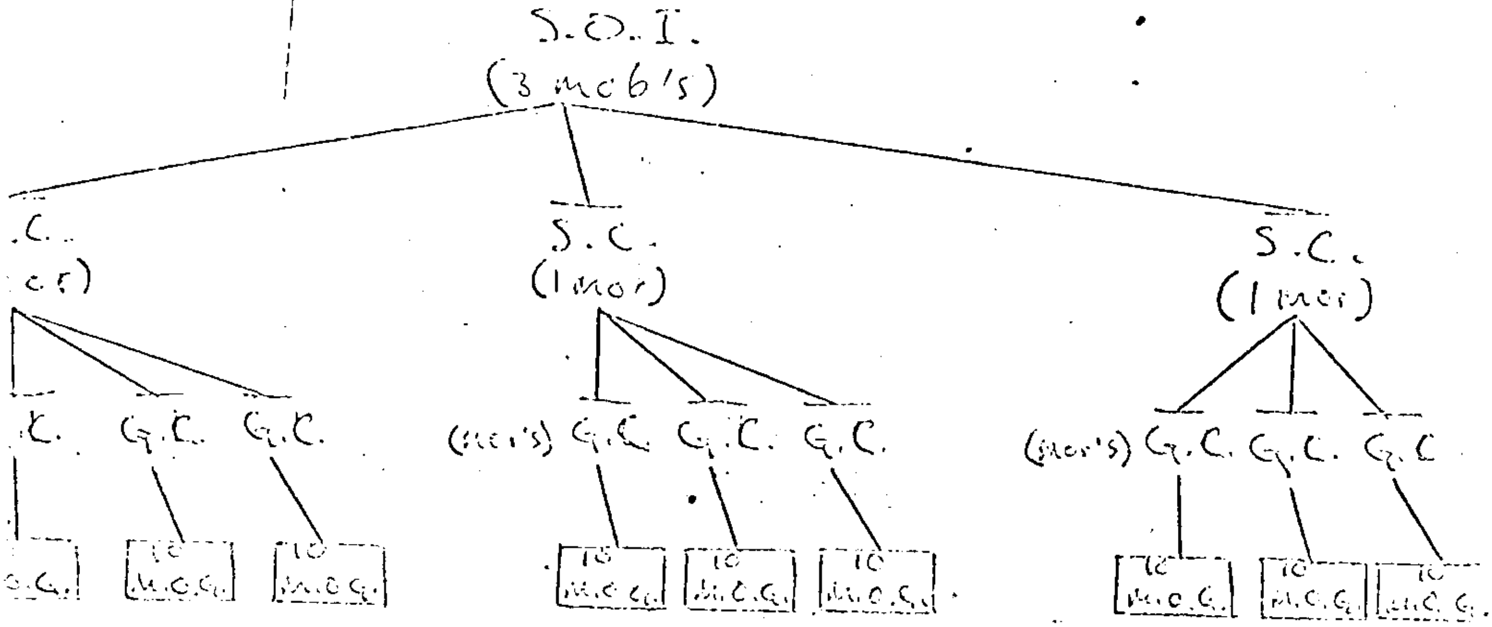
SNCC YOUTH CORPS (SYC)

[redacted] (6/4/68)

On June 4, 1968, source furnished documents which contained information concerning the SYC and members who were in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the period of May 14, 1968 through May 25, 1968 for the trial of H. RAPP BROWN then National Chairman of SNCC. Selected portions of this information concerning SYC are enclosed.

BLACK POWER

SNCC Youth Corps



Uniform
field jacket (army)
black pants
red or green turtle neck
boots

Weekly schedule

Orenitation for SYC

Introduction by S.O.I.

1. espre-de-corps Hakim

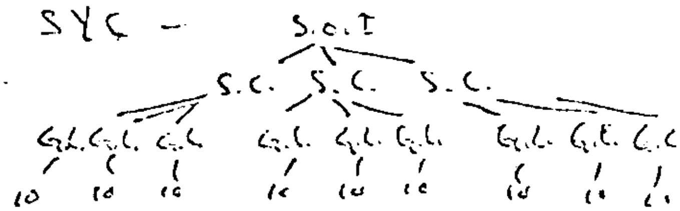
2. mental and physical training Ali

3. program outline

   A. weekly schedule - explain each and give purpose of each

   B- uniform - explain reason for uniform - why this kind ~~and~~

   C. structure of SYC -



April 22nd

Every 1st Sat. — movie
" 3rd " — Poetry

Groups (1, 2, 3, etc.)
Section leaders
drill instr.
P.E. ed. (lib. school)
building maint.
Security instruction

Drill instruction
Security instruction
Drill instruction
Physical training
Building maintenance
Library School
Library Started

10 in group
3 groups = section

20

schedule
schd
schedule

1. Drugs
2. Dependability
3. Security con.

April 22nd

-31-

Panel of Judges + one of his peers

3 M.B.'s one Moran's peer
picked by ~~defendant~~ accused

Ali-Hakim-JaJa
needed by [illegible] 25 SF

Orientation

Movie " "
(check with Booby)
Projector everything
every 1st Sat.

Drill

Security officer ___
Sec. Comm. ___
group leader ___

SYC

20

On May 17, 1968, four members of LA-SNCC were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. In attache cases carried by these individuals the following information regarding SYC was located:

SYC ORGANIZATION

The organization consists of a Security Officer in Charge(SOI), three Section Commanders, and nine Group Commanders. The Group Commander is in charge of ten members of the SYC. A Section Commander is in charge of three Group Commanders and 30 members of the SYC. This is basically a military type organization and they are attired in uniforms consisting of black pants, sweatshirts monogrammed with SYC, boots, and field jackets.

SYC CLASSES

SYC classes will be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the subject to be instructed and only those directly involved with SYC will be admitted to class. Classes will begin on time and will be one hour and 30 minutes in duration of which one hour will be spent in covering material and the remaining 30 minutes will be open discussion of the material covered.

The curriculum for SYC will include the following courses: Orientation, Drill, Code of Conduct, Liberation School, Political Education, Recruitment, Maintenance and Security.

SYC MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the SYC is only open to Negro males between the ages of 14 and 17.

In the information obtained in New Orleans, it was indicated that there were, at one time, 15 members in LA-SNCC SYC School.

[redacted] (6/4/68)

On May 27, 1968, source observed eight members of the LA-SYC between the ages of 12 and 17 attired in SYC sweatshirts drilling in a church parking area on the Southwest corner of Cimmaron and Jefferson Streets, Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (7/17/68)

On July 17, 1968, source was advised by a member of LA-SNCC that the SYC was discontinued and is no longer a project of LA-SNCC.

On August 23, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC and Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI and indicated that the SYC was terminated by him in July, 1968.

[redacted] (8/30/68)
(9/3/68)

The above sources on dates related that they were unaware of any SYC program in their particular Chapters of SNCC.

1

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, p. 193, describes the "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. * * * Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, page 78, describes the American Labor Party as follows:

"For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn Sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control."

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968,

APPENDIX CONTINUED

2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
September 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	9/19/68	8/1/68 - 9/4/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]

TYPED BY: cyn

CHARACTER OF CASE

RACIAL MATTER

REFERENCES: Los Angeles report of SA [redacted] dated 5/29/68.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 8/2/68.
Los Angeles letter to Bureau 9/4/68.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - INS, San Diego (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63022)

SEP 26 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	USA, REG. II, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	
How Fwd.	
By	

61 OCT 9 1968

LA 100-63822

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

- B -
COVER PAGE

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/63, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from the date of this report.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted] 100-63822-1373-1488
[redacted]	100-63822-1462-1489 orally to SA [redacted] 9/4/68 (instant report)
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1370 [redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822 (not yet channelized)
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1370
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted] 100-63822-1414
[redacted]	100-63822-1324-1443

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1415
[redacted]	100-63822 (not yet channelized)
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1322
[redacted]	100-63822-1182-1470
[redacted]	100-63822-1418
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1307-1376

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of: [redacted]
Office: Los Angeles, California
Date: 9/19/68

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) reorganized in June 1968, Los Angeles, California. LA-SNCC headquarters located 7406 South Western, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC and also Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Finances, program and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members and connections with other organizations reported. Activities indicating the military and revolutionary nature of organization set forth. LA-SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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LA 100-63822

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the glossary of this report.

I. REORGANIZATION OF LOS ANGELES STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC)

(7/3/68)

(8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC reorganized in June 1968 and its new director is RONALD LEROY WILKINS who is also Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC Organization. CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT assist WILKINS in directing the affairs of LA-SNCC.

II. LA-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

[redacted] (7/8/68)

On June 25, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, and several members of the organization were observed moving furniture from the LA-SNCC Office at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, to 7406 South Western Avenue, which is to be the new headquarters for LA SNCC.

[redacted] (8/9/68)

On July 31, 1968, source advised that the new SNCC Office is located at 7406 South Western Avenue, in Los Angeles.

[redacted] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC headquarters is located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

III. OFFICERS

On May 17, 1968, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, III, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana, when they attempted to jump their motel bill at a Negro motel and for possession of stolen property. These four members of Los Angeles SNCC had in their possession a list of LA-SNCC officers which included the following:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
ANGELA DAVIS
BOBBIE HODGES
RENE HARDING
FRANK HARDING
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER
MIKE WILLIAMS
TUF HAYES
TOMMY SCOTT
CLARICE ALLEN
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON

[redacted] (6/12/68)

On May 23, 1968, source furnished the following list of officers for LA-SNCC:

RENE HARDING, Program Coordinator and Secretary

MICHAEL SEALS, Security Officer

GEORGE HOPKINS, Editor

LAMAR CHANNEL, Security Officer

LEMARIE BELL, Office Secretary

MARK SIMIEN, Security Officer

CHARLES GORDON, Security Officer

TONY AUFNEY (position unknown)

JOHN FLOYD, Secretary-Treasurer and former LA-SNCC Director

JOHNNIE RAINES, Security Officer

SHELLY ANN SMITH, Office Secretary

[redacted] (8/5/68)

On August 5, 1968, source advised that RONALD LEROY WILKINS of LA-SNCC is Deputy Chairman of National SNCC.

[redacted] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source indicated that CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT are assistants to RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, in administering the affairs of the organization.

[redacted] (7/3/68)

On June 21, 1968, source indicated the following persons are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT, Program Coordinator

CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS, Protocol Officer

MICHAEL SEALS, Editor

GEORGE HOPKINS, Staff Member

IV. MEMBERSHIP

On May 17, 1968, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. These individuals admitted to being members of LA-SNCC. When arrested the above persons had in their possession a list of staff members of LA-SNCC, which list included the following names:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
ANGELA DAVIS
BOBBIE HODGES
RENE HARDING
FRANK HARDING
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER
MIKE WILLIAMS
TUF HAYES
TOMMY SCOTT
CLARICE ALLEN
CHARLES GORDON

[redacted] (6/12/68)

On June 12, 1968, source advised that the following individuals were members of LA-SNCC:

RENE HARDING
MICHAEL SEALS
GEORGE HOPKINS
LAMAR CHANNEL
LAMARIE BELL
MARK SEMIEN
CHARLES GORDON
TONY AUBREY
JOHN FLOYD
JOHNNIE RAINES
SHELLY ANN SMITH

[redacted] (5/20/68)

On April 25, 1968, source advised that ANGELA DAVIS is a member of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (6/17/68)
(6/18/68)
(6/18/68)

On June 17, 1968 and June 18, 1968, sources indicated that BARBARA RENE HARDING was a member of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (7/3/68)

(7/3/68)

(8/6/68)

(8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source indicated the following individuals were members of LA-SNCC:

ANTHONY CHARLES ASHLEY
RONALD LEROY WILKINS
CLARICE ALLEN
WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.
MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS
THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT
FRANK C. HARDING
CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS

V. FINANCES

[redacted] (6/13/68)

On May 23, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC was in need of financial support and it was attempting to sponsor a fund-raising affair with leading nationally known Black Nationalist leaders.

[redacted] (6/12/68)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (6/27/68)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (7/9/68)

[redacted]

(7/9/68)

On July 9, 1968, Los Angeles SNCC moved from their office at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, to 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, because ALBERT COYCAULT, owner of the property at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, doubled the rent for LA-SNCC and the organization did not have funds to pay their rent for July 1968.

(5/3/68)

On April 20, 1968, a fund-raising affair for LA-SNCC was held at 1830 Hi-Point Street, Los Angeles, California. RENE HARDING, Program Director for LA-SNCC, was the featured speaker. The affair raised approximately $254 for LA-SNCC.

(6/27/68)

On June 27, 1968, a fund-raising affair sponsored by SNCC was held at 4737 Kenniston Drive, Los Angeles, California. Speaker for this meeting was RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, who spoke concerning the local program of SNCC. The purpose of the meeting was to raise $250,000 bail money for five LA-SNCC workers who were recently arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana.

(9/4/68)

On September 4, 1968, TOMMY SCOTT, an officer of LA-SNCC, indicated that the organization was in a poor financial condition and money was needed to meet current expenses for the office.

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VI. LA-SNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted] (8/13/68)
(7/19/68)

On the above dates, sources furnished a brochure which contained the projects and program presently being conducted by LA-SNCC. This brochure is as follows:

NATIONAL S.N.C.C. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES

PROJECT # 1 - LEGAL DEFENSE - MEDICAL CADRE

A committee committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aid to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work, i.e. accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on-the-job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT # 2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aid our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis, however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT # 3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black Community of events which directly

effect our surviv[al]. Also, it will disseminate i[nf]ormation which the white press refuses to give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the white press! Informing Black people of information and services is vital to our survival.

The newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of Black people.

PROJECT # 4 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self- Defense. We will form rifle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of our community. Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the Martial arts - our survival depends on this.

PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGE STATIONS

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people throughout the community will be instructed in first aid and will in turn come back into the community and teach other Brothers and Sisters.

PROJECT # 6 - AFRO-AMERICAN SKILLS BANK

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be initiated,

hopefully, throughout the Third World. and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

<u>PROJECT # 7</u> -<u>NBAWADU</u> (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION)

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance throughout the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives and an escape mechanism.

On May 17, 1968, four members of LA-SNCC were arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana, by the New Orleans Police Department. In their possession they had material concerning the self-defense program for LA-SNCC. The outline of this program is set out below:

SELF DEFENSE

I. Home

a. weapons

1. shotgun

2. 30 caliber carbine

3. two pistols

a. astra 600 9mm

b. .45 automatic

4. at least one extra clip for each weapon

5. a knife

b. communication

1. list of phone numbers

a. Sncc office

b. close friends

c. your lawyer

II. Community

a. programs

1. gun club

2. community defense plan

3. community patrol

a. two or three cars

b. armed

c. carry walkie talkies

III. Individual Se[illegible] fense

a. W[illegible]n

1. 9[illegible] astra 600

2. in brief case

3/ lock and keep extra key

b. periodical classes in hand to hand combat

1. karate

2. shoda khan

SNCC Youth Corps (SYC)

Also, additional material was obtained concerning the organizing of a SNCC Youth Corps (SYC). The literature on the SYC indicates that they were being given instructions in drill, political education, recruiting, building maintenance, and security. These classes were being taught after school hours by LA-SNCC leaders. Classes started at 3 O'clock every day of the school week, and on Tuesday, Thursdays, and Saturdays, classes were held from 6 PM to 10 in the evening.

Instructions concerning SYC classes related that they would be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the business of the subject to be instructed. Only those individuals directly involved with SYC will be admitted to classes. Classes will begin on time and will last one hour and thirty minutes at which one hour will be spent covering material and the remaining thirty minutes will be spent upon discussion concerning the material presented. The curriculum indicated that time would be given to fire arms and combat type training.

The uniform for class would be a sweatshirt with a SYC emblem and the letters S Y C monogrammed on the front of the sweatshirt.

[redacted] (7/3/68)

[redacted] (6/4/68)

On May 27, 1968, eight members of SYC between the ages of 15 and 17, all wearing SYC sweatshirts, were drilling in the church parking lot on the southwest corner of Cimarron and Jefferson Boulevard in Los Angeles, California.

General Activities of LA-SNCC

[redacted] (5/21/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (5/8/68)

[redacted]

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was the former chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Negro civil rights group headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia.

[redacted] (6/12/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (5/16/68)

On May 12, 1968, ANGELA DAVIS, Protocol Officer of LA-SNCC, spoke at the College Center group, The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (see appendix), 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles. DAVIS related that SNCC's major projects consisted of karate and rifle club training for its membership; organized the Negroes politically and economically; and to set up legal teams and medical teams to combat police brutality in Los Angeles.

(5/22/68)

Source indicated that the Black Congress is an organization representing all militant Black Nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

(5/16/68)

On May 6, 1968, source reported that on May 4, 1968, seven persons connected with LA-SNCC were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department and booked on charges of armed robbery. The LA-SNCC members were FRANKLIN and STANLEY ALEXANDER, STANLEY WRIGHT, THOMAS VALENTINE, GEORGE HOPKINS, MARK SIMIEN, and BETTY ALLEN.

(6/14/68)

(8/22/68)

LA 100-63322

VII. CHARACTERIZATION OF SNCC (see appendix)

VIII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS

Southern California District
of the Communist Party (SCDCP)

[redacted] (6/10/68)

[redacted] (7/30/68)

Black Panther Party (BPP)
(see appendix)

[redacted] (6/24/68)

On June 24, 1968, source indicated that the BPP was in contact with the LA-SNCC headquarters at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California.

"People's World" (PW)

The PW is a West Coast communist newspaper.

[redacted] (8/26/68)

As of August 26, 1968, LA-SNCC was a recipient of a PW subscription at their headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

May Day Committee (MDC)
(see appendix)

[redacted] (5/14/68)

Black Congress

Black Congress is an organization representing numerous Black Nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (7/19/68)

IX. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (5/20/68)

On May 8, 1968, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was appointed Director of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (6/7/68)

(7/3/68)
(6/25/68)
(7/2/68)

(7/2/68)

On July 2, 1968, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was appointed deputy chairman of SNCC at a National SNCC committee meeting in May 1968.

(7/25/68)

(8/5/68)

On August 5, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC and Deputy Chairman of National SNCC, was arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at 12:30 AM on this date, and was charged with kidnapping. WILKINS was holding RICHARD MALES, a 19-year-old male, at 2724 South Cimarron, Los Angeles, by force in order to obtain information from him which neither WILKINS nor MALES would divulge to arresting officers. A Negro male approximately 20 years of age with a last name of SCOTT who was a friend of WILKINS, was also at the above residence during the time MALES was held.

Officers of the Los Angeles Police Department, after a search of the residence at 2724 South Cimarron, obtained two rifles and one handgun both owned by WILKINS. WILKINS was also booked at the Los Angeles Police Department on the charge of kidnapping MALES. SCOTT, who may be identical with THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT, a member of the LA-SNCC, was not held.

[redacted] (8/6/68)

On August 6, 1968, source indicated that WILKINS was released from the Los Angeles Police Department on August 6, 1968, and all charges were dismissed because the kidnapped victim MALES would not file a complaint against WILKINS. MALES indicated to police officers that he was afraid to make any statement because WILKINS or other members of this organization would kill him.

[redacted] (8/22/68)

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC and Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed by Bureau agents on August 23, 1968.

Date 8/26/68

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Director of Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), was interviewed on August 23, 1968 by Special Agents THEODORE M. GARDNER and JOHN W. WARREN outside LA-SNCC Headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. WILKINS was informed by SA WARREN that he did not have to say anything and that anything he did say may be used against him in a court of law. WILKINS was advised that he had the right to talk to a lawyer of his own choice or anyone else before saying anything at all.

WILKINS was questioned concerning information received by the FBI that LA-SNCC was formulating plans to bomb the FBI Office and additional federal buildings in Los Angeles, California, the Los Angeles Police Department, and the Pacific Telephone Company, also in Los Angeles, California. WILKINS indicated that he had made no statement concerning bombing of the above buildings and installations. He indicated that LA-SNCC has no plans to blow up any buildings in Los Angeles, California.

WILKINS would not volunteer any information concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC, on CARMICHAEL's being dropped from the organization. He did indicate that he planned to attend a Black Panther rally featuring CARMICHAEL in Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, on August 24, 1968.

When questioned concerning the current association between SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP), he indicated that they are cordial and tolerant to each other because of

On 8/23/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-63822

by SA's [redacted] and [redacted] gcw Date dictated 8/26/68

similar views, but they are definitely two separate organizations. He implied that SNCC and BPP in Los Angeles were not as sympathetic as other cities because after dismissing several members of SNCC from the organization they were admitted to membership in the BPP.

WILKINS was questioned concerning FRANK HARDING, a SNCC member and procurer of guns for LA-SNCC, and he related that HARDING had been dismised from LA-SNCC.

WILKINS refused to discuss any information concerning the SNCC Youth Corps, with the exception of stating that it was no longer in existence in LA-SNCC.

He indicated that the FBI and local police agencies were harrassing SNCC around the United States and other black organizations that were opposed to the establishment. The Los Angeles Police Department had arrested numerous LA-SNCC members on trumped-up charges and had attempted to force the LA-SNCC office to close by "gestapo" type tactics. He indicated that he had been recently arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department on charges of kidnaping but these charges were dismissed after he was held one day.

WILKINS related the FBI, all police agencies, and all white men, are the enemy of the black. The only way the Negro is to have freedom is to destroy the white man and his organization. He knew that the FBI was against SNCC because he read a press release by J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the FBI, who stated to Congress that SNCC was a militant, black nationalist organization that was creating racial unrest and advocated the overthrow of society and the Government.

He related that SNCC was not a subversive organization but did not deny its militancy.

He indicated that LA-SNCC is attempting to organize the Negroes in South Los Angeles politically, economically and socially. The emphasis of their current program is political unity in order to get more Negroes elected to office in November.

During the interview, WILKINS was cordial but refused to discuss SNCC, its leadership, membership and financial backing.

X. TRAVEL BY LA-SNCC MEMBERS

[redacted] (5/20/68)

On May 20, 1968, source advised that JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, traveled from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana, to attend the H. RAP BROWN trial being conducted in New Orleans, Louisiana, in May 1968.

On May 23, 1968, an article entitled "A Scary Saturday Afternoon" appeared in the Los Angeles Sentinel, a Los Angeles, California, newspaper which indicated that four LA-SNCC members, GEORGE HOPKINS, MARIE BELL, TYLOMAR CHANNEL, and STEPHANIE MC CREMMIN, were driving from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana, to attend the H. RAP BROWN trial in that city.

[redacted] (6/3/68)

On May 27, 1968, MIKE SEALS, RENE HARDING, TONY AUBREY, and SHELLY SMITH, all members of LA-SNCC, were arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana.

[redacted] (6/3/68)

On May 27, 1968, SHELLY ANN SMITH, a member of LA-SNCC, was in Atlanta, Georgia.

On May 17, 1968, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES,III, were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. In their possession at the time of arrest was a United States Passport, Number J497601, issued to MICHAEL SEALS on April 30, 1968, and passport applications for JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES.

The passport application of FLOYD indicates countries to be visited as England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Ghana. The passport application of RAINES lists countries to be visited as France, Tanzania, and Germany, with anticipated departure of July for a six-month period.

[redacted] (7/23/68)

[redacted] (8/7/68)

On August 7, 1968, source indicated that CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and MIKE SEALS of LA-SNCC would be traveling through New Orleans to attend the Third National Conference on Black Power to be held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in August 1968.

XI. ACTIVITIES INDICATING THE MILITANCY AND REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF LA-SNCC

On May 17, 1968, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, III, JOHNNIE EDSON BAILES, III, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana, when they attempted to jump their motel bill at a Negro motel and for possession of stolen property. In a subsequent search, marijuana was located and they were charged with possession of narcotics.

The following weapons were located by the New Orleans Police Department in attache cases carried by the above LA-SNCC members. The New Orleans Police Department was unable to identify these weapons with a particular individual:

One Browning automatic pistol,
Nine millimeters
Serial Number T149166

One Astra automatic,
Nine millimeters
Serial Number 9923

One Llama automatic,
Nine millimeters
Serial Number 31624

One CR automatic,
Nine millimeters,
(similar to Astra in design)
Serial Number 1117

The New Orleans Police Department also obtained in a search of these attache cases, the following information on sabotage and guerrilla warfare tactics:

...ctions for a Gu...

...mands of war, we will ... [illegible]

...do with the ... [illegible]

...re of the ... [illegible] ... barricades will ... [illegible] ... very ... [illegible] ... of furniture, ... [illegible]

...efense of the city ... [illegible]

...f with the ... [illegible] ... congress ... [illegible] ... armed will ... [illegible] ... are ready to ... [illegible]

...f the ... [illegible] ... attacking ... [illegible]

...busy ... [illegible] ... supply ... [illegible]

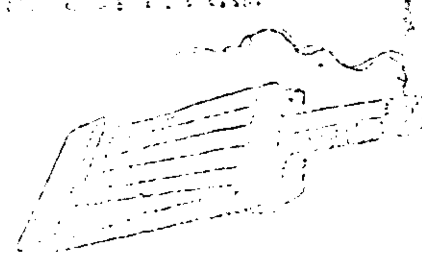
...passed ... [illegible]

...at the enemy ... [illegible] ... oil can be ... [illegible] ... the enemy ... [illegible]

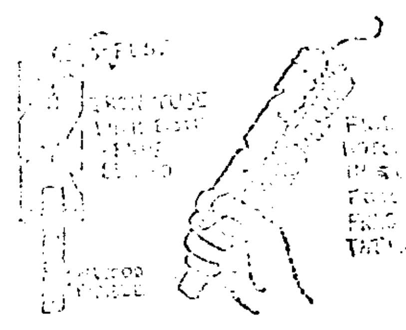
...a ... [illegible]

...type of defense ... [illegible] ... City ... [illegible] ... passing.

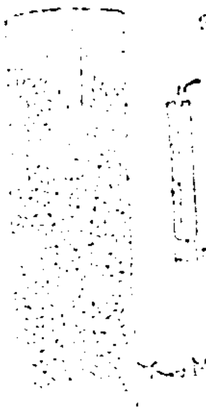
... BOTTLE IS FILLED WITH ... OIL. A FUSE IS INSERTED ... THE FUSE IS LIGHTED ... BREAK- ... THE ... WILL BE UNABLE TO EXTINGUISH IT WITH WATER.



A LIGHTED CIGARETTE IS PLACED IN A BOOK OF MATCHES AND LEFT ON COMBUSTIBLE MATERIAL.

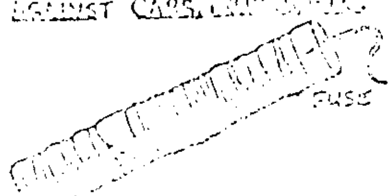


INCENDIARY TIME BOMB



A CARDBOARD OR IRON TUBE IS FILLED WITH A MIXTURE CONSISTING OF 1/2 POTASSIUM CHLORATE AND 1/2 SUGAR AND IS SEALED. A GLASS TUBE IS FILLED WITH SULPHURIC ACID AND SEALED WITH PAPER ... THE TUBE, STOPPERED AND ... INTO THE TUBE. THE ACID WILL EAT THROUGH THE PAPER AND IGNITE THE POTASSIUM CHLORATE-SUGAR MIXTURE.

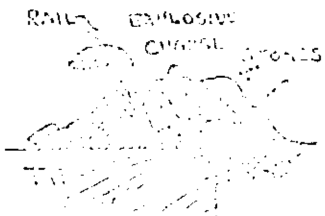
BOMB TO BE USED AGAINST CARS, TRUCKS, ETC.



STICKS OF DYNAMITE ARE WRAPPED WITH TAPE, WIRE, AND ... TAPE.

TO DESTROY RAILROADS:

DESTRUCTION OF RAILROADS IN VARIOUS LOCATIONS ... TRAFFIC ... TO DIVERT MEN AND MATERIAL FOR REPAIRS AND GUARD DUTY.

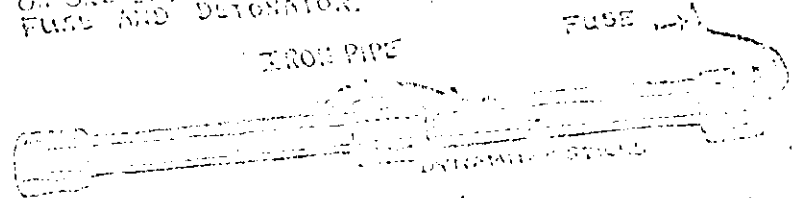




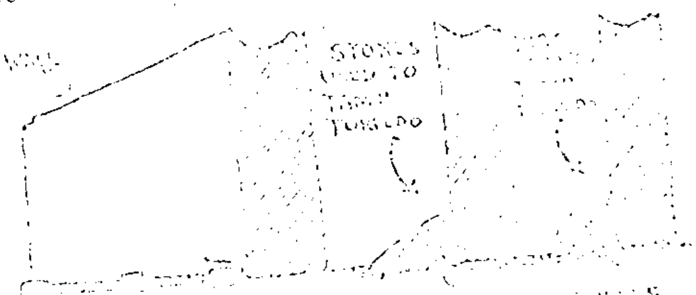
SET CHARGES SO AS TO MAKE REPAIRS MOST DIFFICULT.

BANGALORE TORPEDO:

CONSISTS OF LENGTHS OF PIPE FILLED WITH STICKS OF DYNAMITE, SEALED AT THE ENDS, AND JOINED IN THE MIDDLE BY COUPLINGS THUS PERMITTING THE TORPEDO TO BE OF VARYING LENGTHS. THE CAP ON ONE END HAS A HOLE WHICH PERMITS INSERTION OF FUSE AND DETONATOR.



THESE TORPEDOES ARE VERY EFFECTIVE ... USED IN DESTROYING CONCRETE COLUMNS, ..., ETC.



THIS TORPEDO IS USED TO DESTROY ... RAMPARTS, LARGE WOODEN OR ... DOORS.

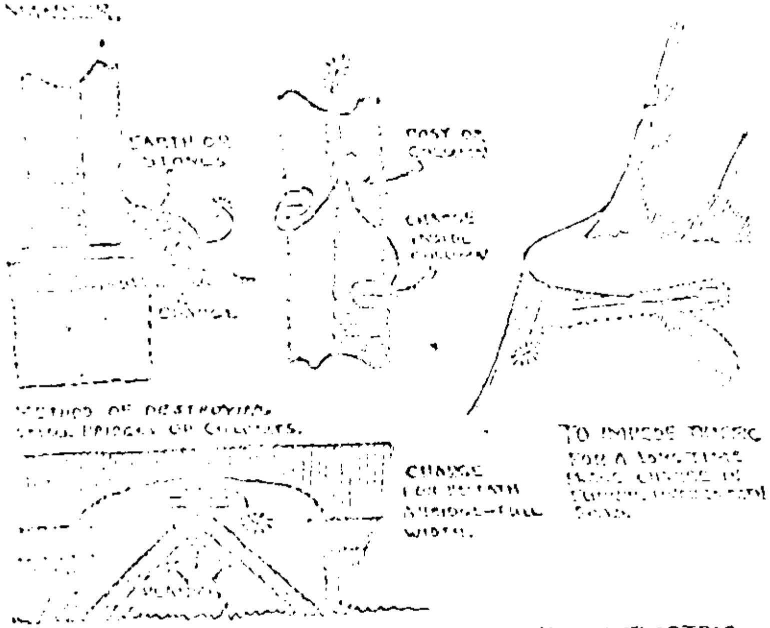
TO SABOTAGE AUTO ...



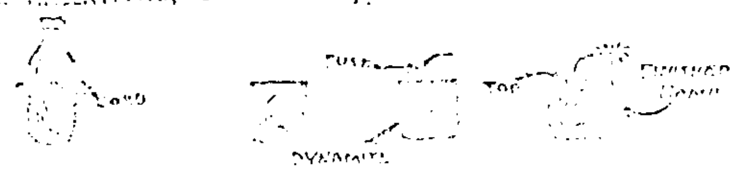
... OF ... SPIKES ... TO ... TRAFFIC. THEY SHOULD BE BLACK ... SO AS NOT TO REFLECT LIGHT.

[illegible]

IN ORDER TO DESTROY COLUMNS, PILLARS, POSTS, THE EXPLOSIVE CHARGES ARE FIXED IN THE INDICATED MANNER.

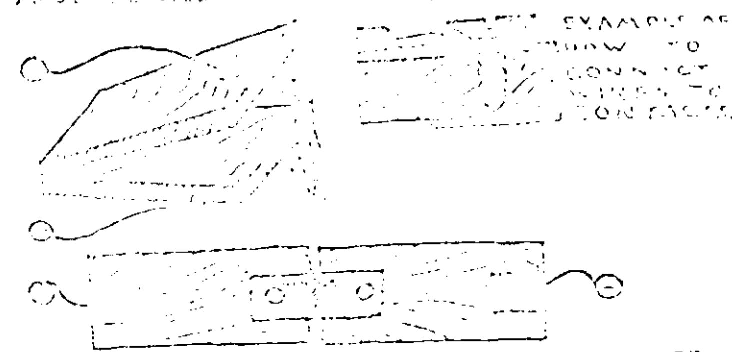


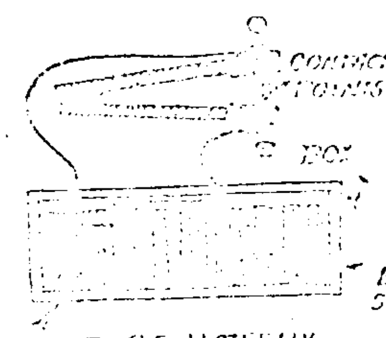
BOMB USED TO SABOTAGE MOTORS, DYNAMOS, ELECTRIC INSTALLATIONS, GENERATORS, MACHINERY, ETC.



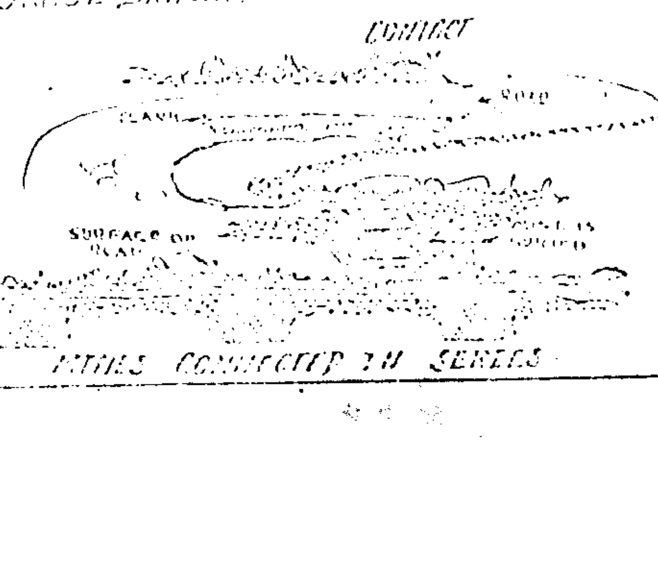
A PIECE OF CORD, SOAKED IN GASOLINE OR ALCOHOL, IS TIED AROUND THE BOTTLE AND IGNITED [illegible] WILL CUT THE BOTTLE IN TWO. THE BOTTOM PART OF THE BOTTLE IS THEN FILLED WITH DYNAMITE, A FUSE & DETONATOR IS INSERTED INTO THE DYNAMITE AND THE BOTTLE SEALED. IT IS PLACED ON WHATEVER IS TO BE DAMAGED AND SECURED IN ANY APPROPRIATE MANNER. WHEN IT EXPLODES THERE WILL BE A [illegible] UP TO SIX INCHES WITH THE DIAMETER OF THE BOMB DEPENDENT ON THE CONE OF THE BOTTLE.

[illegible] USED TO BLOW UP AUTOS, [illegible] AND LIGHT TRUCKS. STRONG CHARGES MUST BE USED TO INSURE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION.

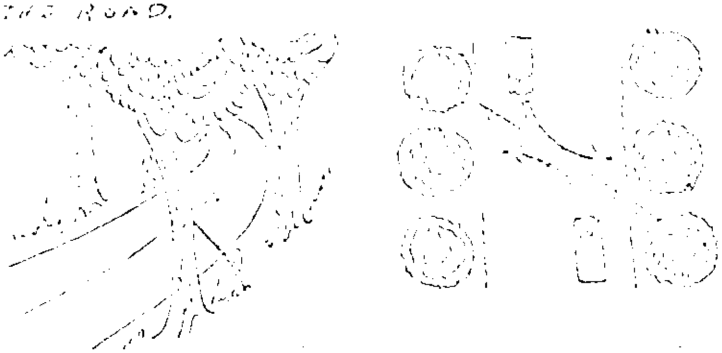


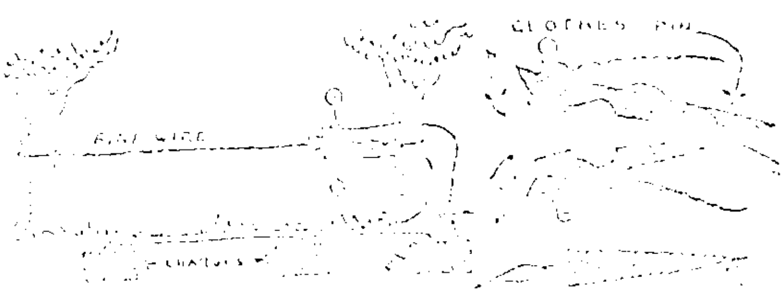


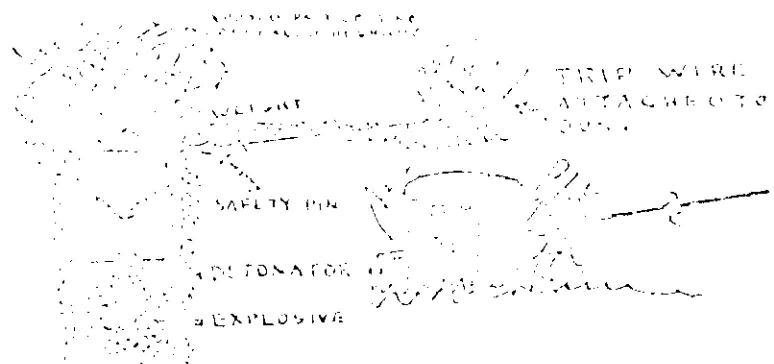
CONTACTS ARE PLACED ON TWO PIECES OF WOOD CONNECTED BY A THIN SHEET OF METAL ACTING AS A SPRING-HINGE. PRESSURE CLOSES THE CIRCUIT & THE MINE EXPLODES. [illegible]

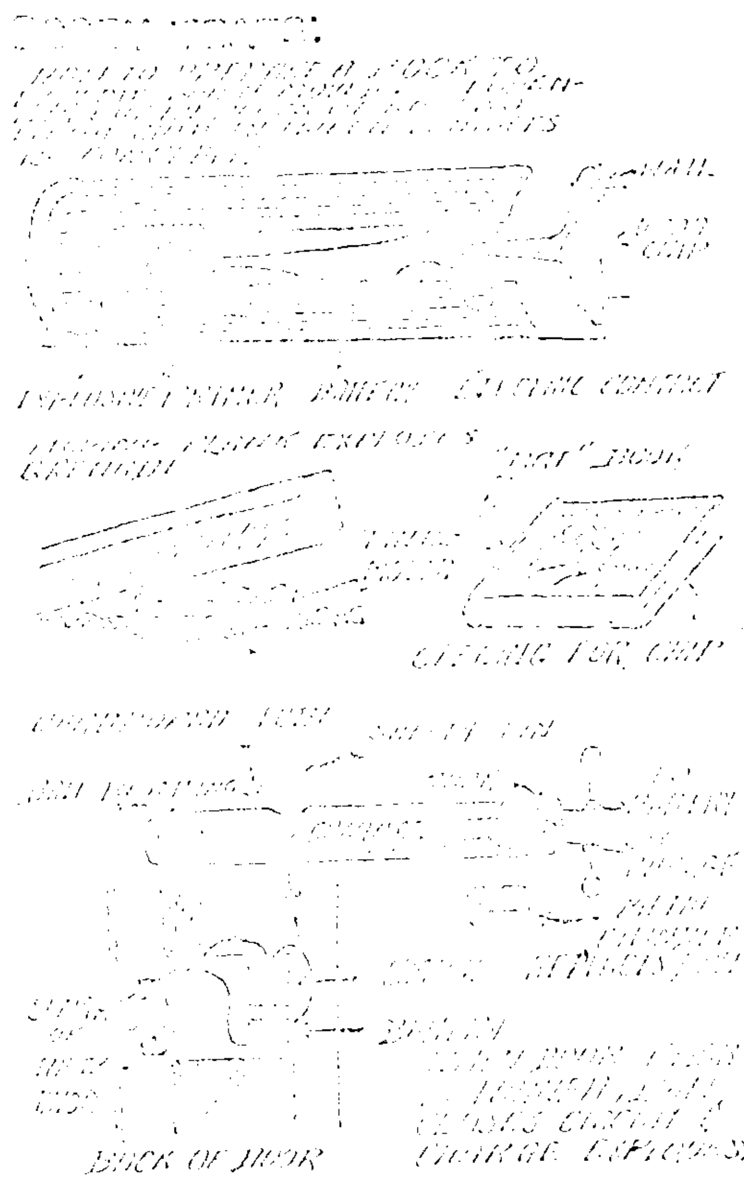


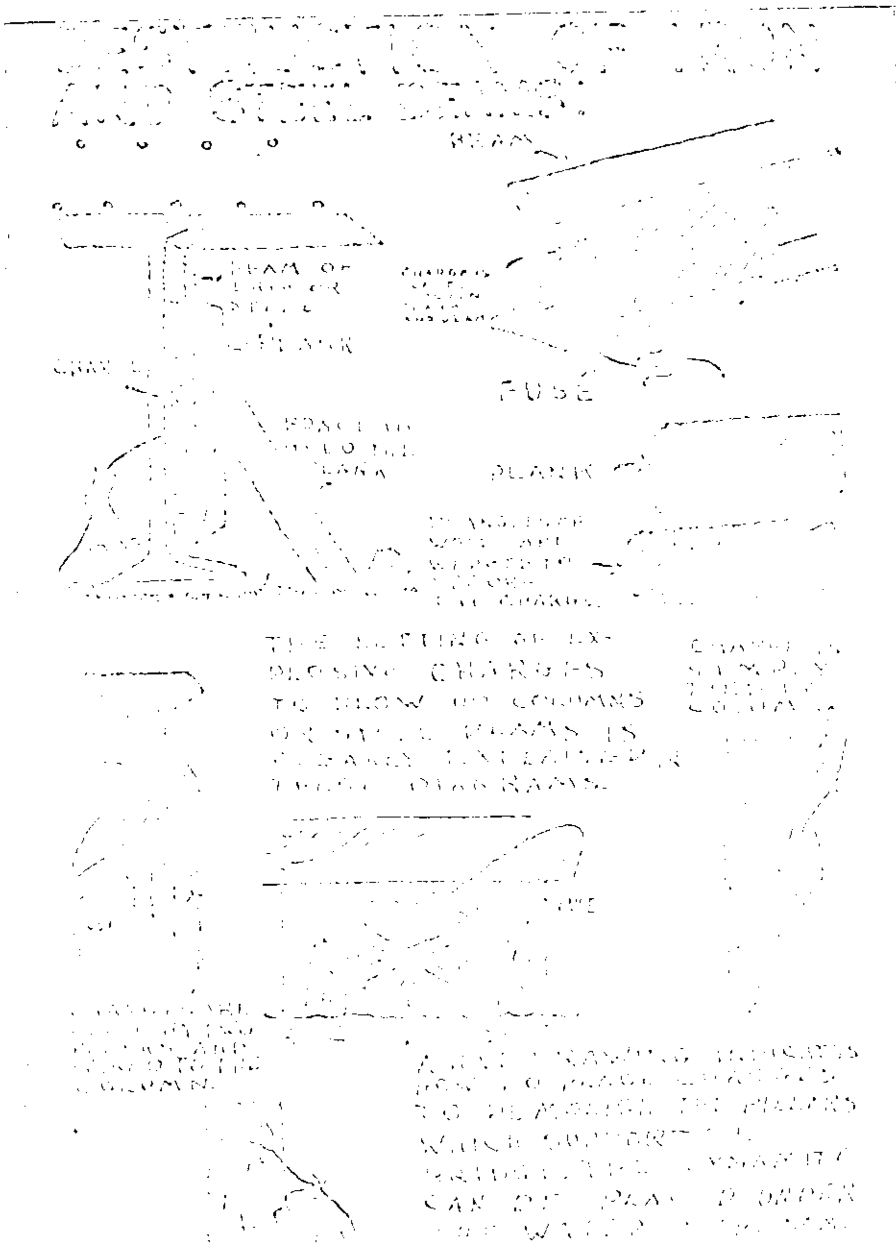
DURING THE NIGHT A GREASED STEEL CABLE WHICH DOES NOT REFLECT LIGHT IS STRUNG DIAGONALLY ACROSS THE ROAD—ABOUT A FOOT AND A HALF HIGH. WHEN A VEHICLE HITS THE CABLE, IT WILL SKID OFF THE ROAD.

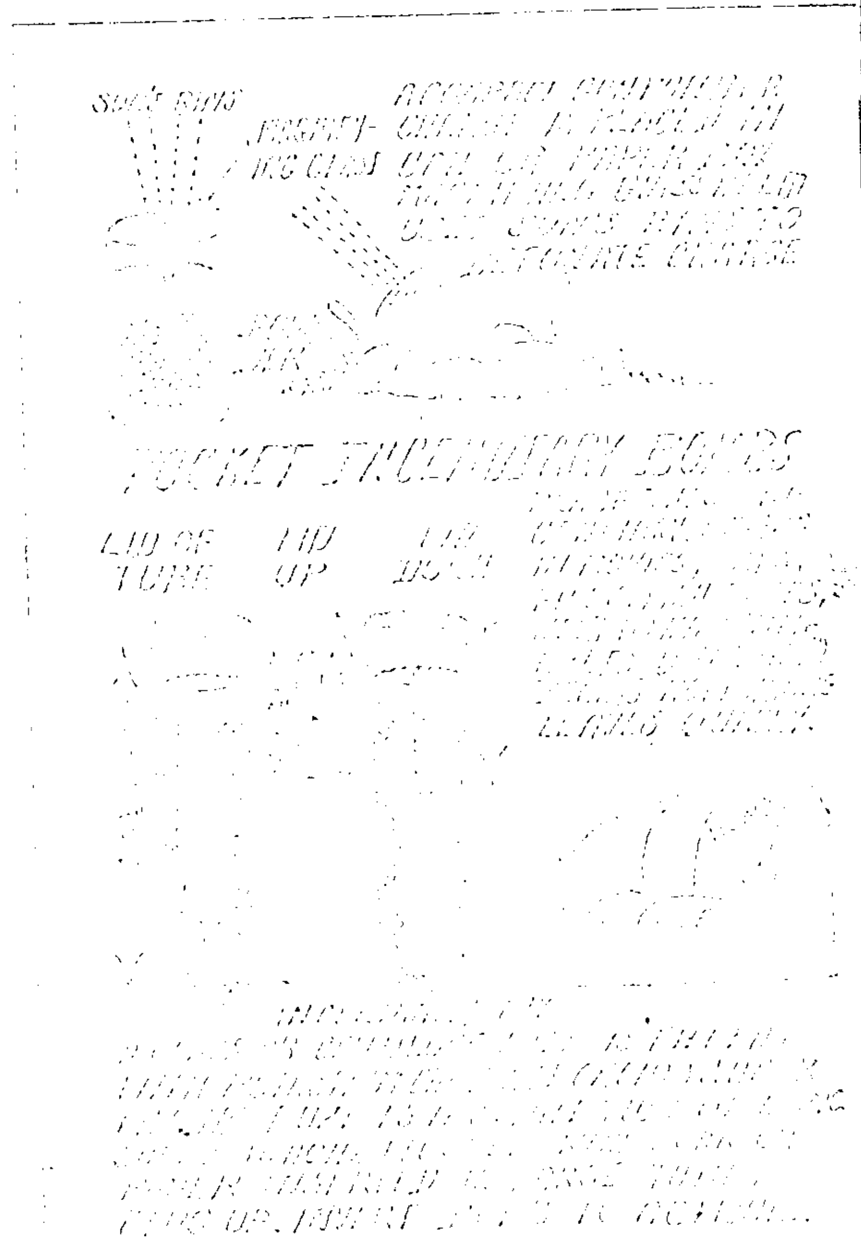




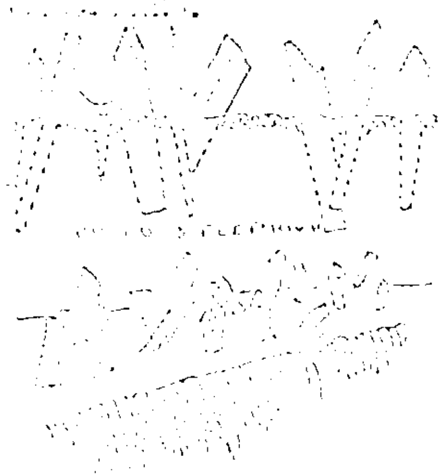





BEAM
FUSE
PLANK


POCKET INCENDIARY BOMBS
LID OF TUBE
LID UP

[illegible]



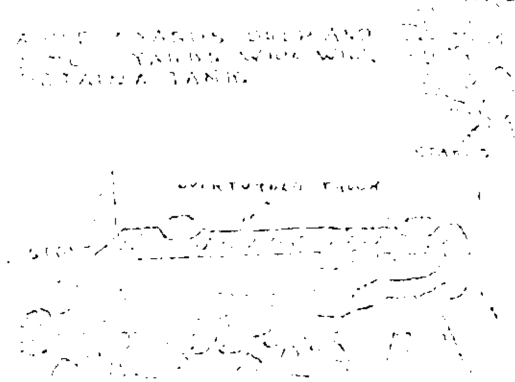
TREE TRUNKS, PILES OF RAILWAY [illegible] IRON [illegible] ARE [illegible] TANKS, AS [illegible] AND STEPS. OCCASIONALLY [illegible] TANKS MAY BE STOPPED [illegible] THEY ARE SLOWED TO THE POINT OF MAKING THEM GOOD TARGETS FOR HAND GRENADES, BAZOOKAS, MOLOTOV COCKTAILS, ETC.

TANK TRAP

A HOLE [illegible] 7 YDS LONG AND [illegible] YDS WIDE IS COVERED WITH WEAK PLANKS AND DISGUISED WITH DIRT AND RUBBLE.

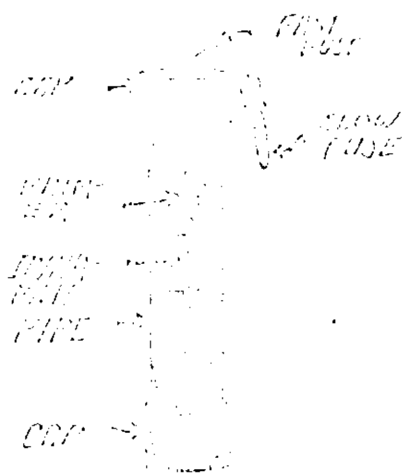


[illegible] TANK.

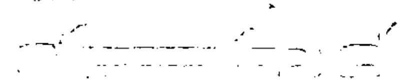


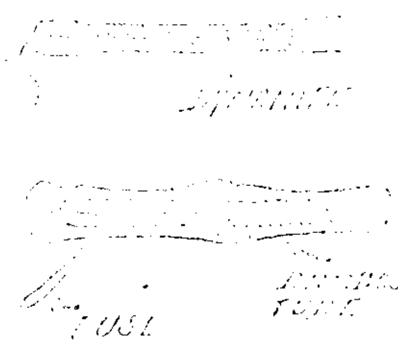
[illegible] WITH [illegible] EFFECTIVE AGAINST LIGHT [illegible]

THE "HIPPLE"

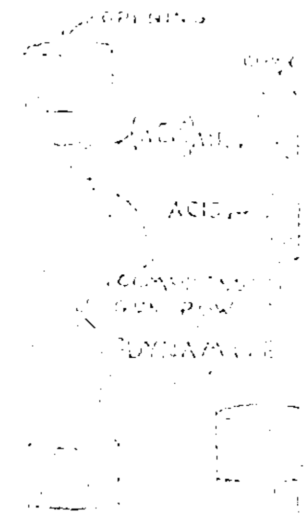


"HIPPLE" JR.

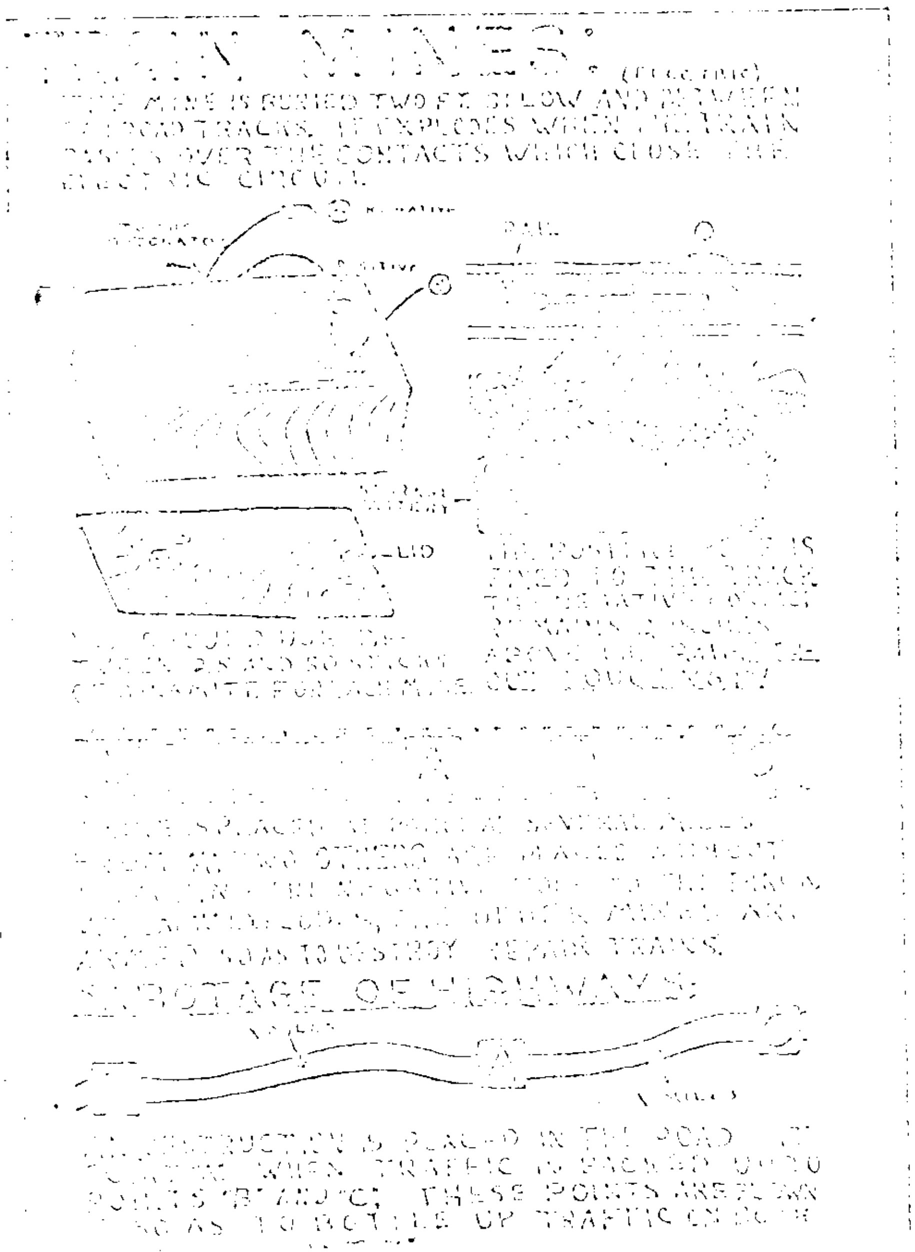




[illegible]



[illegible] PIPE.



63. If the enemy has managed to completely cut off the water supply of the city we occupy, what must we do?

If our guerrillas outside the city are unable to clear up or divert the attack of the enemy and we lack water or other supplies, we will concentrate an attack at one point of the enemy line, break through and escape to the mountains.

64. What is the principal concern of a guerrilla fighter?

The principal concern is the care of his rifle, as his rifle is his friend and that which guards his life. The rifle must always be kept clean and well oiled, particularly in an encampment in the country where the dust of the roads tends constantly to dirty weapons.

65. What is the maximum period of time that a guerrilla should be in one place?

Three days is the maximum period of time to stay in one place. By the third day, camp should be moved a considerable distance from where it was.

66. What are the skills that a perfect guerrilla fighter should have?

Know how to shoot a pistol, revolver, rifle and machine-gun.

Handle a knife and club well.

Know how to throw a knife accurately for a long distance.

Ride a horse, bicycle and drive an automobile.

Construct and throw bombs.

Speak on the telephone.

Typewrite.

Draw rough plans.

XII. GLOSSARY

FRANKLIN [illegible] ALEXANDER

[redacted] (1/11/68)

Source indicated that ALEXANDER is a member of the SCDCP.

STANLEY ALEXANDER, also known as "Deacon"

[redacted] (2/13/68)

Source indicated that STANLEY ALEXANDER is a member of the SCDCP.

Described in SNCC literature as young black leader who was one of the first members of the SNCC Youth Corps, and is involved in the black draft resistance movement.

[illegible] ALLEN

[redacted] [illegible]/11/68)

Source advised that CLARENCE ALLEN is an office secretary for LA-SNCC.

[illegible] ASHLEY

[redacted] [illegible]/11/68)

Source indicated that ASHLEY is a member and officer of LA-SNCC.

[illegible], also known as H. Rap Brown

Publicly known as National Chairman of SNCC.

[illegible]

[redacted] [illegible]/68)

Source advised that CHA[illegible] is a member of LA-SNCC and is part of the LA-SNCC security force.

ANGELA Y. DAVIS

[redacted] ([illegible]/1[illegible]/68)

DAVIS was formerly known as a member of SNCC.

RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT, also known as Ron Karenga

Chairman of US. (see appendix)

JOHN [illegible] FLOYD

In the LA-SNCC literature, FLOYD has been given the title of organizer, secretary-treasurer.

[redacted] ([illegible]/1[illegible]/68)

Source advised that FLOYD is presently a representative for the Black Congress.

CHARLES [illegible]

[redacted] ([illegible]/1[illegible]/68)

Source indicated that CHARLES [illegible] is a member of LA-SNCC.

BARBARA [illegible], also known as [illegible]

[redacted] ([illegible]/1[illegible]/68)

Source indicated that [illegible] is currently secretary and program chairman for LA-SNCC.

FRANK C. [illegible]

[redacted] ([illegible]/16/68)

Source indicated that [illegible] is the spouse of BARBARA [illegible] ([illegible]) and is a member of LA-SNCC [redacted]

WILLIAM [illegible] HAYES, JR.

[redacted] (5/15/[illegible])

HAYES is considered a spokesman for LA-SNCC and is a constant companion of former LA-SNCC Chairman JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD.

[illegible]

[redacted] (5/16/[illegible])

[illegible] is office secretary and former assistant treasurer of LA-SNCC.

[illegible]

[redacted] ([illegible])

Source indicated that [illegible] is a security officer for [illegible] and has been arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms at SNCC headquarters.

[illegible]

[redacted] (5/16/[illegible])

[illegible] is a member of LA-SNCC.

[illegible]

[redacted] (5/16/[illegible])

[illegible] is a member of LA-SNCC.

[illegible]

[redacted] ([illegible]/16/[illegible])

Source indicated that [illegible] is LA-SNCC photographer and writer [illegible] of their pamphlets.

MICHAEL [illegible] SEALS

[illegible]

Source indicated SEALS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters and charged with possession of loaded firearms. He has been arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department in the past for assault and battery.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Source advised on April 6, 19[illegible], that [illegible] is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested at their headquarters for possession of loaded firearms.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is a [illegible] of LA-SNCC.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Source indicated that [illegible] was arrested on April 6, [illegible], at LA-SNCC headquarters for interfering in the arrest of three SNCC security officers.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Source furnished literature on April 8, 1968, which indicated that [illegible] is a staff worker for LA-SNCC.

[illegible]

[illegible]

On May 15, 1968, source indicated that WILLIAMS is a member of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LE [illegible] WILKINS, also known as Brother Crooke

[illegible] (…/21/…)

Source indicated that WILKINS at one time was listed in SNCC literature as president of LA-SNCC but has recently been reported in SNCC pamphlets as being spokesman and leader.

[illegible] (…/11/6…)
(…/13/6…)
(…/1…/68)

WILKINS is Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC organization and Director of LA-SNCC.

STANLEY [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (…/1…/…)

Source furnished a LA-SNCC brochure which listed WRIGHT as a student of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas. He is alleged to have killed a Houston policeman and is presently on the West Coast to speak on college campuses for SNCC.

[illegible] SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

XIII. APPENDIX

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 3421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 8, 195[illegible], that the [illegible] of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 293[illegible] W[illegible] [illegible] Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetin[illegible] [illegible] Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. [illegible] and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communi[illegible] [illegible] follow the Communist Party line. Communist front gro[illegible] [illegible] is distributed at the church. The church is used by [illegible] Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the [illegible] for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Univer[illegible] Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the [illegible] since [illegible].

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the [illegible] Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, [illegible], page [illegible], as a very active "Communist fronter" and [illegible] with current "Communist front organizations and activities".

[illegible] in the First Unitarian Church [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 74[illegible] South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director [illegible] LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 28, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are [illegible] in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officials were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one 12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officials were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director [illegible] and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department [illegible] four automatic weapons in [illegible] carried on these persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerrilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

MAY DAY COMMITTEE, aka [illegible]
United May Day Committee

A source advised on May 8, 1966, that the May Day Celebration in Los Angeles, in recent years, (excepting 19[illegible]) has been covertly organized by the leadership of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) using the name May Day Committee, United May Day Committee, "Committee for the [illegible] of May Day", or variations thereof. Source advised that no actual committee is formed for this purpose, but an appropriate name is selected for purposes of promotion and sponsorship of the celebration. The actual arrangements for the celebrations [illegible] usually been made by LEN [illegible] [illegible] of the SCDCP, [illegible] and DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, SCDCP, sharing [illegible] for [illegible] the celebration and [illegible] the "[illegible]". [illegible] through the rally are usually [illegible] the SCDCP to [illegible] current [illegible]. In 1958, the May Day Celebration was openly [illegible] by the SCDCP.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

"US"
Also Known As
"US", Incorporated

"US" was chartered by the State of California as a non-profit corporation in September, 1966 with offices at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. The corporate charter alleges that "US" is primarily an Afro-American cultural organization.

During the spring of 1968, however, a source advised that MAULANA RON KARENGA, true name Ronie McKinley Everett, Founder-Chairman of "US", has published a booklet entitled, The Quotable Karenga, in which he talks of revolution, black power and condemns Christianity for the plight of the black man.

In this booklet, KARENGA stated: "...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. ...The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. ...When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are. ..."

The above source advised that "US" members are required to study and memorize this booklet. "US" members are also assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

A second source advised that KARENGA has spoken at various meetings in Los Angeles, at which time he has talked of creating an "US" army of 1,000 men, obtaining weapons and ammunition, guerrila warfare tactics and revolution. KARENGA has also stated, "The only way to get life is to take a life and as we get stronger we will take what we want from the white man's United States." He also stated that if the police killed any "US" members, the "US" organization would kill some of them.

The first source above advised that KARENGA has also stated that recent race riots throughout the country were not riots but were actually revolts or revolutions and that the black people are going to win their freedom by violence if necessary.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

"US"
Also Known As
"US", Incorporated

A third source advised that KARENGA has stated that a revolution will take place in the near future and that no one can believe in black revolution without believing in armed conflict because the two go hand in hand.

The first source above advised that the "US" organization has approximately 20 militant, hard-core members, a number of whom during the past year have been arrested for possession of incendiary devices, attempted arson, armed robbery and burglary. "US" members are known to carry firearms. There are an estimated additional 200 individuals, ranging in age from 4 to 40, who are known to attend meetings and social activities sponsored by "US" and which are closed to anyone not of the Negro race.

Recently, the "US" organization opened an affiliate office in San Diego, California.

The word "US" refers to the personal pronoun and is not an abbreviation.

APPENDIX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	12/18/68	9/19/68 - 12/9/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted] TYPED BY: sjg

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM

REFERENCE: Los Angeles report of SA [redacted] dated 9/19/68.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

SHERMONT LE GRANT BANKS, Director of the Black Panther Party, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by SAs [redacted] and [redacted].

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value, and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					NONE	ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

63

REC 29

REC 12

EX 10

SEE COVER PAGE - B -

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notation:

★ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O—273

LA 100-63822

Copies Made:

10 - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6483)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions, submit a supplemental report on this organization within 90 days of this report.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
	100-63822-1607 -1625 Orally to SA 12/9/68, instant report, page 3
	Orally to SA 12/9/68, instant report, page 3
	100-63822-1581

LA 100-63822

SOURCE	LOCATION
	100-63822-1443 -1591
	100-63822-1580 -1646
	100-63822-1627 -1634
	100-63822-1629

- D* -
COVER PAGE

FD-20. (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

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1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

Report of: [illegible]
Office: Los Angeles, California
Date: 12/1[illegible]/[illegible]

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LASNCC) Headquarters located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, aka Brother Crook, Director of LASNCC, and also Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Finances, program, and activities of LASNCC set forth. Travel of LASNCC members and connection with other organizations reported. LASNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CON[illegible] ARM[illegible] AND [illegible]OUS.

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

LA 100-63822

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details, are characterized in the "Glossary" of this report.

I. LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LASNCC) HEADQUARTERS

[redacted] (12/[illegible]/68)
(12/9/68)

On December 9, 1968, the above sources indicated that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LASNCC)(See Appendix) Headquarters are located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, with telephone number [illegible]-3300.

II. OFFICERS

[redacted] (10/[illegible]/68)

[redacted] (8/26/68)

On August 26, 1968, the source indicated that RONALD [illegible] WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook, Director of LASNCC, was appointed as a Deputy Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in June 1968, at a SNCC conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

(12/9/68)
(12/9/68)

On December 9, 1968, the above sources indicated that the following persons are the current officers of LASNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
Director

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT
Program Coordinator

CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS
Protocol Officer

SANDRA SCOTT
Secretary

Source One indicated that on the above date, MICHAEL SEALS was Editor for LASNCC.

III. MEMBERSHIP

On August 13, 1968, SHERMONT LE GRAND BANKS, Director of the Black Panther Party (BPP)(See Appendix) in Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by agents of the FBI at his residence, 2105½ East El Segundo Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. During the interview, BANKS indicated that the SNCC organization in Los Angeles was, "a dead organization and most of the former SNCC members were now members of the BPP." He related that the local SNCC organization had approximately three or four members.

(10/15/68)

[redacted] (10/25/68)

[redacted] (12/9/68)
(12/9/68)

On December 9, 1968, sources indicated the following persons are currently members of LASNCC:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT
CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS
MICHAEL SEALS
SANDRA SCOTT

Source One indicated that RONALD TAYLOR was a recent member of LASNCC.

IV. FINANCES

[redacted] (10/25/68)

On October 16, 1968, the source advised that LASNCC was in need of financial support and it has been attempting to sponsor fund raising affairs to raise funds for the organization.

[redacted] (11/12/68)

On August 13, 1968, SHERMONT LE GRANT BANKS, Director of the BPP in Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by agents of the FBI and indicated that the local office of SNCC was, "a dead organization," and one of the reasons that the organization has been unable to operate is because of the lack of finances. .

[REDACTED] (12/9/68)
(12/9/68)

On December 9, 1968, the above sources related that SNCC has been unable to raise sufficient funds to meet their rent at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and may have to close their headquarters.

V. LASNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED] (8/22/68)

On August 13, 1968, the above source furnished a brochure, which contained the projects and program presently being conducted by LASNCC. This brochure is as follows:

NATIONAL S.N.C.C. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES

PROJECT # 1 - LEGAL DEFENSE - MEDICAL CADRE

A committee committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aid to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work, i.e. accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on-the-job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT # 2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aid our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis, however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT # 3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black Community of events which directly

effect our sur . . . Also, it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the white press! Informing Black people of information and services is vital to our survival.

The newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of Black people.

PROJECT # 4 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self- Defense. We will form rifle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of our community. Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the Martial arts - our survival depends on this.

PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGE STATIONS

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people throughout the community will be instructed in first aid and will in turn come back into the community and teach other Brothers and Sisters.

PROJECT # 6 - AFRO-AMERICAN SKILLS BANK

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be initiated,

hopefully, throughout the Third World. and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

PROJECT # 7 -NBAWADU (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION)

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance throughout the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives and an escape mechanism.

[redacted] (8/22/68)

[redacted] (8/20/68)

On August 20, 1968, the source obtained several pamphlets edited by LASNCC near LASNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. These pamphlets contained information concerning fund raising affairs and dances to be held by LASNCC in August 1968.

[redacted] (8/20/68)

On August 17, 1968, the source observed RONALD LEROY WILKINS and CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS entering the LASNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (8/27/68)

[redacted] (8/20/68)

On August 20, 1968, the source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS and THOMAS D. SCOTT, members of LASNCC, on August 4, 1968, were arrested and charged with kidnaping a male Negro teenager and holding him prisoner at the residence of TOMMIE SCOTT, 2724 South Cimmaron Street, Los Angeles, California. When officers of the Los Angeles Police Department went to the location of

SCOTT's residence and freed the Negro youth, they searched the residence and obtained a 9mm pistol registered to RONALD LEROY WILKINS. The kidnaping charges were later dismissed.

(9/22/68)

(9/2?/68)

On September 17, 1968, MICHAEL WILLIAMS of LASNCC, related that SNCC was attempting to form chapters of the organization in various cities around Los Angeles.

(10/1?/68)

(10/1/68)

(10/1?/6?)

[redacted] (10/25/68)

[redacted] (10/21/68)

On October 19, 1968, a fund raising reception, sponsored by LASNCC, was held at 1450 Carla Ridge, Beverly Hills, California, honoring PHILIP HUTCHINS, the National Program Director for SNCC.

[redacted] (10/24/68)

On October 24, 1968, the source indicated that LASNCC members had been contacted by the National SNCC Headquarters to contact the Negro Olympic track and field stars to inform them that they should propagandize against the Olympics held in Mexico in 1968.

VI. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SNCC AND LASNCC

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great".

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

VII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On August 13, 1968, SHERMONT LE GRANT BANKS, Director of the BPP of Los Angeles, was interviewed at his residence, 2105½ East El Segundo Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, by Special Agents of the FBI. BANKS related that there is little cooperation between the BPP and the SNCC.

BLACK STUDENT UNION (BSU)

The BSU is a militant black nationalist student based organization.

[redacted] (10/4/68)

BLACK CONGRESS (BC)

The BC is an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] (8/27/68)

On August 14, 1968, the BC held a demonstration protesting police brutality in front of City Hall in Downtown Los Angeles. TOMMIE SCOTT, a member of LASNCC, was one of the speakers at the demonstration.

(10/17/68)

On October 17, 1968, the source furnished a letter from LASNCC directed to the BC, which related LASNCC's reasons for resigning from that organization. It indicates that the BC, located at 7228 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California, is exploiting the black community and not living up to the expectations for which it was created.

WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE
(WSP) (See Appendix)

(9/12/68)

LOS ANGELES LOCAL SOCIALIST
WORKER'S PARTY (LAL - SWP)
(See Appendix)

(10/23/68)

(10/18/68)
10/18/68
10/30/68
10/28/68

VIII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[REDACTED] (8/26/68)

On August 26, 1968, the source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, the Director of LASNCC, was appointed Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC organization, in Atlanta, Georgia, in June 1968.

[REDACTED] (10/18/68)
(10/18/68)
(10/22/68)
(10/30/68)

[REDACTED] (10/21/68)

On October 19, 1968, a fund raising party sponsored by LASNCC was held at 1[illegible]50 Carla Ridge, Beverly Hills, California. PHILLIP HUTCHINGS, the National Program Director for SNCC, was the honored guest and spoke concerning the reorganization of the SNCC.

[REDACTED] (12/[illegible]/68)
(12/[illegible]/68)

On December 9, 1968, the above sources related that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LASNCC, is a National Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

IX. TRAVEL BY SNCC MEMBERS

PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS,
Program Director of SNCC

[redacted] (8/14/68)
(8/28/68)

On August 13, 1968, the sources indicated that BROTHER CROOK, whose true name is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of SNCC, was made National Deputy Chairman of SNCC in June 1968, at Atlanta, Georgia.

[redacted] (10/4/68)

On October 4, 1968, the source indicated that PHILIP HUTCHINS, the National Director of SNCC, was in Los Angeles, California, in October 1968, on speaking engagements for the SNCC organization.

[redacted] (10/10/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (10/16/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (10/22/68)

[redacted]

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED] (11/6/68)

On November 6, 1968, the source indicated that PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS, Program Director for SNCC, was in Los Angeles, California, in October 1968.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS,
Director of LASNCC and
Deputy Chairman of
National SNCC

[REDACTED] (10/2[illegible]/68)

On October 2[illegible], 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC, was on the East Coast attending a meeting of the National SNCC organization in Maryland.

[REDACTED] (11/4/68)

On November 14, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LASNCC, attended a meeting of the Central Committee of SNCC, in Baltimore, Maryland, from October [illegible], to October 30, 1968.

[REDACTED] (11/6/68)

On November 6, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, a Deputy Chairman of SNCC, attended a meeting of the Central Committee of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, from October 28, to October 30, 1968.

[REDACTED] (11/20/68)

X. GLOSSARY

CLARICE ALLEN

[redacted] (10/15/68)

The source indicated that CLARICE ALLEN is a member of LASNCC.

SHERMONT LE GRANT BANKS

[redacted] (12/9/68)

The source indicated that SHERMONT LE GRANT BANKS is the Chairman of the BPP in Los Angeles, California.

[illegible] JOYCE HODGES

[redacted] (5/16/69)

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES is the former Assistant Treasurer of the LASNCC and currently is a member of this organization.

PHILLIP LEROY HUTCHINGS

[redacted] (12/9/68)

The source indicated that PHILLIP LEROY HUTCHINGS is the Program Director of SNCC.

SANDRA SCOTT

[redacted] (12/9/68)

The source indicated that SANDRA SCOTT is Secretary of the LASNCC.

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT

(12/9/68)

The source indicated that THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT is the Program Director of LASNCC.

MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS

(12/9/68)

The source indicated that MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS is Editor for LASNCC.

RONALD TAYLOR

(12/9/68)

The source indicated that RONALD TAYLOR is a member and instr of several classes for LASNCC.

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

(12/9/68)

The source indicated that CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS is the Protocol Officer for LASNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS,
also known as Brother Crook

(12/9/68)

The source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is the Director of LASNCC and a Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

LASNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

XI. APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON M[illegible], which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it".

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at [illegible]106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE, Also Known As Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 27, 1968, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed that year in Washington, D. C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In addition to conducting numerous letter writing campaigns which concern current United States civil rights and foreign policy problems, WSP locally has become quite active in draft counseling and draft leafleting. Counseling, in the form of providing information concerning alternatives to the draft, and distributing leaflets providing this information have taken place on an increasingly consistent pace. Much of the leafleting takes place adjacent to high school campuses and in shopping centers. WSP feels that these methods of opposing United States intervention in Vietnam have been quite effective and more effective than frequent participation in demonstrations protesting the war in Vietnam.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is MARY CLARKE. A second source advised in July, 1955, that CLARKE was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the spring of 1955, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACCP.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
December 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. LA 100-63822

Title	STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTER
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Los Angeles

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	4/15/69	2/17/69 - 4/8/69	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		jr
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM		

REFERENCES: Los Angeles reports of SA [redacted] dated 12/18/68, and 2/25/69.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

WALTER DRUMMOND, former Chairman of the Black Congress, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by confidential sources which could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value, and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions, submit a supplemental report on this organization within 90 days of this report.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted] Orally to SA [redacted] 4/7/69 (instant report)
[redacted]	[redacted] Orally to SA [redacted] 4/7/69 (instant report)
[redacted]	100-63822-1692 -1726
[redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-5 [redacted]	100-63822-1687

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	100-63822-1684
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1748
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1704
[redacted]	100-63822-1689
[redacted]	100-63822-1722
[redacted]	100-63822-1673 -1720
[redacted]	100-63822-1708

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 4/15/69
Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) Headquarters located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350. CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS currently Director of LA-SNCC. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, aka Brother Crook, former Director of LA-SNCC, is Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Finances, program, and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members and connection with other organizations reported. LA-SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

[illegible] automatic [illegible]

LA 100-63822

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details, are characterized in the "Glossary" of this report.

I. LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC) HEADQUARTERS

[redacted] (4/7/69)
(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC)(See Appendix) Headquarters are located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, with telephone number 778-3350.

II. OFFICERS

[redacted] (2/7/69)

[redacted] (2/27/69)

On February 27, 1969, source indicated that MIKE WILLIAMS, whose true name is CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, was recently made Director of LA-SNCC, replacing BROTHER CROOK, who is a Deputy Chairman of SNCC for the West Coast, because BROTHER CROOK has been traveling extensively outside of Los Angeles, and has been unable to handle the affairs of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (3/14/69)

On March 14, 1969, source advised that CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS was Director of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (4/7/69)
(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated the following persons are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS
Director

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT
Program Coordinator

BOBBIE HODGES
Officer

III. MEMBERSHIP

[redacted] (12/16/68)

In December 1968, LAMAR CHAMBELL, CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, and PHYLLIS WILLIAMS, were members of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (12/23/68)

In December 1968, source advised that RONALD LEROY WILLIAMS, CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, LAMAR CHAMBELL, and BOBBIE HODGES were members of LA-SNCC.

On February 7, 1969, WALTER BREMOND, former Chairman of the Black Congress, 6002 Ladera Park Avenue, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI at his residence, and he indicated that LA-SNCC was a former member of the Black Congress. He indicated that LA-SNCC had withdrawn from the Black Congress, and it was his opinion that SNCC is "dead" in Los Angeles. The membership of LA-SNCC was estimated to be at approximately four or five people.

The Black Congress is an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

(4/7/69)
(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, sources indicated the following persons are currently members or associated with LA-SNCC;

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT
CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS
LAMAR CHARNELL
BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

Source One indicated that PHYLIS WILLIAMS is associated with LA-SNCC.

IV. FINANCES

(12/23/68)

(1/7/69)

On January 4, 1969, an article appeared in the "Los Angeles Times," a daily newspaper, entitled "New Negro Group Attacks Three Million Dollar Brotherhood Drive". The article indicated that a campaign was being organized to raise three million dollars to finance improvements in the Los Angeles Black Community. Money raised by this drive would be distributed to numerous organizations in South Los Angeles, which included assistance to LA-SNCC.

(4/3/69)

(4/7/69)
(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources related that LA-SNCC has been unable to raise sufficient funds to meet their rent at 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and are indebted to several merchants in the Negro community.

V. LA-SNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

(11/14/68)

On November 1, 1968, source indicated that LA-SNCC was counseling young Negroes on ways to avoid the military draft.

(12/16/68)

[redacted] (12/18/68)

On December 16, 1968, a teach-in demonstration was held at San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, California, protesting the war in Vietnam. One of the organizations sponsoring the teach-in was LA-SNCC.

[redacted] (12/23/68)

[redacted] (2/3/69)

The "Los Angeles Times" of February 8, 1969, carried an article entitled "1.6 Million Dollar Suit Charges False Arrest", which indicated that RONALD L. WILKINS, 22, and THOMAS D. SCOTT, 23, who identified themselves as officers of LA-SNCC, sued the city Friday for $1,600,070 alleging battery, false arrest, and invasion of privacy. The article went on to say that the two petitioners were taken into custody on August 4, 1968, at SCOTT's apartment, 2724 Cimarron, after 20 police officers surrounded the premises with drawn revolvers and shotguns. They said they were released the next day without being charged.

On February 7, 1969, WALTER BREMOND, former Chairman of the Black Congress, an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California, indicated that LA-SNCC was formerly a member of Black Congress and was now a "dead" organization.

█████ (2/18/69)
█████ (2/12/69)

On the above dates, the sources furnished a pamphlet published by LA-SNCC concerning the organization of self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. The following is the pamphlet furnished by the above sources:

[illegible] DEFENSE CLUBS

[illegible]

FIRST PROJECT

RIFLE AND GUN CLUBS

PURPOSE:

TO EDUCATE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN TO THE PROPER USE AND MAINTENANCE OF FIRE ARMS, (RIFLES, PISTOLS, SHOTGUNS, ETC.)

TO INFORM THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF THE NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPING SELF-DEFENSE CLUBS AT THIS TIME. TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT WE MUST BE CAPABLE OF HANDLING ANY AGGRESSIVE ACT AGAINST US. WE MUST SURVIVE. OUR COMMUNITY AND OUR PEOPLE MUST SURVIVE.

STRUCTURE:

NAME:

COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN CLUB

FEE:

$1.00 A SESSION

FEE WILL GO INTO THE COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN FUND, TO BE USED FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE INSTRUCTOR AND PURCHASING OF EQUIPMENT, ETC.

[illegible]

TEAMS WILL BE GROUPED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE. EACH BROTHER AND SISTER WILL RECEIVE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION IN THE USE AND MAINTENANCE OF EACH WEAPON.

TEAMS WILL BE GROUPED AS FOLLOWS:

GROUP ONE (BROTHERS)..AGES: 8 THRU 15yrs. OLD.

GROUP TWO (BROTHERS) AGES: 16 THRU------

GROUP THREE (SISTERS) AGES: 8 THRU 15yrs. OLD.

GROUP FOUR (SISTERS) AGES: 16 THRU----

ADDITIONS TO SELF DEFENSE CLUB

1. Community Defense Organization (C.D.O.)

PURPOSE:

To eventually become the frame work which the community assumes control of itself. It will encompass the Rifle and Gun Clubs and The Black Karate Clubs. These two Clubs will supply trained men and women to service our community.

PERSPECTIVE:

Community Defense Organization will be an outgrowth of Rifle and Gun Clubs and Black Karate Clubs. It's future will depend on the success of these two clubs. The Community Defense Organization is our perspective Goal.

2. INITIAL FEE:

Initial fee will be $3.50 plus $1.00 per session. The initial $3.50 fee will go to S.N.C.C.

CLASSES

MAINTENANCE OF WEAPONS

THIS CLASS WILL BE HELD ONE DAY DURING THE WEEK. THIS CLASS WILL BE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. AT THIS CLASS YOU WILL BE TAUGHT TO BE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF YOUR WEAPON.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION (FIELD WORK). DATE: CLASSES TO BE HELD SATURDAY MORNING AT 9:30. THIS IS WHERE STUDENTS WILL BE TAUGHT TO SHOOT AND TO APPLY THOSE METHODS DISCUSSED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES WILL ALSO BE HELD.

PERSPECTIVE GOALS:

TO HAVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS BLOCK TEAM IN MOST OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHO ARE CAPABLE OF HANDLING THE S CURITY AND SAFETY OF THE FAMILIES IN THAT SQ. BLOCK AREA. THEY WILL STORE FOOD AND WATER IN EXCASSIVEABLE PLACES IN CASE OF EMERGENCY.

THEY ARE TO BE ABLE TO DRAW UP DEFENSE SYSTEMS AND PLANS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR AREA. THESE PLANS AND STORAGE PLACES MUST MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.N.C.C. SECURITY. THEY ARE TO ALSO SET UP SURVIVAL AND REFUGEE STATIONS WHICH MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.N.C.C. SECURITY.

[redacted] (2/4/69)

[redacted] (2/13/69)

On February 13, 1969, source advised that he was unaware of any attempt of SNCC to organize self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC currently is not large enough to organize a program of this magnitude. After observing the above pamphlet, source related that [illegible] and MIKE, the names mentioned under the heading of the pamphlet, would be CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, also known as [illegible], and CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, also known as Mike.

Source indicated that CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS is an officer of LA-SNCC and CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON is a former member of LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP)(See Appendix).

[redacted] (2/4/69)
(2/13/69)

The above sources, who are familiar with LA-SNCC indicated that they were unaware of any real attempt to organize self-defense clubs and related that they were of the opinion that LA-SNCC does not have the finances or personnel to follow through with the program mentioned above.

[redacted] (2/27/69)

On February 27, 1969, CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, also known as Mike Williams, Director of LA-SNCC, advised that he had recently taken over LA-SNCC, because the former Director, [illegible] CROOK, was involved with the national SNCC organization.

[redacted] (3/14/69)

[redacted]

[redacted] (4/7/69)
(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated that LA-SNCC no longer holds official meetings, but because of its small membership, the only type meetings held are gatherings at the LA-SNCC Office during the day, when their program is discussed.

VI. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SNCC AND LA-SNCC

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great".

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROLD BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

VII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

COMMUNIST PARTY

[redacted] (1/31/69)

[redacted]

LAL-SWP

[redacted] (11/12/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] (12/23/68)

[redacted]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

[redacted] (1/15/69)

On January 15, 1969, source indicated that the LA-SNCC was in contact with the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California.

[redacted] (3/14/69)

On March 14, 1969, source indicated that MIKE WILLIAMS, Director of LA-SNCC, indicated that SNCC and the BPP were attempting to organize students at Los Angeles junior and senior high schools to ban together in order to conduct a mass boycott of all schools in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC was also attempting to coordinate the activities of the Black Students Union (BSU) in the high schools with the BPP.

The BSU is a militant student based black nationalist organization.

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL
(PAC)

[redacted] (1/7/69)

BLACK CONGRESS
(BC)

The BC is an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

On February 7, 1969, WALTER BREMOND, former Chairman of the BC, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI. BREMOND indicated during the interview that LA-SNCC was a member of the BC, but had withdrawn its membership from the BC in the early part of 1969. He indicated that LA-SNCC is "dead", because its membership has dwindled to just a few black militants and is in grave financial trouble.

VIII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS

[redacted] (11/12/68)

RONALD LEROY WILKINS

[redacted] (4/7/69)
(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is currently the West Coast Deputy Chairman of the national SNCC organization.

IX. TRAVEL BY SNCC MEMBERS

[redacted] (12/3/68)

From November 28, 1968, through December 1, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, then Director of LA-SNCC and West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC, attended a conference known as the "Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam", in Montreal, Canada.

[redacted] (12/16/68)

On December 3, 1968, CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, LAMAR CHANNELL, and PHYLLIS WILLIAMS, all members and associates of SNCC, traveled from Los Angeles, to the San Francisco area, to contact black nationalists in that area in order to obtain support for the SNCC organization.

[redacted] (1/6/69)
(12/31/68)
(1/7/69)

[redacted] (2/13/69)

On February 13, 1969, source reported that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC, had traveled to Atlanta, Georgia, and Chicago, concerning public relations work for SNCC.

X. GLOSSARY

LAMAR H. CHANNELL

[redacted] (4/7/69)

Source indicated that LAMAR CHANNELL has been associated with SNCC for approximately one year during which most of his time has been spent in the military. CHANNELL has participated in few SNCC functions and could not be considered an active member.

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON,
also known as Attila

[redacted] (4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, source indicated that GORDON was a former member of the LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the BPP.

BONNIE JOYCE HODGES

[redacted] (4/7/69)

HODGES is the former Assistant Treasurer of LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the organization.

PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS

[redacted] (4/7/69)

HUTCHINGS is Program Director of the national SNCC organization.

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT

[redacted] (4/7/69)

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT is the former Program Director of LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the organization.

CHARLES HAYNARD WILLIAMS

[redacted] (4/7/69)

WILLIAMS is currently the Director of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook

[redacted] (4/7/69)

Source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is the former Director of LA-SNCC, and is the West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

LA-SNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

XI. APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther" which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it".

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

The "People's World", a weekly west coast communist newspaper, in its issue of November 5, 1966, in an article on Page 3, describes the Peace Action Council (PAC) as, "a coordinating agency for peace activists" which conducts emergency mobilizations and demonstrative actions against the war in Vietnam.

On July 22, 1966, a source reported that the PAC, which has also been known as the Greater Los Angeles Peace Action Council (GLAPAC), was formed during the early summer of 1966, for the express purpose of protesting the war in Vietnam during the National Governors' Conference held in Los Angeles, California from July 4 to July 8, 1966. Following the conclusion of that conference, the PAC members decided to continue as a coordinating group to sponsor similar protest demonstrations at later dates.

This source was recontacted on May 8, 1968, and reported that the PAC continues to operate under the same basic concept.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-63822

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	ATLANTA	2/25/69	2/10-14/69

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]

TYPED BY: mcm

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 2/7/69.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been prepared in view of referenced communication.

This report is being classified confidential since information reported from [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: NONE

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [ ] NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [ ] NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

8 - Bureau (100-439190)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles
1 - OSI, Norton AFB, San Bernardino
1 - 115th MIG, Region II, Pasadena
1 - NISO, San Diego
3 - Atlanta (100-6488)
4 - Los Angeles (100-63888)
(1 - 1?7-2???)
(1 - 1?7-????)
(1 - 1?7-10??)

REC-34

SF-100

3 FEB 27 1969

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 MAR 12 1969

LA 100-63822

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822- Not Channelized
[redacted]	Orally to SA [redacted] 12/13/63

- B* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles
1 - OSI, Norton AFB, San Bernardino
1 - 115th MIG, Region II, Pasadena
1 - NISO, San Diego

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Los Angeles, California

Date: 2/25/69

Field Office File #: 100-63322
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: LA-SNCC is attempting to organize self-defense clubs. Document concerning LA-SNCC self-defense clubs set forth. Sources familiar with LA-SNCC unaware of any information concerning where or when these clubs will be organized.

-P-

DETAILS:

PREDICATION

Investigation in this matter was conducted in view of the fact that Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)(See Appendix) was reported to be attempting to organize and conduct Liberation Schools which would teach African history, political education, martial arts such as karate and judo in the art of self-defense.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

LA 100-63[illegible]

BACKGROUND

SNCC
LIBERATION SCHOOLS
SELF-DEFENSE [illegible]

(2/4/69)

(2/12/69)

On February 12, 1969, source furnished a pamphlet published by LA-SNCC concerning the organizing of self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. The following is the pamphlet furnished by

SELF DEFENSE CLUBS

AGENDA AND NOTE

FIRST PROJECT

RIFLE AND GUN CLUBS

PURPOSE:

TO EDUCATE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN TO THE PROPER USE AND MAINTENANCE OF FIRE ARMS, (RIFLES, PISTOLS, SHOTGUNS, ETC.)

TO INFORM THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF THE NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPING SELF-DEFENSE CLUBS AT THIS TIME. TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT WE MUST BE CAPABLE OF HANDLING ANY AGGRESSIVE ACT AGAINST US. WE MUST SURVIVE. OUR COMMUNITY AND OUR PEOPLE MUST SURVIVE.

SPONSORS:

NAME:

COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN CLUB

FEE:

$1.00 A SESSION

FEE WILL GO INTO THE COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN FUND. TO BE USED FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE INSTRUCTOR AND PURCHASING OF EQUIPMENT, ETC.

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GROUP IIM (BROTHERS) AGES: 16 THRU------

GROUP [illegible] (SISTERS) AGES: 8 THRU 15yrs. OLD.

GROUP [illegible] (SISTERS) AGES: 16 THRU -----

ADD[illegible] TO SELF DEFENSE [illegible]

1. Community Defense Organization (C.D.O.)

PURPOSE:

To eventually become the frame work which the community assumes control of itself. It will encompass the Rifle and Gun Clubs and The Black Karate Clubs. These two Clubs will supply trained men and women to service our community.

PERSPECTIVE:

Community Defense Organization will be an outgrowth of Rifle and Gun Clubs and Black Karate Clubs. It's future will depend on the success of these two clubs. The Community Defense Organization is our perspective Goal.

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Initial fee will be $3.50 plus $1.00 per session. The initial $3.50 fee will go to S.N.C.C.

CLASSES

MAINTENANCE OF WEAPONS

THIS CLASS WILL BE HELD ONE DAY DURING THE WEEK. THIS CLASS WILL BE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. AT THIS CLASS YOU WILL BE TAUGHT TO BE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF YOUR WEAPON.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION (FIELD WORK). DATE: CLASSES TO BE HELD SATURDAY MORNING AT 9:30. THIS IS WHERE STUDENTS WILL BE TAUGHT TO SHOOT AND TO APPLY THOSE METHODS DISCUSSED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES WILL ALSO BE HELD.

PERSPECTIVE GOALS:

TO HAVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS BLACK TEAM IN MOST OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHO ARE CAPABLE OF HANDLING THE S CURITY ,AND SAFETY OF THE FAMILIES IN THAT SQ. BLOCK AREA. THEY WILL STORE FOOD AND WATER IN INCLESSIVEABLE PLACES IN CASE OF EMERGENCY.

THEY ARE TO BE ABLE TO DRAW UP DEFENSE SYSTEMS AND PLANS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR AREA. THESE PLANS AND STORAGE PLACES MUST MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.N.C.C. SECURITY. THEY ARE TO ALSO SET UP SURVIVAL AND REFUGEE STATIONS WHICH MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.N.C.C. SECURITY.

[redacted]
(2/15/69)

On February 13, 1969, source advised that he was unaware of any attempts of SNCC to organize self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC currently has ten members and is not large enough to organize a program of this magnitude. After observing the above pamphlet, source related that ATTILA and MIKE, the names mentioned under the heading of the pamphlet, would be CHARLES FRANK GORDON, also known as Attila, and CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, also known as Mike.

Source indicated that CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS is an Officer of LA-SNCC and CHARLES FRANK GORDON is a former member of LA-SNCC and currently a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) which may indicate SNCC is being assisted by the BPP or this project may be handled by the BPP.

The source indicated that SNCC, due to the lack of finances, may have to close their office in South Los Angeles and due to a small membership does not have regularly scheduled meetings in the Los Angeles area.

[redacted]
(2/?/69)

[redacted]
(2/12/69)

[redacted]
(2/15/69)

The above sources, who are familiar with the LA-SNCC, indicated that they were unaware of any real attempt to organize self-defense clubs and relate they were of the opinion that LA-SNCC does not have the finances or personnel to follow through on the program mentioned above.

The above sources are unaware of any location, any SNCC personnel or any other group involved in a Liberation School and self-defense clubs.

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great".

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROLD BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
February 25, 1969

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
LOS ANGELES	NEW YORK	7/14/69	4/9/69 - 7/7/69	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		yfs
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM		

REFERENCE: Los Angeles report of SA [redacted] dated 4/15/69.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, Director of Los Angeles SNCC and CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON were interviewed in April 1969 by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]

This report is being classified Conf[x]ntial because of information furnished by confidential sources which could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

APPROVED [initials] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

(10) - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
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1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
3 - New York (100-147963)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

100- REC-28 EX-101

3 JUL 16 1969

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIU, RAO, CD, ACSI, OSI, SS
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 7/25/69
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: L/S
By	BY:

63 JUL 30 1969

of continuing value, and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Set forth below are individuals whose names appear in the details of this report, and who are currently members or associates of the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC).

NAME

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

ANN MERRITT

ANTHONY ORANGE

SANDRA E. SCOTT

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT

RONALD LEROY WILKINS

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

PHYLLIS WILLIAMS

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will in accordance with Bureau instructions submit a supplemental report in this organization within 90 days of this report.

LA 100-63822

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted] 100-63822-1765 Orally to SA [redacted] 7/1/69 (instant report)
[redacted]	[redacted] Orally to SA [redacted] 7/1/69 (instant report)
[redacted]	100-63822-1739
[redacted]	100-63822-1749
[redacted]	100-63822-1736 -1786
[redacted]	100-63822-1736 -1775

LA 100-63822

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] 100-63822-1740
-1742

[redacted] 100-63822-1775

[redacted] 100-63822-1783
-1784

- D* -
COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 7/14/69
Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) Headquarters located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350. CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS currently Director of LA-SNCC. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook, former Director of LA-SNCC is West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Finances, program, and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. Travel of SNCC members and national officers in connection with other organizations reported. <u>LA-SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.</u>

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the "Glossary" of this report.

I. LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC) HEADQUARTERS

(7/1/69)
(7/2/69)

On July 1, 1969, the above sources indicated that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC)(See appendix) Headquarters are located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, with telephone number 778-3350.

II. OFFICERS

(4/15/69)

(5/7/69)

On April 29, 1969, source indicated that SANDRA E. SCOTT, Secretary of SNCC opens the SNCC Office at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, on a daily basis.

(7/1/69)
(7/1/69)

On July 1, 1969, the above sources indicated the following officers are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, Director

SANDRA E. SCOTT, Secretary

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT, Program Coordinator

III. MEMBERSHIP

[redacted] (4/22/69)

On April 22, 1969, source indicated that Los Angeles SNCC is "dead" and has only a few members. He indicated that most of SNCC's former membership are either affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP)(See appendix) or militant student groups.

[redacted] (4/15/69)

[redacted]:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

LA 100-63822

[redacted] (7/1/69)
(7/1/69)

On July 1, 1969, above sources indicated the following persons are currently members or associates with the LA-SNCC:

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

ANN MERRITT

ANTHONY ORANGE

SANDRA E. SCOTT

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT

RONALD LEROY WILKINS

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

PHYLLIS WILLIAMS

[redacted] FINANCES

[redacted] (6/4/69)

[redacted] (6/20/69)

On June 17, 1969, above source related that LA-SNCC has been delinquent in their rent and the owner of the building at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Dr. MILTON GOODMAN, will evict LA-SNCC if their rent is not paid by the end of July 1969.

V. LA-SNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted] (2/18/69)

On February 18, 1969, source furnished a pamphlet published by LA-SNCC concerning the organization of a self-defense club in the Los Angeles area. The following is the pamphlet furnished by the above source:

SELF DEFENSE CLUBS

ATTILA AND MIKE

FIRST PROJECT

RIFLE AND GUN CLUBS

PURPOSE:

TO EDUCATE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN TO THE PROPER USE AND MAINTENANCE OF FIRE ARMS, (RIFLES, PISTOLS, SHOTGUNS, ETC.)

TO INFORM THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF THE NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPING SELF-DEFENSE CLUBS AT THIS TIME. TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT WE MUST BE CAPABLE OF HANDLING ANY AGGRESSIVE ACT AGAINST US. WE MUST SURVIVE. OUR COMMUNITY AND OUR PEOPLE MUST SURVIVE.

STRUCTURE:

NAME:

COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN CLUB

FEE:

$1,00 A SESSION

FEE WILL GO INTO THE COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN FUND. TO BE USED FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE INSTRUCTOR AND PURCHASING OF EQUIPMENT. ETC.

GROUPING

TEAMS WILL BE GROUPED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE. EACH BROTHER AND SISTER WILL RECEIVE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION IN THE USE AND MAINTENANCE OF EACH WEAPON.

TEAMS WILL BE GROUPED AS FOLLOWS:

GROUP IM (BROTHERS) AGES: 8 THRU 15yrs. OLD.

GROUP IIM (BROTHERS) AGES: 16 THRU-----

GROUP IIW (SISTERS) AGES: 8 THRU 15yrs. OLD.

GROUP IW (SISTERS) AGES: 16 THRU-----

ADDITIONS TO SELF DEFENSE CLUB

1. Community Defense Organization (.D.O.)

PURPOSE:

To eventually become the frame work which the community assumes control of itself. It will encompass the Rifle and Gun Clubs and The Black Karate Clubs. These two Clubs will supply trained men and women to service our community.

PERSPECTIVE:

Community Defense Organization will be an outgrowth of Rifle and Gun Clubs and Black Karate Clubs. It's future will depend on the success of these two clubs. The Community Defense Organization is our perspective Goal.

2. INITIAL FEE:

Initial fee will be $3.50 plus $1.00 per session. The initial $3.50 fee will go to S.N.C.C.

CLASSES

MAINTENANCE OF WEAPONS

THIS CLASS WILL BE HELD ONE DAY DURING THE WEEK. THIS CLASS WILL BE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. AT THIS CLASS YOU WILL BE TAUGHT TO BE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF YOUR WEAPON.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION (FIELD WORK). DATE: CLASSES TO BE HELD SATURDAY MORNING AT 9:30. THIS IS WHERE STUDENTS WILL BE TAUGHT TO SHOOT AND TO APPLY THOSE METHODS DISCUSSED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES WILL ALSO BE HELD.

PERSPECTIVE GOALS:

TO HAVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS BLOCK TEAM IN MOST OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHO ARE CAPABLE OF HANDLING THE S CURITY AND SAFETY OF THE FAMILIES IN THAT SQ. BLOCK AREA. THEY WILL STORE FOOD AND WATER IN EXCESSIVEABLE PLACES IN CASE OF EMERGENCY.

THEY ARE TO BE ABLE TO DRAW UP DEFENSE SYSTEMS AND PLANS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR AREA. THESE PLANS AND STORAGE PLACES MUST MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.N.C.C. SECURITY. THEY ARE TO ALSO SET UP SURVIVAL AND REFUGEE STATIONS WHICH MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.N.C.C. SECURITY.

[redacted] (2/13/69)

On February 13, 1969, source advised that he was aware of an attempt by LA-SNCC to organize self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC is currently not large enough to organize a program of this magnitude.

[redacted] CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS is the current Director of LA-SNCC and CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON is an associate of LA-SNCC.

On May 23, 1969, CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed outside of the LA-SNCC Office located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The following is the interview with WILLIAMS:

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 5/27/69

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS was interviewed on May 23, 1969 by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] outside the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) office located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. WILLIAMS was informed by SA [redacted] that he did not have to say anything and that anything he did say may be used against him in a court of law. WILLIAMS was advised that he had a right to an attorney of his own choice or anyone else before saying anything.

WILLIAMS was shown a pamphlet entitled, "Self Defense Clubs" with the names Attila and Mike under the caption of this pamphlet which set forth information concerning rifle and gun clubs sponsored by LA-SNCC. WILLIAMS indicated that Attila was CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON and the name Mike was his nickname. In February 1969, GORDON and WILLIAMS attempted to organize rifle and gun clubs for all ages of people residing in the black community. He stated that the program never "got off the ground" and said that this program is no longer in effect.

WILLIAMS stated that the rifle, gun, and karate clubs were an attempt on the part of LA-SNCC to keep abreast of the other militant organizations such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Los Angeles, California.

WILLIAMS stated that SNCC does not have the finances at this time to promote this type of program but the organization recommends that the black people own weapons for their protection in the community.

WILLIAMS, when questioned concerning the present SNCC program and activities in the Los Angeles area, indicated that he had no comment concerning these programs. He indicated that the FBI was part of the "establishment" and was opposed to the black man in his attempts to organize.

WILLIAMS terminated the interview by stating he had nothing more to say to the FBI.

On 5/23/69 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-63822

by SA [redacted]
SA [redacted] JWW/mab Date dictated 5/26/69

On May 23, 1969, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON was contacted in front of the LA-SNCC Office located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The following is the previous interview with GORDON:

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1

Date 5/27/69

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON was contacted on May 23, 1969 outside the office of the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

When SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] identified themselves to GORDON before any comment could be made GORDON indicated that he had nothing to say to the FBI and would make no comments concerning his activities with SNCC or any other organization.

With this comment GORDON returned to the LA-SNCC office and the interview was terminated.

On 5/23/69 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-63822

by SA [redacted]
SA [redacted] WW/mab Date dictated 5/26/69

[redacted] (4/15/69)

[redacted] (4/8/69)

On April 8, 1969, source indicated that LA-SNCC current program is relating to the high schools and colleges in the area. Several of the SNCC officers are instructing in black history and black nationalism in local universities.

[redacted] (5/7/69)

On April 29, 1969, SANDRA E. SCOTT, an officer of LA-SNCC opened the office at 7406 South Western. SCOTT is known to open the LA-SNCC Office on a daily basis.

[redacted] (5/12/69)

On May 11, 1969, 12 black militants interrupted a service at the First Methodist Church, 813 South Hope Street, Los Angeles, California and harangued the worshipers with demands for money.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC presented a manifesto similar to the one presented at the Rivershide Church, New York City, New York by the nationally known Negro militant, JAMES RUFUS FORMAN of SNCC. The group demanded $500,000,000.00 reparation from churches and synagogues for the wide oppression and profiteering of the blacks over the centuries.

Ten of the intruders were arrested without incident outside the church by the Los Angeles Police Department on suspicion of conspiracy to disrupt a religious service. Seven of the persons arrested were juveniles. Two of the

individuals arrested were RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC and SANDRA E. SCOTT, a member of LA-SNCC.

[redacted] 5/13/69)

On May 13, 1969, source advised that Brother Crook whose true name is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, continues to be associated with LA-SNCC even though he is a West Coast Chairman of SNCC.

[redacted] (5/24/69)

VI. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SNCC AND THE LA-SNCC

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

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From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

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On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

VII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP)(See appendix)

[redacted] (4/15/69)

On April 3, 1969, source advised that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of SNCC held a press conference at the Black Panther Office, 4115 South Central, Los Angeles, California in which he spoke out against police brutality and harassment in South Los Angeles.

[redacted] 4/22/69)

BLACK STUDENTS ALLIANCE
(BSA)

The BSA is a coordinating organization for the Black Student Union (BSU) in the Los Angeles area.

The group uses for study purposes the red covered book entitled the "Quotations of Mao Tse-tung".

The BSU is a student based militant Black Nationalist organization active on high school and college campuses.

[redacted] (5/15/69)

[redacted] (5/23/69)

On May 23, 1969, source furnished a brochure published by the Southern California Regional Black Student Alliance which indicated it supported the acts of LA-SNCC.

BLACK CONGRESS

The Black Congress was formerly an organization composed of militant and non-militant Black Nationalist organizations in South Los Angeles.

[redacted] (3/14/69)

On March 4, 1969, source indicated that SNCC has been completely against the activities of the Black Congress because it has groups which are non-militant.

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS (LACDBR)(See appendix)

[redacted] (4/29/69)

On April 19, 1969, the 19th annual conference of the LACDBR was held at Larchmont Hall, 118 North Larchmont Boulevard, Los Angeles, and one of the organizations represented was LA-SNCC.

LOS ANGELES LOCAL-SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP) (See appendix)

[redacted] 3/26/69)

VIII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (4/2/69)

On April 2, 1969, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook, was the West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC and resides in Los Angeles, California.

On May 20, 1969, [redacted] Los Angeles, California, advised that JAMES RUFUS FORMAN, Deputy Chairman of the SNCC and a spokesman for the National Black Economic Development Conference, an organization which is attempting to obtain $500,000,000.00 in reparation from white religious groups for the white oppression and profiteering of the blacks throughout the centuries, spoke at a rally sponsored by a coalition of black students at UCLA at Pauley Pavilion, UCLA, Los Angeles, California, at 11:45 AM, May 19, 1969. This rally was held as a memorial to MALCOLM-X, a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI)(See appendix) who was supposedly murdered by one of his followers.

In the May 27, 1969 edition of the "College Times", a student newspaper at California State College, Los Angeles, California, an article appeared entitled "Program to Explore Black Expression". This article related that PHILLIP HUTCHING, Program Secretary of SNCC, would be on campus today May 27, 1969. HUTCHING would be one of the featured speakers on the program which was being sponsored by the BSU and other Afro-American groups.

[redacted] (6/2/69)

On June 2, 1969, source advised that SNCC will hold a national staff conference in New York City, New York between June 13 and June 15, 1969. One of those

expected to attend is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC who resides in Los Angeles, California.

IX. TRAVEL BY SNCC MEMBERS

[redacted] (3/17/69)

On March 1, 1969, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook from Los Angeles, California, attended a political conference in East St. Louis, Illinois which was sponsored by the Mid-West Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

[redacted] (3/17/69)

[redacted] 5/14/69)

On May 14, 1969, source indicated that JAMES RUFUS FORMAN, a Deputy Director for SNCC, would be in Los Angeles, California sometime the end of May 1969.

[redacted] (6/11/69)

On June 8, 1969, PHILLIP HUTCHING, a national leader of SNCC and RONALD LEROY WILKINS of LA-SNCC were arrested in Albuquerque, New Mexico on June 7, 1969.

[redacted] (6/16/69)

On June 16, 1969, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS and SANDRA E. SCOTT, LA-SNCC, were present at a SNCC staff meeting at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York.

[redacted] (6/18/69)

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, TOMMY SCOTT, and SANDRA SCOTT of LA-SNCC were present at the National Conference of SNCC at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York on June 16, 1969 and June 17, 1969.

X. GLOSSARY

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON,
also known as Attila

[redacted] (7/1/69)

On July 1, 1969, source indicated that GORDON is associated with LA-SNCC and is a member of the BPP.

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

[redacted] (7/1/69)

HODGES is currently a member of LA-SNCC.

JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

[redacted] (7/1/69)

FORMAN is Deputy Chairman of International Affairs for SNCC.

PHILLIP LEROY HUTCHING

[redacted] (7/1/69)

HUTCHING is Program Director of SNCC.

ANN MERRITT

[redacted] (7/1/69)

MERRITT is a member of LA-SNCC.

ANTHONY ORANGE

[redacted] (7/1/69)

ANTHONY ORANGE is a member of LA-SNCC.

SANDRA E. SCOTT

[redacted] (7/1/69)

SANDRA E. SCOTT is a member and officer of LA-SNCC.

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT

[redacted] (7/1/69)

THOMAS DELMIRO SCOTT is Program Director of LA-SNCC.

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

[redacted] (7/1/69)
[redacted] (7/1/69)

WILLIAMS is currently Director of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILLIAMS, also known as Brother Crook

[redacted] (7/1/69)
[redacted] (7/1/69)

The above sources indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is former Director of LA-SNCC and is currently West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

LOS ANGELES SNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

XI. APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere".

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it".

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (LACDBR)

A source advised in May, 1968, that the LACDBR has expanded its former scope of interest relating to the foreign born, and has become a militant general defense organization allegedly seeking to safeguard the rights of all individuals, including the Foreign Born, as well as those seeking to avoid military service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

The LACDBR is a non-membership organization which is represented by an Administrative Board of about 125 individuals from loosely organized area committees interested in the work of the LACDBR. These board members are invited by ROSE CHERNIN, Executive Director of the LACDBR, who is the guiding, dominant, and motivating force behind the LACDBR. Its headquarters are maintained at 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles, California.

Another source advised in May, 1968, that ROSE CHERNIN is currently Organizational Secretary of the Moranda Smith Section of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

A source advised on May 3, 1968, that the Nation of Islam (NOI) is an all-Negro organization originating in Detroit, Michigan, in the early 1930's. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the leader of the NOI and self-styled "Messenger of Allah" in that he claims ALLAH (God) selected him to lead the so-called Negro out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation within the United States. Headquarters of the NOI is located at Muhammad's Temple (or Mosque) #2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

MUHAMMAD teaches there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "devils", in the United States; and that the white race because of its exploitation of the so-called Negro will be destroyed by ALLAH in an approaching "War of Armageddon", a war between God and the devil.

Officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to comply with provisions of the Selective Service Act, stating that they respect laws of the United States as long as they do not conflict with the laws of the NOI, but do not believe the government should force them to participate in wars from which they have nothing to gain.

In the late 1950's, MUHAMMAD, acting on legal advice, tempered NOI teachings against the white man and the government to avoid possible prosecution; however, basic tenets remain the same. He de-emphasized religious teachings in the NOI and emphasized economic benefits derived by so-called Negroes who join the NOI. MUHAMMAD believed this would create more interest in his programs and, of course, new followers.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great".

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
July 14, 1969

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES	NEW YORK	11/26/69	7/1 - 10/31/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	gcw
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTERS	

REFERENCE: Los Angeles report of SA [redacted] dated 7/14/69.

100-439190-

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by confidential sources which could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					☐ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1-Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1-OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
3-Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
3-New York (100-147963) (RM)
2-Los Angeles (100-63822)

100-439190-73X

REC 12

EX-111

8 DEC 1 1969

Notations

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: ACSI, SEC SER, OSI, IDIU, IRS - Paul Wright
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 12/4/69
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:
By	per/lklt

FEB 11 1970

DEC 16 1969

COVER PAGE

GPO : 1968 O - 299-885

LA 100-63822

The individuals named below appear in the details of this report and are currently associated with SNCC. [redacted] RONALD LEROY WILKINS, [redacted] and CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS. [redacted]

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-63822-1816, instant report
[redacted]	100-63822-1816
[redacted]	100-63822-1823
[redacted]	100-63822

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1-Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
1-NISO, San Diego (RM)
1-Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1-OSI, Norton AFB (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: Los Angeles, California

Date: 11/26/69

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORINDATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

Los Angeles Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formerly located at 7406 South Western, currently does not have an office due to their inability to pay rent. Members of the organization have left it with the exception of RONALD LEROY WILKINS, former Director of SNCC in Los Angeles, and West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC, and CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS. Travel of SNCC national officers reported. LOS ANGELES SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic

I. HEADQUARTERS

[redacted] (7/30/69)

This source advised that on July 6, 1969, the headquarters of the Los Angeles Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee (see appendix), at 7406 South Western Avenue in Los Angeles, was vacated. [redacted]

[redacted] (8/11/69)

This source stated that SNCC no longer maintains their headquartem at 7406 South Western Avenue in Los Angeles. SNCC had been unable to pay theirrent at the above address for several months and they were forced to vacate their offices.

[redacted] (8/11/69)

This source advised that SNCC had been evicted from their headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue in Los Angeles.

[redacted] (8/12/69)

This source advised that SNCC did not have an office in Los Angeles at the present time.

II. OFFICERS

[redacted] (9/24/69)
(9/24/69)

These sources advised that the only SNCC representative in the Los Angeles area is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman.

LA 100-63822

III. MEMBERSHIP

[redacted] (8/11/69)

This source reported that it had been learned that the members of SNCC in Los Angeles have deserted the organization and that most of the leaders of SNCC were working outside of Los Angeles.

[redacted] (10/31/69)

This source stated that the only SNCC representative in the Los Angeles area is RONALD LEROY WILKINS. The Los Angeles SNCC did not have any other members.

IV. FINANCES

[redacted] (8/11/69)

This source advised that the Los Angeles Chapter of SNCC had been evicted from their headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue for nonpayment of rent. Telephone service for SNCC had been discontinued in July, 1969 because the organization had not paid their telephone bill for several months.

[redacted] (8/11/69)

This source advised that SNCC had been unable to pay their rent at 7406 South Western Avenue and they had been forced to vacate their office. The organization owed considerable amounts of money to various agencies.

V. PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted] (8/31/69)

This source advised that SNCC had ceased all of its operations in the Los Angeles area and was a dead organization.

[redacted] 8/11/69)

This source advised that there currently is no SNCC organization in the Los Angeles area.

LA 100-63822

VI. ASSOCIATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

[redacted] (8/11/69)

This source reported that a meeting of SNCC and Black Panther Party (BPP) (see appendix) members was held on July 23, 1969 at 4115 South Central Avenue in Los Angeles, BPP headquarters.

VII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[redacted] (10/31/69)

Source advised that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was the West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC and resides in Los Angeles.

[redacted] (10/27/69)

Source advised that SNCC would hold a national staff conference in New York City, New York on November 1 or 11, 1969. One of those expected to attend would be RONALD LEROY WILKINS.

[redacted] (November, 1969)

Source advised that CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, who was Director of the Los Angeles SNCC, was in Louisiana and was reportedly returning to Los Angeles.

VIII. GLOSSARY

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

[redacted] (7/11/69)
[redacted] (7/1/69)

WILLIAMS is currently Director of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS,
also known as Brother Crook

[redacted] (7/1/69)
[redacted] (7/1/69)

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LA 100-63822

IX. APPENDIX

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From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
November 26, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Los Angeles report of SA [redacted] [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 11 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 14

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 14 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
NEW YORK	ATLANTA		10/20/67 - 12/29/67	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		[redacted]		pem
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS-SNCC		

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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3-108th MI Group (RM)
1-OSI (RM)
1-NISO (RM)
2-New York (100-147953)

100-439190-34
4 JAN 9 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV., ...
DEPT: ISD ... RAO
HOW FORW.: ...
DATE FORW.: 1/16/68
BY: ...

Notations

INT. SEC.

66 JAN 18 1968

adm. pages in part Sec. L

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONTINUED):

The following SAS observed the demonstrations reported herein:

At U.S. Court House, NYC, on 2/5/65	SAS [redacted] and [redacted]
At the U.S. Mission to UN, NYC, on 3/18/63	SAS [redacted] and [redacted]
At FBI, NYC, on 6/21/65	SAS [redacted] and [redacted]
At Apollo Theatre, Harlem, NY, on 7/12/66	SAS [redacted] and [redacted]
At Cuban Mission, NYC, 6/7/67	SA [redacted]

[redacted]

JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

[redacted]

SHIRLEY WRIGHT

[redacted]

JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY

Miss WILEY, a coordinator of SNCC [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON is Fund Raising Chairman for SNCC

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

Mr. LESTER is described as SNCC Photographer

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

Miss SUTHERLAND is described as Coordinator of Public Information Projects for SNCC.

BOBBI JONES

BOBBI JONES is described as Staff Member of SNCC.

ELLA J. BAKER

Miss BAKER is described as Advisor to SNCC.

WILLIAM HALL

WILLIAM HALL is described as Field Representative of SNCC and is one of the SNCC leaders in the NY area.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

ROBERT ELLIOT FULLILOVE III

ROBERT FULLILOVE, Negro, male, was described as an employee of SNCC, NYO, as of August, 1966, and has not been reportedly active in SNCC since April, 1967.

ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH, a SNCC activist in the NY area

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
	100-147963-1439
	100-154616-44

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

157-1227-1B4 (7)

Used to characterize
PAUL EDWARD BROOKS

100-68229-1016, 1070

100-68229-1217

100-57639-590, 571

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

100-97078-6634

100-147963-590

100-25780-2630

100-110803-406

100-158457-51

100-147963-645

100-147963

-G-
(COVER PAGE)

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

100-147963

100-147963

100-147963-1411

Used to characterize
PAUL EDWARD BROOKS

100-147963-1246

Used to characterize
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Used to characterize
VICTOR RABINOWITZ

100-147963-1066

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

[redacted] 100-147963-1206

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 100-26603-1A

[redacted] 100-147963-173, 337, 646, 1149

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] Used to characterize HERBERT APTHEKER

[redacted] Used to characterize LOUISE R. BERMAN

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

[redacted]	Used to characterize ALVA BUXENBAUM
[redacted]	Used to characterize ROSE M. COE
[redacted]	Used to characterize WILLIAM EPTON
[redacted]	Used to characterize EUGENE GORDON
[redacted]	Used to characterize WILLIAM MC ADOO
[redacted]	Used to characterize GIBBY NEEDLEMAN
[redacted]	Used to characterize GIBBY NEEDLEMAN
[redacted]	Used to characterize GIBBY NEEDLEMAN
[redacted]	Used to characterize VICTOR RABINOWITZ
[redacted]	Used to characterize JOHN WILSON

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will set up a six-month's administrative tickler for submission of another report in this case on 6/10/58.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Copy to: 3-108th MI GROUP (RM)
1-OSI (RM)
1-NISO (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: New York, New York
Date:

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: SNCC, NYO, is located in rooms 802 and 803 at 100 Fifth Ave., NYC. The International Affairs Division of SNCC is located in the same premises. JAMES FORMAN is Director of the NYO of SNCC as well as being in charge of its International Affairs Division. Other officers and staff members of SNCC identified. [redacted] International Affairs Division of SNCC set up May, 1967. Activities of this division in the areas of Latin-American affairs and African affairs set forth. [redacted] Statements by ROY WILKINS of NAACP and DREW PEARSON, Radio Commentator, point out a change in position on the part of SNCC from pro-integration to "Black Racist." Leadership of SNCC described in August, 1967, as taken over by "Apostles of Violence." At the rally in St. Albans Plaza Theatre, Queens, NY, 8/6/67, H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC, urged Negroes to arm themselves against the white conspiracy of genocide. Instances of SNCC disruptive tactics set forth. In demonstrations and rallies during the period 2/23/66 to October, 1967, SNCC manifested its opposition to US Government policy in Viet Nam and its campaign of draft resistance. Evidence set forth of SNCC support and sympathy for the Communist movement and of SNCC participation in affairs sponsored by such organizations as WEB Du Bois Club, Harlem Council for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

-P*-

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

NY 100-147963

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DETAILS:

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is being referred to throughout this report by its initials SNCC.

Individuals and organizations which are characterized in appendix I (individuals) and appendix II (organizations) have been designated in this report with an asterisk.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location

SNCC, New York Office, currently occupies rooms 802 and 803 at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This building is managed by Vogar Realties, 131 West 58th Street, New York City. SNCC renewed this lease April 26, 1966, and it is not due to expire until May 31, 1969. The individual representing SNCC who signed the lease was ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*. An earlier lease signed in 1964 bore the signature JAMES FORMAN as Executive Secretary of SNCC.

[redacted] August 28, 1967

As of September, 1967, the International Affairs Division of SNCC was located in the same offices as its New York headquarters, namely rooms 802 and 803, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. JAMES FORMAN was in charge of this operation for SNCC.

[redacted] September 18, 1967

B. Officers and Staff Members

The officers and staff members of SNCC, New York Office, are the following:

JAMES FORMAN	Director
SHIRLEY WRIGHT	Assistant Director
JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY	Program Coordinator
JOHN WILSON*	Fund-Raising Chairman
JULIUS LESTER*	Photographer

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*	Coordinator of Public Information Projects
BOBBI JONES	Staff Member
ELLA J. BAKER	Advisor
WILLIAM HALL	Field Secretary
LOIS WILEY	Staff Member
ROBERT SMITH	Staff Member

JAMES FORMAN

JAMES FORMAN served as Office Manager of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, as of November, 1967.

[redacted] November 1, 1967

A circular issued by the New York Office of SNCC dated July, 1967, and entitled "An Urgent Message From New York SNCC" was signed by JAMES FORMAN as Director, New York Office.

The "New York Courier", November 18, 1967, page five, contained an article on SNCC which described JAMES FORMAN as Director of the International Affairs Division of SNCC and of its New York Office.

SHIRLEY WRIGHT

As of November, 1967, SHIRLEY WRIGHT was a member of the Office Staff of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

[redacted] November 1, 1967

An article in the New York "Amsterdam News", July 23, 1966, page three, related that the New York Office of SNCC had announced the appointment of its new Assistant Director, namely, Miss SHIRLEY WRIGHT. The following background information concerning SHIRLEY WRIGHT was contained in this article.

"Miss WRIGHT, a 22-year old New Yorker, has been on the staff of SNCC since spring, 1965. Before coming to the N. Y. office, she worked in the Northern Coordination department of SNCC's national office in Atlanta; she has also spent time in all of SNCC's Southern projects."

JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY

JEAN WILEY acts as Program Coordinator in the New York office of SNCC. She is one of the principal assistants to JAMES FORMAN in the New York office. During August, 1967, she played a major role in coordinating the raising of bail for H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC.

JEAN WILEY, prior to becoming associated with SNCC in New York City, taught at Howard University in Washington, D. C. She is a Negress, about 26 years of age, and is described as "quiet and efficient."

October 3, 1967

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON, as of September, 1967, was serving as Fund-Raising Chairman of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

September 1, 1967

JOHN WILSON resides at 520 East 12th Street, New York City. JOHN WILSON and JAMES FORMAN are alledged to have taken over H. RAP BROWN's speaking engagements.

October, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

JULIUS LESTER was described as a Negro organizer for SNCC as of September, 1966.

September 28, 1966

JULIUS LESTER was reported as a key-man in photography work for SNCC as of July, 1967.

[redacted] July 6, 1967

RICARDO ALARCON, Embassador, Cuban Mission to the United Nations, New York City, on July 18, 1967, obtained permission from Havana, Cuba, for JULIUS LESTER to visit Cuba.

[redacted] July 18, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER's application for United States Passport facilities dated March 8, 1967, reflected his permanent address as 329 West 21st Street, New York City. He was last married on December 22, 1962 to JOAN BRINKWORTH STEIN. His occupation was listed as writer and photographer.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*

The head of the New York office of SNCC as of April, 1966 was ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND.

[redacted] April 5, 1966

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, described as Director of the New York office of SNCC, was present at a luncheon and round-table discussion held under the auspices of the National Guardian* at the Tavern on the Green, Central Park West and 67th Street, New York City, on April 12, 1966.

[redacted] April 19, 1966

An article in the New York "Amsterdam News", July 23, 1966, page three, reflects that ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND formerly held the office of Director, New York office, SNCC, until about July, 1966. It was narrated that she no longer held this position but did remain on the New York staff as Writer and Coordinator of Public Information Projects.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND worked regularly at the SNCC office 100 Fifth Avenue, up until about the summer of 1967. Thereafter, she appeared for brief periods only on occasion at the New York office.

[redacted] October 10, 1967

BOBBI JONES

BOBBI JONES, Negro, female, is described as a Staff Member of SNCC in New York. She handles money and checks that come into the office and confidential expenditures of the office. She is well-liked by members of SNCC and lives with her husband MATTHEW JONES at 130 West 87th Street, New York City. It has been noticed that BOBBI JONES is very much in control whenever SNCC has a table or booth selling posters, records, and printed matter. All money collected from such sales is turned over to her.

October 3, 1967

ELLA J. BAKER

A program covering a teach-in at New York University, New York City, October 28, 1965, sponsored by the New York University friends of SNCC listed ELLA BAKER as an Advisor of SNCC. She was also listed as a speaker at this teach-in which concerned the general subject "New Directions in Civil Rights".

November 29, 1965

WILLIAM HALL

A rally billed as a benefit for SNCC was held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, 1 West 122nd Street, New York City, on August 29, 1966. This was attended by approximately 190 persons. WILLIAM HALL, identified as a SNCC Field Secretary, was a speaker at this rally.

August 30, 1966

A field worker in Alabama for SNCC made the statement in September, 1965, that WILLIAM HALL, a former Project Director for SNCC for the Third Congressional District of Alabama, had gone to New York City where he was expected to engage in SNCC work in Harlem.

September 18, 1965

- ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH was described as on the Staff of the New York Office of SNCC as of December 6, 1967.

December 6, 1967

USA.

April 17, 1967

a) <u>Fund Raising Events</u>

An article in the Herald Tribune, April 26, 1965, entitled "SNCC Plans a Fight to Unseat Mississippi Congressmen" stated that SNCC announced plans on April 25, 1965, to unseat Mississippi's five Congressmen. The article also narrated that a major fund-raising dinner was held by SNCC on April 25, 1965, at the New York Hilton Hotel at $100.00 a plate. Some 1500 people allegedly attended this affair and approximately $125,000.00 was raised. The dinner marked the 5th Anniversary of SNCC.

The "New York Post", March 21, 1966, page 2, carried an article entitled "All Star Cast Leads Tribute to SNCC". The article related that several actors participated in a tribute to SNCC at a $100.00 a plate benefit at the Hilton Hotel, New York City, on the evening of March 20, 1966. Nearly 1,000 persons allegedly attended this benefit which was addressed by JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC.

A benefit concert for SNCC was held on Saturday evening, April 2, 1966, at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, 688 people attended. The lease for the hall for this occasion dated March 17, 1966, was signed by ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND* as Director of New York Office of SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, New York City.

April 5, 1966

On December 22, 1966, SNCC sponsored a jazz concert at the Village Theatre, 105 2nd Avenue, New York City, the purpose of which was to raise funds for SNCC. A $2.00 admission fee was charged and some 400 people attended the concert. STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an appearance at the concert at 10:15 pm. He spoke for approximately five minutes and protested United States intervention in Vietnam.

December 27, 1966

II. ACTIVITIES OF SNCC INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DIVISION

A. General Information

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

January 16, 1965

On June 13, 1967, JAMES FORMAN of SNCC, New York, made the statement that he had recently taken over the New York SNCC Office as its International Director and that he was seeking to establish contact with other militant civil rights groups for summer projects.

June 23, 1967

s.

November 9, 1967

Unsolicited mail received by an occupant of an apartment at was made available to SA on November 24, 1967. It contained a letter in an envelope which bore the return address "H. RAP BROWN, 100 5th Avenue, New York City, Room 803." The letter from SNCC was signed by H. RAP BROWN as Chairman of SNCC. He states: "SNCC officially declared itself a Human Rights Organization in May, 1967." He stated further that SNCC has established an office of International Affairs in New York City, "in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world.....Our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against their oppressors. To aid them we are trying to mobilize support against the possibility of United States intervention on behalf of the White South African Government. We are encouraging the development of nation-wide liberation schools, a concept with which SNCC pioneered during the 1964 Mississippi summer project".

B. Latin-American Affairs

May 20, 1967

May 26, 1967

N.G.

June 6, 1967

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND was observed by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) entering the Cuban Mission, 6 East 67th Street, New York City on June 7, 1967.

June 20, 1967

and made available on September 22, 1967, copies of press releases which covered a press conference given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JULIUS LESTER of SNCC while they were in Havana, Cuba, on August 13, 1967. The following statements

of CARMICHAEL are excerpted from these press releases:

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States since there is no other way to obtain our homes, our lands and our rights."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL's explanation of black power in the press release is the following:

"It is the union of the Negro population who fight for liberation by any means whatsoever. It is the union of the Negro population of the United States with the oppressed peoples of the rest of the world".

A reporter asked if United State's whites who call themselves liberals have joined the present Negro movement. Both CARMICHAEL and LESTER answered the question:

"Whites who call themselves liberals are enemies of the Negro struggle since, in general, they are rich people who derive benefits from the system. And we are fighting to destroy that system that oppresses us and brings about tragedy."

The above sources also made available a copy of the speech of United States "Representative" STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the First Conference of Latin - American Solidarity (OLAS) held in Havana, Cuba, July 31 - August 10, 1967. The following statements by STOKELY CARMICHAEL are excerpted from this speech:

"We greet you as comrades because it becomes increasingly clear to us each day that we share with you a common struggle; we have a common enemy. Our enemy is white western imperialistic society.

"We speak with you comrades because we wish to make clear that we understand that our destinies are intertwined. Our world can only be a third world: our only struggle, for the third world; our only vision, of the third world.

"The 'civil rights movement' could never attract and hold the young bloods who clearly understood the savagery of white United States who had to meet this savagery with armed resistance. It is the 'young bloods' who contain especially the hatred CHE GUEVARA speaks of when he says, 'hatred is an element of the struggle - relentless hatred of the enemy that impels us over and beyond the natural limitations of many and transforms us into effective, violent, selective and cold killing machines.' The black power movement has been the catalyst for the bringing together of these young bloods: a real revolutionary proletariat ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people.

"Our people are a colony within the United States; you are colonies outside the United States. It is more than a figure of speech to say that the black communities in America are the victims of white imperialism and colonial exploitation.

"The true potential revolutionaries in this country are the black youths of the ghettos - those who had developed insurgence in the cities the African - American and Latin communities where past rebellions had taught important lessons in dealing with the government's armed reaction to our uprising.

"This rebellion should not be taken lightly. In the past three years there have been over 100 uprisings in the internal colonies of the United States..... These are major rebellions with numbers of participants who are developing a consciousness of [illegible].

"During the past year we have instituted a black resistance to the draft movement, not only because we are against black men fighting their brothers in Vietnam, but also because we are certain that the next Vietnam will be on this continent.

"As the resistance struggle escalates, we are well aware of the reality of CHE GUEVARA's words that the 'struggle will not be a mere street fight but will be long and harsh'. In the end our common brotherhood sustains us all as we fight for our liberation by any means necessary."

[redacted] October 13, 1967

[illegible]

"The New York Post", June 14, [illegible], page two, contained an article entitled, "SNCC In Plea To Afro-Asia". The following is quoted from the article:

"The Student* Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has petitioned all African and Asian Missions to the UN to pressure the U.S. government into wiping out racial discrimination in the U.S.

"The petition contended that the U.S. government is critical of racial injustice in other countries but fails to move against it in America.

"James Forman, SNCC Director of International affairs, said the immediate basis for the appeal was the violence Sunday in Prattsville, Ala., during which former SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael was arrested."

NY 100-147963

September 7, 1967

September 1[illegible], 1967

on September 8, 1967, made available a two page leaflet dated August 27, 1967, issued by SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, setting forth a telegram sent by SNCC to "His Excellency HOUPHOUTE BOIGNY, President, Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occasion of his visit to the United States." The following is quoted from the letter:

"We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people to release Mr. Lansana Beavogui and Mr. Achkar Marof, two officials of the Guinean government, detained by you while they were enroute from the United Nations.

"Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we Afro-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and brought

against their will to the United States. We have been resisting this forced slavery ever since we were captured on the shores of Africa. The recent rebellions in Newark and Detroit are just the latest in a long line of slave revolts and resistance to the rupture from our culture and our degrading condition in the United States. We want you to know, Sir, that many of us -- we the Overseas Africans -- are becoming more and more conscious of our responsibilities to our African brothers as they are becoming more aware of their responsibilities to us. Therefore, Sir, we cannot sit idly by while people who represent the United Nations are held in detention while travelling enroute to their home country.

"Also, Mr. President, we must tell you that the Guinean delegation and especially Mr. Marof have always championed the cause of the African Americans. Therefore, his imprisonment is a detriment to our struggle as well as to the African liberation movement."

The letter is signed among others JAMES FORMAN, H. RAP BROWN, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The letter indicated that "for further information contact International Affairs Commission, SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City."

The "National Guardian" newspaper September 16, 1967, on page eight, set forth a press interview of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Field Representative of SNCC, conducted in Algeria, North Africa. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was interviewed September 7, 1967, by a reporter for the Algerian Press Service. Portions of the interview were made available exclusively to the "National Guardian" in the United States. The following questions by the Algerian Press Service and answered by STOKELY CARMICHAEL concerning the recent Middle East crisis was excerpted from the press interview:

"SNCC was the only major organization in the United States to support the Arab countries in the recent Middle East crisis. What was the basis for this stand?

"We realize that the Jews have been mistreated for centuries and centuries. We understand and we sympathize with

the loss of six million Jews under Nazism. However, the Jews are not the only people to be persecuted. Africans have been persecuted for years and years. We lost [illegible] million people during the slave era alone. Our persecution comes from the white man. The persecution of the Jews comes from the white man. There is no need for the Jews to turn around because the white man persecuted them, and persecute the Africans and especially the Arabs. If the Jews want a state of their own it seems to me that what they should have done after the war when the white western powers were dividing up Germany was to demand that they be given a part of Germany. It was Germany that exterminated them. Germany was divided up-to the victor belong the spoils. But for the Jews to use the extermination of the Jews in Germany by Germans as an excuse to take land from the Arabs is clearly unjust."

On November 1, 1967, H. RAP BROWN and JAMES FORMAN of SNCC attended a party at the United Nations in celebration of the national independence of Algeria. Attendance at this affair was by invitation only.

[redacted] ember 9, 1967

On December 5, 1967, H. RAP BROWN held a press conference on the 11th floor of the United Nations Methodist Church, 44th Street and First Avenue, New York City at 2:00 p.m. A copy of a letter from H. RAP BROWN of SNCC was made available to members of the press from the International Affairs Division of SNCC. This letter was dated December [illegible], 1967, and was addressed by H. RAP BROWN to U THANT, General Secretary of the United Nations, New York City. The letter stated as follows:

"In response to the strong appeal made by the South West Africa National United Front leaders to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, namely:

1. 'That the United Nations General Assembly must authorize the Council for South West Africa to recruit and train volunteers for a United Nations Peace Force to expel the racist colonial South African regime from South West Africa.'

"We, African-American citizens of the United States of America, are prepared to organize and to establish the AFRICAN-AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL MILITARY BRIGADE for South West Africa for the purpose of:

1. Serving as a United Nations Peace Force for South West Africa in cooperation with the South West African liberation organizations;

2. Insuring by force the entrance of the United Nations Council into South West Africa, and;

3. Providing material assistance to the South West African liberation movement."

December 5, 1967

III. SNCC MILITANCY

A. [illegible]

March 2[illegible], 1965

An article by ROY WILKINS, head of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) appears in the "New York Post", June 4, 1966, page 37. The article is entitled, "SNCC's New Road". In it, ROY WILKINS discusses SNCC's changed position. He stated that SNCC had declared that it was "no longer interested in integration." A "new gang" took over in SNCC and the "whites have been booted out". WILKINS stated that "SNCC had formally chosen a racist course, that is, black racist."

DREW PEARSON, Radio Commentator, made the following statements in a broadcast over Radio Station WINS, New York, on August 13, 1967, at 10:15 p.m.:

"The leadership of SNCC has been taken over by apostles of violence. Most of them believe in the brand of Communism preached in Peking. They also no longer try very hard to hide their Communist sympathies. The most notorious SNCC leader, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, is not the only one that has been attending Communist conferences. He was accompanied to Havana by two other SNCC leaders JULIUS LESTER* and GEORGE WARE. Still another SNCC leader, CLEVELAND SELLERS, [illegible] at Tokyo to attend a Communist-called convention there. He was as outspoken as CARMICHAEL in calling for a Negro rebellion against the United States."

[illegible] OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A rally in support of 17 RAM members arrested by the New York City Police Department was held on August 6, 1967 at St. Albans Plaza, 190-01 Linden Boulevard, Queens, New York. Approximately 1,500 Negroes attended this rally and listened to a speech of H. RAP BROWN of SNCC. H. RAP BROWN allegedly stated at this rally that Negroes should arm themselves against the white conspiracy of genocide and "when the whites start, the Negroes should go to the jails and free all the Negro prisoners.'"

[redacted] [illegible], 1967

H. RAP BROWN on August 13, 1967, conducted a press conference at [illegible] Nations Plaza, [illegible] City. The purpose of this press conference was to make two announcements.

The first was that August 18th should be known as black man's independence day because on this day in 1965 the riot in Watts started. The second announcement was that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had left Cuba and was at that time at Hanoi, North Vietnam. H. RAP BROWN was asked if he supported STOKELY CARMICHAEL's alleged statement from Cuba that Negroes should arm themselves for total revolution. H. RAP BROWN allegedly replied "our sentiments exactly". He went on to say that if the black man endorses guerrilla fighting he would be the first to join up and fight.

[redacted] August 31, 1967

B. Disruptive and Violent Tactics

A picket demonstration was conducted by SNCC commencing at 3:15 p.m. on February 3, 1965, at City Hall, New York City. The purpose of the demonstration was to induce the Mayor of the City of New York to intercede with the President of the United States for federal intervention in the voters registration drive in Selma, Alabama. By 1:40 a.m. February 4, 1965, all demonstrators had left the area.

On February 4, 1965, at 3:15 p.m. SNCC again assembled at the United States Courthouse located at Foley Square, New York City. Twenty-nine demonstrators representing SNCC and carrying signs reading "Federal Registrars in Selma" attempted to enter and stage a sit-in within the lobby of the United States Courthouse; but were restrained by United States Marshals. Several representatives of SNCC were granted an interview with VINCENT I. BRODERICK, Chief Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York. After the interview with Mr. BRODERICK, the individuals were asked to leave the office. Upon their refusal they were escorted by United States Marshals from the office outside the United States Courthouse.

[illegible]
February 4, 1967

On February 5, 1965, SNCC again conducted a picket demonstration at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, commencing at 3:45 p.m. They carried signs demanding Federal intervention in the voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. At approximately 4:30 p.m. several of the pickets began making sorties up the steps of the United States Courthouse in an effort to gain admittance. They were restrained by United States Marshals who had taken position at the head of the steps. The demonstration terminated at [illegible]:30 p.m.

Personal observation by
SAS of the FBI
February 5, 1965

At approximately 8:00 a.m., June 23, 1965, a group of approximately 1[illegible] pickets, representing SNCC and members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chained themselves to the main entrance of the United States Courthouse blocking the entrance. Approximately 40 demonstrators marched in front of the building carrying signs bearing large letters which spelled the word Mississippi. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the arrest of civil rights demonstrators in Mississippi. United States Marshals removed the chained demonstrators and took them into custody on order of Federal Judge SYLVESTER RYAN.

[illegible]
[illegible], 1965,
United States Courthouse,
Foley Square, New York City

"The New York World Telegram and Sun", a former New York City daily newspaper, on page one of the issue of March 22, 1965, contained an article entitled, "BELAFONTE [illegible] Out Five [illegible]". The article related that HARRY BELAFONTE, singer, and SIDNEY POITIER, actor, appeared in the [illegible] court on March 21,

1966, and provided bail money for five SNCC officers who had been arrested and charged with disorderly conduct for staging a sit-in at the South African Consulate, 655 Madison Avenue, New York City. The five SNCC officers were identified as follows in the newspaper article:

"JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary
"JOHN LEWIS, National Chairman
"WILLIAM HALL, New York Director of SNCC
"CLEVELAND SELLERS, Program Director
"WILLIAM HICKS, SNCC Staff Member"

(It should be noted that JAMES FORMAN is currently serving as Director of New York SNCC.)

An article in the "New York Herald Tribune", a former New York daily newspaper, March 22, 1966, page three, set forth the purpose of the above sit-in demonstration as a protest against the "inhuman and barbarous system of apartheid practised by the South African government."

On December 19, 1966, commencing at 10:00 a.m., the Board of Education, City of New York, conducted school budget hearings at their headquarters, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York. At 3:30 p.m. the hearings were interrupted by members of a so-called "Ad Hoc Board of Education" which demanded a voice in the hearings. The offical hearing was terminated at this point and the Ad Hoc groups staged a sit-in demonstration in the budget hearing room. They conducted their own "Board of Education" hearing. The sit-in was still in progress as of 10:00 a.m., December 21, 1966. Among those participating in the insurgent group was WILLIAM HALL of SNCC who was named "Superintendent of Schools" by the Ad Hoc Board of Education.

December 20, 1966 also
"New York Times"
December 21, 1966
Page 1, 32, article entitled,
"Brooklyn Sit-in Bars Second
Hearing By School Board"

A picket demonstration was conducted at Intermediate School 201 in Harlem, New York City, at 7:00 a.m. on September 21, 1966. SNCC members participated in this demonstration, the purpose of which was to protest the action of the Board of Education in reinstating STANLEY LESSER, white male, as Principal of Intermediate School 201 located at 127th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City. When the school doors opened at about 8:15 a.m. on September 21, 1966, five pickets attempted to rush past school Principal LESSER and block his entrance to the school. They were arrested by the New York City Police Department on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Included among those arrested was WILLIAM HALL, male Negro, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

It is to be noted that 100 Fifth Avenue is the address of SNCC New York Office.

On September 12, 1967, WILLIAM HALL of SNCC with approximately 20 supporters attempted to push their way at 9:10 a.m. through the police guard toward ten white teachers who were conducting peaceful picketing at Intermediate School 201, Harlem, New York City. WILLIAM HALL pushed past the police guard and was arrested for obstruction, harassment, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. H. RAP BROWN of SNCC appeared at the above demonstration at 9:40 a.m. He talked to spectators and reporters but did not participate in the demonstration.

September 2, 1967

A court hearing concerning reduction of bail for H. RAP BROWN was held at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, on August 22, 1967 at 10:00 a.m. JAMES FORMAN and other SNCC representatives were present in the court-

NY 100-147963

room. An outburst came from the spectators when JAMES FORMAN insisted that the United States Marshals readmit ROBERT SMITH, a SNCC representative, into the courtroom. FORMAN stated that he had reserved SMITH's seat in the courtroom. As FORMAN continued to be boisterous, the Judge ordered him to be removed from the courtroom. A pushing and shoving incident followed and FORMAN was removed to a detention cell. However, JAMES FORMAN was subsequently readmitted to the courtroom upon the insistence of H. RAP BROWN's attorney.

August 31, 1967

IV. SNCC OPPOSITION TO UNITED STATES POLICY IN VIETNAM AND DRAFT RESISTANCE

SNCC participated in a picketing demonstration and rally in the vicinity of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 49th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, on February 23, 1966, from 6:30 P.M. to 9 P.M. ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND* of SNCC was one of the speakers at this rally. The purpose of this demonstration was to protest United States Government policy in Vietnam.

[redacted] February 23, 1966

On July 12, 1966, SAS of the FBI observed a demonstration held in front of the United States Army Recruiting Station near the Apollo Theater on 125th Street, New York City. The demonstrators, 16 in number, marched from 12 noon until 2 P.M. carrying signs which read: "Why should black men kill brown men in Vietnam" and "Black men should return home to protect black women."

A flyer was handed out by the demonstrators. The following is quoted from the flyer: "Black men! Whitey's plan for you is death in Vietnam. Choose jail, stay here and fight for your manhood. Black women will not allow you to stand alone in your decision." At the bottom of the flyer appeared the following notation: "Advice and help may be obtained from the following organizations - SNCC and CORE."

The "New York Post", August 25, 1966, page five, contained an article entitled "SNCC, CORE blast draft 'salvage' plan." The article related that Defense Secretary MC NAMARA's proposal for "salvaging" draft rejectees was under fire from civil rights leaders. The article further related

that STOKELY CARMICHAEL*, at a youth forum held in the First Corinthian Baptist Church, 116th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, on August 24, 1966, allegedly stated "This man is out to exterminate us. It is clear that the man is moving to get rid of black people in the ghettos and we in SNCC are going to urge black people not to submit to the draft."

On September 18, 1966, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC)* held a panel discussion on Selective Service and the draft. The discussions were held at the New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street, New York City. A representative from SNCC was included among the panelists; however, he was not identified by name by the source reporting this information. The following question was put to the SNCC spokesman: "Are there any examples of mass refusal to be inducted?" The SNCC panelist answered that the move of SNCC is not to have mass action parades, jailings, etc. They are consolidating the Negro community for strength - "so that when the Government wants one man, the Government has to come into an organized community that is powerful. It will take force to get the one man."

September 19, 1966

On March 29, 1967, [redacted] made available a pamphlet which announced a "massive, anti-draft campaign". The pamphlet further related that on April [illegible], 1967, an "End the Draft Caravan" will visit every high school in the New York Metropolitan area and 200,000 young people will learn more about conscientious objection, more about Vietnam, and more about resisting War. This pamphlet indicated the "draft caravans" are sponsored by several organizations including SNCC.

The "New York Times", May 13, 1967, page one, in an article entitled "Carmichael out as SNCC Chief", set forth a statement issued on May 12, 1967, by SNCC National Office which described SNCC as "a human rights organization, interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world." SNCC encouraged the "liberation struggles" of peoples against racism, exploitation and oppression. "We shall seek a strong nationwide black anti-draft program and a movement to include high school students, along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country, to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing....."

Their economic objectives, the statement said, would be "to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, to gain economic control of our communities and to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals."

An estimated 700 Negroes marched through Harlem on Saturday, April 15, 1967, in support of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. The march commenced at Lenox Avenue and 135th Street, New York City. Some of the Negroes carried signs reading "We won't go" and "Black men stay home". STOKELY CARMICHAEL* of SNCC was in the line of march along with BILL EPTON* of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)*.

April [illegible], 1967

NY 100-147963

The above march on April 15, 1967, terminated at the United Nations Plaza where a massive rally was held. Many groups joined forces at the Plaza where the crowd numbered approximately 100,000 people. One of the featured speakers at the rally was STOKELY CARMICHAEL* of SNCC.

April 20, 1967

On Memorial Day, May 30, 1967, a march was staged by the Black United Action Front commencing at noon in Harlem, New York. The purpose of the march was to protest the War in Vietnam and the drafting of Negroes into the Armed Forces. Among the groups participating was SNCC. The flag of the Vietnam National Liberation Front was displayed in the line of march.

June 9, 1967

A demonstration sponsored by the Veterans and Reservists for Peace was held on June 3, 1967, on the occasion of the visit of President JOHNSON to New York City. The demonstration was held three blocks away from the Americana Hotel during the President's visit to the Hotel. SNCC was among the sponsoring organizations. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest United States involvment in Vietnam.

June 9, 1967

On July 13, 1967, a "Teach-in on Puerto Rico" was held at Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University, New York City. Approximately 300 persons were in attendance at this teach-in. Literature was distributed outside the auditorium by SNCC, among other organizations. The literature distributed covered Puerto Rico, Vietnam Peace Movements, anti-draft activities and Israel-Arab problems. H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, was a speaker at the teach-in. He discussed SNCC's relation to Latin American Revolutionary movements, particularly Puerto Rico and Cuba. BROWN likened American Negroes to "enslaved Latin America", both being victims of colonialism and United States imperialism. BROWN remarked that "if America plays Nazi, Negroes will not play Jew", but favored violence when necessary. He stated Puerto Ricans should not be drafted to fight for the United States, but should fight "LBJ, RUSK, MC NAMARA".

[redacted] July, 1967

A meeting entitled "Vietnam and Black America" was held on August 29, 1967, at the Village Theater located at 105 Second Avenue, New York City. This rally was sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and other organizations. Approximately 2,600 people attended. The speakers included JULIUS LESTER and H. RAP BROWN of SNCC, both of whom protested United States involvement in the Vietnam War.

[redacted] September 11, 1967

On October 3, 1967, a meeting of various committees working on the massive October 21, 1967, Washington, D.C. protest demonstration against United States involvement in

Vietnam, met at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. A representative of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presided over this meeting and remarked that his contact with militant Negro groups was JOHN WILSON of SNCC.

[redacted] October 5, 1967

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A half page advertisement appeared in the National Guardian, October 7, 1967, entitled "Confront the War Makers at the Pentagon". The following is quoted from the advertisement: "Welcome JOHN WILSON of SNCC to the National Mobilization Committee as Co-chairman and co-project director by sending funds for transportation to Washington, D.C., October 21 for thousands of black people and Puerto Ricans, north and south, who cannot afford the fare. Make checks payable to National Mobilization Committee and mail to JOHN WILSON, Co-chairman, National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 857 Broadway, Room 307, New York City."

V. SNCC CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS

On March 14, 1962, a picketing demonstration was conducted at the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City, from 3:35 P.M. until 5:25 P.M. Approximately 125 people participated. CORE, SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)* participated in the demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest against the arrest of CORE and SNCC representatives in Baton Rouge,

Louisiana, in the spring of 1962.

New York City
(March, 1962)

March 14, 1962

A picketing demonstration at the United States Mission to the United Nations, 45th Street and First Avenue, New York City, was held on March 18, 1963, between 5:15 P.M. and 6:15 P.M. 20 members of SNCC conducted this demonstration and carried signs protesting "lack of protection of SNCC workers in voter registration campaigns". This demonstration was observed by SAS of the FBI.

On September 22, 1963, a picketing demonstration [illegible] under the banner "National Day of Mourning for the children of Birmingham" was conducted at the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City. The demonstration was sponsored by SNCC, CORE and the NAACP. Speakers called for more action by the Federal Government in the civil rights field and more protection for the Negro people.

September 24, 1963

SNCC participated in a demonstration at the New York Office of the FBI, East 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City, from 4:30 P.M. to 7 P.M., March 9, 1965. This demonstration was spearheaded by CORE, New York, and had the support of other civil rights organizations in the New York area. The demonstrators protested the handling of

civil rights workers by police in Selma, Alabama, and urged the Government to designate Federal Registrars for voter registration in the south.

March 17, 1965

From 4:30 P.M. until 7:10 P.M. on June 21, 1965, a peak number of 90 individuals under the sponsorship of SNCC and CORE picketed outside the New York Office of the FBI, 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City. The pickets were addressed by speakers who demanded a "Federal injunction" calling for the release of civil rights workers then in jail in Jackson, Mississippi. The speakers also demanded that the United States Government provide Federal protection for civil rights workers in the south. Included among the speakers was MATT JONES, described as a SNCC member from the south.

Personal observation
by SAS of the FBI,
June 21, 1965

At 4 P.M. on July 27, 1967, 28 persons formed a picket-line before the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City. The group passed out handbills signed "Black Mask" which demanded the immediate release of H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC. H. RAP BROWN was released on July 27, 1967, from jail in Alexandria, Virginia, on $10,000 bond on charges that he incited a riot at Cambridge, Maryland. According to this source, persons affiliated with the PLP*, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence*, and SNCC were represented on the picket-line.

July 28, 1967

NY 100-147963

VI. SNCC SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY FOR COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Communist Party (CP)

[redacted]

[redacted] May 21, 1962

[redacted]

[redacted] July 5, 1962

On March 17, 1967, a forum under the name of Chelsea Forum was held at 311 West 24th Street, New York City, in the apartment of EUGENE GORDON, Sr.* Approximately 30 individuals attended this forum which was actually conducted by members of the Chelsea CP Club, West Side Section, New York County. Also in attendance was WILLIAM HALL, described as leader of Harlem SNCC. The speaker at this forum was HERBERT APTHEKER* who spoke on the "United States in the World Today".

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] March 17, 1967

A youth resolution dealing with the "new left", which was in the possession of the New York District CP at 33 Union Square West, New York City, in November, 1967, described the "new left" as a significant feature of the generation of the 60's. "The roots of this newly emergent left current are to be found in rebelling against the hypocrisy, sterility and insecurity of an America strangled by the corporate establishment.....The civil rights movement has had a very important effect upon it.....One of the most important periods that this new left has yet to experience is the present period of struggle to end the United States imperialist War in Vietnam."

The youth resolution identified three main organizations of the new left as SNCC, SDS* and W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA)*. "SNCC has moved from its initial exclusive identification with militant civil rights approaches to a greater concern for the problems in the whole fabric of American society and foreign policy. It has become the center in the civil rights movement for radical youth to see the American crisis in its broader canvas." The resolution concludes: "We Communists do not see the 'new left' as a force separate and apart from our party.....We see it rather as an outgrowth of the seeds we and others helped to sow."

November 9, 1967

March, 1964, to
April, 1967

"The Worker" is an East coast Communist newspaper.

B. DCA Clubs of America*

The third national convention of the DCA was held on September 8, to 10, 1967, at Columbia University, New York City. The convention was attended by 265 registered delegates and observers. One of the speakers at the convention was JULIUS LESTER described as Director of Photography, International Department, SNCC.

[redacted] September 19, 1967

"The Kingsman", September 29, 1967, a student newspaper at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York, set forth an article on page four entitled "Summer Riots in America Subject of Du Bois Talks". This article related that the DCA club at Brooklyn College held a meeting on September 27, 1967, which was attended by representatives of various organizations including SDS and CP. TERRY ARDREY also spoke at this meeting as a representative of SNCC.

C. Harlem Council for Peace*

SNCC was one of six organizations which allegedly participated in the formation of the Harlem Council for Peace as of January, 1966.

[redacted] January 21, 1966

D. SWP

August 31, 1967

The SWP sponsored a Women's Peace March to the Armory on 33rd Street, Manhattan, New York. About 300 people participated in the demonstration including members of SNCC.

June 24, 1966

October 24, 1966

January 25, 1965

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

On August 19, 1967, a social sponsored by the Movimiento Pro Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR)* was held at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York City. During the meeting members of the MPIPR were observed talking with people attempting to get donations to be sent to SNCC to help pay the bond for H. RAP BROWN.

[redacted] August [illegible], 1967

[redacted] August 3[illegible], 1967

SNCC was represented at the National Convention of the SDS*, which was held in the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 to 30, 1967. At the convention, it was decided that SDS* would support SNCC and its activity. At the final session of the convention, a representative of SNCC gave a talk and asked for contributions to his organization. A contribution of $150 was presented to SNCC.

[redacted] July, 1967

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee CP, United States of America (USA), at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, held June 22 to 26, 1966, in New York City.

June 30, 1966

LOUISE R. BERMAN

While appearing before a public session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, California, June 21, 1957, DOROTHY JEFFERS, a member of the Professional Section of the CP of San Francisco from 1943 to 1951, stated in her sworn testimony that LOUISE BRANSTEN (also known as LOUISE R. BERMAN) was a member of the Professional Section of the CP, San Francisco. Miss JEFFERS also testified that she had attended a meeting of the CP in the home of LOUISE BRANSTEN.

April 17, 1967

APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

[redacted]

[redacted]
November 3, 1964

ALVA BUXENBAUM

As of December 21, 19[illegible], ALVA BUXENBAUM was a member of the New York District CP Committee representing Kings County.

[redacted]
December 21, 1966

[illegible]

[redacted]

ROSE M. [illegible]

As of May, 19[illegible], [illegible] M. COE was a member of the CP, USA Farm Commission.

[redacted]
[illegible]

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX J (INDIVIDUALS)

WILLIAM EPTON

WILLIAM EPTON as of October 16, 1967, was Vice-President of the PLP*.

October 16, 1967

[illegible], 1967

CORLISS LAMONT

On September 28, 19[illegible]3, LOUIS F. BUDENZ testified before the United States Senate Permanent Investigations Sub Committee that EARL BROWDER, as head of the CP in the United States, had referred to CORLISS LAMONT as one of the "four prides" of the CP because CORLISS LAMONT was ready to cooperate with any Communist front or any Communist cause. BROWDER made this reference at a National Committee meeting of the CP in the early 19[illegible]'s. BUDENZ also recalled that CORLISS LAMONT was a member of the CP while he, BUDENZ, was a member.

[illegible]

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service reported on April [illegible], 1967, a broadcast from Hanoi, North Vietnam, on

APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

April 8, 1967, which read as follows: "The 4th Investigative Delegation of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal has arrived in Hanoi to continue the work of the first three delegations in investigating the United States War crimes in Vietnam. The delegation included, among others, American Negro, JULIUS LESTER, writer, cameraman and compositor in charge of SNCC Photograph Service."

MALCOLM X

For a characterization of MALCOLM X see characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) attached.

WILLIAM MC ADOO

WILLIAM MC ADOO was, as of May, 1966, the head of the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life*.

[redacted] May 10, 1966

ALEX E. O. MUNSELL

[redacted] advised that ALEX MUNSELL was present at a fund raising party of Village Clubs 1 and 2, CP, New York County, which was held on June 22, 1962, at 53 Barrow Street, New York City.

APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

VICTOR RABINOWITZ

The December, 1966 issue of "Rights" published by the ECLC* on page 34 identifies VICTOR RABINOWITZ as a member of the Executive Committee of the ECLC.

April 3, 1967

VICTOR RABINOWITZ attended the 18th Anniversary Dinner of the National Guardian* held in New York City on November 4, 1966, and during the evening it was announced that he had donated $1,000 to the National Guardian.

November 10, 1966

ANNA ROCHESTER

, advised on May 13, 1963, that as of September, 1962, ANNA ROCHESTER was still a member of the CP in Greenwich Village, New York City.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

The November 11, 1963 issue of "The Militant" page five, column three, reflects that ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, a book editor, was treasurer of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba* at that time.

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

ABRAHAM WEISBURD

Volume 1, July-August, 1966, of "Labor News and Views", a news letter of the Trade Unionists for Peace* of New York City on page two lists ABE WEISBURD as one of five individuals who are members of the board of editors of this publication.

JOHN WILSON

On February 21, 1967, [redacted] furnished a flyer printed by the Militant Labor Forum (MLF)* which indicated that the MLF* would sponsor a MALCOLM X* Memorial meeting on February 24, 1967. One of the speakers listed on the flyer was JOHN WILSON, described as SNCC Field Secretary.

The MLF held the above Memorial meeting at 873 Broadway, New York City, on February 24, 1967. JOHN WILSON of SNCC was the second speaker and stated that MALCOLM X had made an immeasurable contribution to civil rights.

[redacted]
March 1, 1967

APPENDIX II (ORGANIZATIONS)

APPENDIX

1.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND RESISTANCE TO GHETTO LIFE (CERGE)

A source advised on February 3, 1965, that CERGE was formed on November 1, 1964, as a front of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), presently known as Progressive Labor Party (PLP). All personnel which comprise the committee are PLM members. CERGE was organized to raise funds for the PLM in order that the PLM will have money for bail when it becomes necessary. The people connected with CERGE hope to build it into a national organization.

A second source advised on March 5, 1965, that it is the plan of the PLM to recruit people into CERGE and use CERGE as a recruiting front for PLM members. The PLM plans to give instructions in Marxist philosophy and those who respond will be advanced from CERGE to PLM membership.

A third source advised on December 28, 1966, that CERGE previously maintained an office at Room 617, 1 Union Square, New York, New York, but that it no longer occupies this office and is considered defunct.

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

"1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists. * * *'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER RELIEF TO CUBA (ECDRC)

A source advised that on October 17, 1963, about 20 individuals representing various pro-Cuban organizations in the New York City area, met in New York, New York, for the purpose of forming a committee to raise funds to assist victims of hurricane "Flora" in Cuba.

Literature distributed by the ECDRC at a later date reflected that the Chairman of the Committee is SIDNEY J. GLUCK and the Medical Director, Dr. LOUIS A. MILLER. Its headquarters are at 41 Union Square West, Room 311, New York 3, New York, and its literature proclaims that the ECDRC is a non-profit organization found to help Cuban victims of hurricane "Flora" by collecting funds for the purchase of food, medicine and relief supplies.

A second source advised that SIDNEY J. GLUCK, whose real name is ISADORE GLICK, maintained a 1943 Communist Party (CP) membership book in his possession in 1944.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, stated in 1950 that as late as 1945 he was advised by JACK STACHEL, CP leader, that Dr. LOUIS A. MILLER was an active member of the CP.

A third source advised that on February 10, 1965, a meeting sponsored by the Committee for Special Medical Aid to Cuba (SMAC), formerly the ECDRC, was held in a New York

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER RELIEF TO CUBA (ECDRC) CONTINUED

hotel. SIDNEY GLUCK advised those in attendance that the emergency from hurricane "Flora" in Cuba was over. He stated that the ECDRC was disbanded and a legal name change was completed January 21, 1965.

1. APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

"The Jewish Fraternalist" dated October, 1947, self-identified as the official publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO), Page 6, contained an article which reflected that the Emma Lazarus Division (ELD) of the JPFO was to hold its first national convention in New York City on November 15 and 16, 1947, after having been first established at a National Women's Conference called three years previously by the JPFO.

"The Morning Freiheit" (MF) on January 25, 1951, contained a report of the National Convention of the ELD of the JPFO which took place in New York City on January 20 and 21, 1951. At this convention, it was noted that the ELD changed its name to Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) and adopted a new constitution.

On May 4, 1960, a source advised that the ELF was recognized by the Communist Party (CP) United States of America (USA) as an important national organization of women whose leadership was primarily made up of Communists. The source stated the ELF was dedicated to peace, in protecting the rights of foreign born, and against bomb testing, Negro discrimination and the rearmament of West Germany.

The source also stated the ELF renders support to and receives support from the MF and other Jewish progressive organizations.

The ELF National Office was moved and is now located at 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 632, New York, New York.

The IWO and JPFO have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

2. APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION
OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS (CONTINUED)

"1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily'.
(Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE
Congressional Record, September 24, 1942,
p. 7686.)

"2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest
organs of Communist propaganda in this
country for almost a quarter of a century.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political
Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"

APPENDIX

1.

HARLEM COUNCIL FOR PEACE
Also known as Central
Harlem Committee on Vietnam

A source on January 10, 1966, advised that the idea for the meeting and formation of the Central Harlem Committee on Vietnam, which met on January 9, 1966, in New York City, was conceived at a Communist Party meeting held on December 18, 1965, between representatives of the Communist Party, United States of America, New York District and Harlem Region, Communist Party. On January 21, 1966, the same source advised the Committee had now adopted the name of the Harlem Council For Peace (HCFP).

A second source on February 10, 1966, furnished a circular issued by HCFP, self-characterizing itself as an ad hoc committee formed by a group of concerned people representing several organizations.

The first source, on January 17, 1966, advised that the purpose of the group is to foster sentiment against the Vietnam War.

A third source, on February 1, 1966, furnished a draft of proposed literature for the HCFP. This draft listed the following aims and purposes of the organization:

1. The War Against Poverty in Harlem.

2. The liberation of non-white people here in the United States.

3. The right of free expression as guaranteed by the constitution of the United States.

APPENDIX

2.

HARLEM COUNCIL FOR PEACE CONTINUED

The first source on May 10, 1966, advised that the HCFP was located at 357 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

A fourth source advised on October 10, 1966, that as of that date the HCFP was defunct.

APPENDIX

1.
MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M) formerly known as the May 2 Committee was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

The characterization of the PLP has been set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 17, 1967, that public forums are regularly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) - New York Local (NYL) on Friday evenings, and are held at SWP headquarters 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)(MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, to work for the independence of Puerto Rico. It has an estimated membership of between 1,000 and 1,300 people with missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico, and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York.

At the time the MPIPR was organized it was indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leaders of this organization, in a speech during March, 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States. A source reported in 1966 that a leader of the MPIPR indicated that "the Revolution would soon begin" and another source advised that another official of this organization had attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols.

Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1961, the MPIPR adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American People, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

In December, 1966, the Governor of Puerto Rico signed into law a bill calling for a plebiscite on July 23, 1967, to determine the future political status of Puerto Rico. The press reported that this plebiscite has been denounced vociferously by the MPIPR as "an act of Yankee imperialism to maintain the colonial status of Puerto Rico". JUAN MARI BRAS stated that the MPIPR had asked the Cuban Government for "militant solidarity with our struggle, in all international forums to which Red Cuba has access".

APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

APPENDIX

2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

This same confidential source advised on September 8, 1965, that the activities of the MMI following the death of MALCOLM X were limited to the teaching of classes in the Islamic religion and a class in judo for self-protection. These classes were held regularly until the latter part of July, 1965, when they were discontinued. Since then, the MMI has held no meetings and there has been absolutely no activity by the MMI which appears to be completely "dead".

APPENDIX

1

NATION OF ISLAM, FORMERLY REFERRED TO AS THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, ALSO KNOWN AS MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1967, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD h described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government;however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX

2

NATION OF ISLAM (CONTINUED)

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

"1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

APPENDIX

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights", while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

2.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On February 28, 1966, a second confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Harlem, New York.

On May 8, 1967, the first confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of ELLA COLLINS.

Characterizations of MMI and NOI are set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

PRENSA LATINA

Prensa Latina (PL) is a Cuban news agency organized June 16, 1959, with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, and branches throughout the world. Its New York office is located in Room 367, United Nations Secretariat Building, New York City. It follows an editorial policy which is anti-United States and pro-Soviet Union.

On April 16, 1962, PL filed a statement with the United States Department of Justice conceding that the agency receives the sum of $125,000 (Cuban) monthly from Radio Difusora Nacional, an agency of or under the supervision of a ministry of the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On April 18, 1962, PL entered a plea of nolo contender in Federal District Court, Washington, D.C., to a charge of failure to comply with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and was fined $2,000.

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC)

On February 9, 1961, a source advised that the PYOC was established at a national socialist-oriented youth conference held in Chicago, Illinois, December 30, 1960, through January 1, 1961. This conference was the result of a mandate issued by the National Executive Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA) calling for a youth conference to establish an organizing committee whose objective would be to set up a national socialist-oriented youth organization. The conference scheduled a convention to be held within a year to found a new national socialist-oriented youth organization.

On June [illegible], 1962, AARON COHEN, a member of the CP from 1947 to 1957 and from December, 1951, to October, 1963, advised it was reported at the meeting of the National Council of the PYOC held New York, New York, June 16 and 17, 1962, that although it had been planned to form a Marxist-oriented youth organization by the Fall of 1962, it would not be possible to form such an organization for the next few years.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that the PYOC no longer maintains its headquarters at 169 Allen Street, New York, New York, and from what can be determined the PYOC is no longer in existence.

APPENDIX

1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the captialist system in the United States, by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it will most likely be where STANFORD resides.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1.

"THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE (NEW YORK)
Also Known As Labor For Peace

A source advised on August 16, 1965, that a meeting of 16 people was held on August 12, 1965, in Room 18K, Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York, New York. The chairman of the meeting stated the meeting was called to form an organization to be tentatively called "Labor For Peace" for the purpose of mobilizing the labor class for the cause of peace, particularly in Vietnam. The chairman stated that, "We as Party people are organizing this group, but we want it to broaden and expand to include workers who are not associated with the Party". He stated it was necessary to mobilize the rank and file union membership to the cause of peace to such an extent that the union membership will support "our organization".

A second source advised on August 20, 1965, that the name of the new group called "Labor For Peace" had been changed to Trade Unionists For Peace (TUFP). This same source stated on September 17, 1965, that at a meeting of the TUFP which was held on September 16, 1965, at the Hotel Woodstock, 137 West 43rd Street, New York City, it was stated that the aims and purposes of the organization was to organize trade unionists who are interested in peace and against United States intervention in Vietnam.

A third source advised on September 23, 1965, that at a meeting of Club 19 of the Communist Party (CP), United States of America (USA), which was held on September 22, 1965, in Brooklyn, New York, it was stated that since none of the organizations for peace in Vietnam have won the support of the workers, the CP had set up an organization in the trade union movement called the TUFP.

A fourth source advised on December 14, 1965, that at a meeting of the CP, USA, New York District Trade Union Commission, which was held on December 12, 1965, in New York City, it was stated that the CP had set up a caucus of Party members in TUFP which formulates the kind of policy to be carried out by this organization. It was also stated that it was up to the Party to involve workers in this organization and attempt

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, GUS HALL, CPUSA, General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth confidential source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee

Character Internal Security - Student
Non-Violen Coordinating Committee

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] was in a position to furnish reliable information

APPENDIX

2.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE
(NEW YORK) (CONTINUED)

to tie up the ideas of peace with economics.

A third source advised on April 17, 1967, that the TUFP is currently located in Room 408, at 857 Broadway, New York, New York.

FD-263 (Rev. 2-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	[illegible]	6/19/69 - 10/10/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE	[redacted]	kbm

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM

REFERENCES

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/18/69, at New York.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO; PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

11 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
4 - 108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1 - OSI, NYC (RM)
1 - NISO, NYC (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)
1 - Atlanta (INFO) (RM)
3 - New York (100-147963)

REC 12

14 OCT 20 1969

REC-19

EX-106

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: IRS att: Intelligence; RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU
Request Recd.	ACSI, SECSER, OSI
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 10/27/69
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: R/S
By	BY: pin/[illegible]

Notations

cc-866

-A-

COVER PAGE

58 NOV 25 1969

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

NYO is shown as office of origin since all evidence points to the present location of National SNCC at 300 Ninth Avenue, NYC.

SAS who interviewed [redacted] 8/13/69, were [redacted] and [redacted]

Current status of SNCC leaders and activists in New York Division:

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
	NY 100-147963-3619, 3549
	NY 100-147963-3561
Used to characterize ALEX MUNSELL	
	NY 100-147963-3539

INFORMANTS CONT'D

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	NY 100-147963-3593
[redacted]	NY 100-147963-3548 to 3580
[redacted]	
[redacted]	NY 100-147963-3623
[redacted]	[redacted]

Information copy is designated for Atlanta since Atlanta was until recently office of origin in this case.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Copy to:
4 - 108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1 - OSI, NYC (RM)
1 - NISO, NYC (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: New York, New York
Date: 10/16/69

Field Office File #: 100-147963 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC National Office is presently located at 300 Ninth Avenue, NYC, in the annex of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Episcopal). A statement issued by SNCC at a press conference held 7/22/69, in NYC, reflects that H. RAP BROWN was renamed Chairman of SNCC. IRVING DAVIS was named Director of International Affairs for SNCC and JAMES ALEXANDER JOHNSON of the Fort Hood Three was made Director of National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU), SNCC's anti-draft program. SNCC is now governed by a Revolutionary Political Council. SNCC officers and staff members listed and results of national staff meeting 6/16, 17/69, set forth. SNCC described as bankrupt. [redacted] Power play currently taking place in SNCC between JAMES FORMAN and IRVING DAVIS. Current SNCC directed programs are the NBAWADU and the International Affairs Commission [redacted] as well as SNCC's support of National Black Economic Development Conference and recent appearances by SNCC leaders on campus.

-P*-

DETAILS:

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

NY 100-147963

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location of National Office

The National Office of Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is presently located at 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City, Second Floor, in the annex of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Episcopal).

[redacted] September 26, 1969

B. Restructuring of SNCC

A statement issued by SNCC at a press conference conducted on July 22, 1969, at its National Headquarters, 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City, announced a new structuring of the SNCC organization as follows:

"There has also been a change-over in the administration of SNCC. The new structure consists of:

"(A) The creation of a Revolutionary Political Council which replaces the old SNCC Central Committee as governing body,

"(B) A Propoganda Network, under the direction of Phil Hutchings, former head of SNCC.

"(C) The building of an all-Black Political Party. And the R.W.C., which has various functions under the new structure.

"Other noted changes are the selection of Irving Davis as the Director of SNCC's International Affairs Commission. He replaces James Forman in that position, who because of extensive duties with the 'Black Manifesto', can no longer serve in that capacity. Forman still remains a SNCC staff member, However.

NY 100-147963

"Jimmy Johnson, formerly of the 'Ft. Hood 3', was named to head up NBAWADU, SNCC's draft program. Johnson is presently in Vietnam, representing our organization for the release of American POWs, an arrangement made recently by Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization".

July 31, 1969

C. Officers and Staff Members

National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN contacted the Cincinnati, Ohio Office of SNCC, June 4, 1969, and advised them of the forthcoming national staff meeting of SNCC scheduled for June 16, 17, 1969, at New York City.

The national staff meeting commenced at 11:00 am, June 16, 1969, and was conducted in the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City, with the following individuals present listed according to their origin:

New York	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, also known as "Che" FRED MEELY IRVING DAVIS H. RAP BROWN WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT JAMES FORMAN JAMES LYTLE FRANCES BEAL JOSEPH MILLER DIANE JENKINS JUDY SULLIVAN
Newark	PHIL HUTCHINGS
Dallas, Texas	MARION ERNEST McMILLAN (SNCC Midwest Deputy Director, Dallas, Texas) MICKEY McGUIRE MAT JONES MIKE DODD ED HARRIS MAT JOHNSON

Tuskegee, Alabama	NORMAN "DUKE" BARNETT
Baltimore	BOB MOORE RUDY LEWIS
New Orleans	LYNN FRENCH LEONARD GRANT JIMMIE LAZARE LIONEL McINTYRE
Los Angeles	Brother COOK SANDRA SCOTT TONY SCOTT
Detroit, Michigan	DAN ALDRIDGE
St. Louis	SAM PETTY
Cincinnati	McKINLEY PACE GEORGE HUGHES TAYLOR HUGHES

June 24, 1969

June 23, 1969

June 18, 1969

FRED MEELY as of May, 1969, continued to function as a member of the national staff of SNCC

May 19, 1969

FRANCES BEAL of Queens, New York, was on the national staff of SNCC as of June, 1969, but was reported as taking no active part therein.

June 3, 1969

PHIL HUTCHINGS was in New Orleans from June 3, 1969 to June 5, 1969.

June 9, 1969

was interviewed by Special Agents (SAS) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on August 13, 1969, in the vicinity of 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, New York City. stated that at a recent national staff meeting of SNCC held in New York City, H. RAP BROWN had again assumed leadership of the organization. related that SNCC was not functioning with the impetus it has had in the past, and this was due to a severe lack of finances and deteriorating interest.

D. Funds

The financial backing for the June 16, 17, 1969 national staff meeting of SNCC was donated to SNCC by officials of the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City.

June 25, 1969

At the national staff meeting of SNCC held in June, 1969, in New York City, a financial report was given by SNCC leaders IRVING DAVIS and JAMES LYTLE. The substance of the report was that National SNCC was bankrupt and it was estimated that its total debt amounted to approximately $13,000.00.

June 23, 1969

advised on September 19, 1969, that National SNCC and the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) have serious financial problems which are being compounded by increasing leadership conflicts between the two groups.

At an anti-war rally held in Central Park, New York City, on August 9, 1969, FRANCES BEAL and JUDY SULLIVAN, affiliated with SNCC, took up a collection and raised $50.00 for SNCC to be used for the Rap Brown Defense Fund. JUDY SULLIVAN was described as an employee of the New York Urban League operating in their Street Academy in the Bedford - Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn.

August 11, 1969

E. Factionalism within SNCC

June 12, 1969

September 19, 1969

advised on September 29, 1969, that IRVING DAVIS has been calling meetings of various SNCC functionaries who he feels will support him in his effort to oust JAMES FORMAN from SNCC.

II. NATIONAL STAFF MEETING

A National Staff Meeting of SNCC was held on June 16, 17, 1969, at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City.

The entire session of the National Staff meeting on June 16, 17, 1969, was confined to reports from the various geographical areas represented at the session and all were negative indicating nothing had been attempted or accomplished in those areas within the past year. During this session, H. RAP BROWN stated the organization was dying and it was incumbent upon those present to start anew.

JAMES FORMAN appeared at the conference at about 6 PM on June 16, 1969 and for four hours rambled on about his "Black Manifesto" and the potential for the NBEDC. He concluded his remarks by calling for the demise of the SNCC and rallying behind the ideals and program of the Black Manifesto During the June 17, 1969 session, DAN ALDRIDGE, affiliated with SNCC in Detroit, remarked that SNCC could not continue to function effectively because no one in the organization knew what was going on.

The entire two days of the Staff meeting embraced nothing but personality conflicts and arguments among those present and nothing was accomplished or resolved. The only item of business that was decided was to adjourn this meeting for one month and reconvene in Atlanta, Georgia, some time in July, 1969.

June 18, 1969

During the course of the SNCC National Staff meeting held in New York City, June 16, 17, 1969 the Texas Delegation together with WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, H. RAP BROWN, and others, attempted to take over control of SNCC and to change its name to Black Revolutionary Action Party headed by BROWN. The group said they were doing this because SNCC has had no major programs since 1966. JAMES FORMAN strongly objected to this strategy and threatened to resign from SNCC. Source stated that thereafter a motion was made and adopted calling another Staff meeting of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 17, 1969 at which time a definite decision would be made concerning SNCC reorganization.

June 23, 1969

On July 18 1969, the following source advised that the SNCC Staff meeting scheduled for Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969, was cancelled.

July 18, 1969

III. SNCC - DIRECTED PROGRAMS

A. National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

The NBAWADU, as of May 16. 1969, was located at 2409 7th Avenue, New York City, under the leadership of JAMES ALEXANDER JOHNSON of the Fort Hood Three. The Fort Hood Three were the three Fort Hood soldiers who refused to serve in Viet Nam. The NBAWADU is a SNCC-directed project and is their anti-draft program.

May 22. 1969

May 26, 1969

The following source advised on September 26, 1969, that there has been no activity in the NBAWADU, 2409 7th Avenue, since June, 1969. The source said that the NBAWADU had occupied a store front at 2409 7th Avenue, since early in 1969 and last paid their rent in June, 1969. The management of the premises has since rented the store to another tenant. No one has been observed in the NBAWADU Office for several months.

September 26, 1969

B. SNCC International Affairs Commission

At a press conference given by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC at New York SNCC Office, 300 9th Avenue, New York City, on July 22, 1969, it was announced that IRVING DAVIS now directs the International Affairs Commission replacing JAMES FORMAN in that position.

July 31, 1969

April 21, 1969

On August 26, 1969, advised that SVEN HEDMAN and SARA MARKSTROM, described by this source as connected with Scandinavian SNCC, travelled to the United States in August, 1969, and were in contact with IRVING DAVIS and FRANCES BEAL in New York City. HEDMAN and MARKSTROM were scheduled to return to Sweden the latter part of August, 1969, where they are students at Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden.

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT, about August, 1969, described his recent trip to Cuba. He claimed that while he was in Cuba he was afforded guerrilla warfare training by the Cuban Government and was trained in the use of firearms. He traveled to Cuba with DONALD STONE, Atlanta SNCC.

August 13, 1969

August 12, 1969

June 19, 1969

July 17, 1969

V. SNCC ACTIVITIES

A. Support of the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC)

JAMES FORMAN appeared before the New York Presbyterian Conference in San Antonio, Texas, in May, 1969, and republished the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto issued by the NBEDC.

Supporters of JAMES FORMAN as of May 16, 1969 had seized control of the 11th floor at 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, which is the inter-church center. The purpose of this sit-in demonstration was to urge compliance with the demands of the Black Manifesto. Several individuals from SNCC were assisting in the sit-in demonstration at 475 Riverside Drive.

May 19, 1969

As of June 6, 1969, JAMES FORMAN had taken over three floor at 475 Riverside Drive with about two dozen of his followers in implementation of the Black Manifesto. Also present for a short time to lend his support was H. RAP BROWN.

June 6, 1969

July 23, 1969

July 28, 1969

August 19, 1969

B. Campus Appearance of SNCC Leaders

July 31, 1969

The following source advised on August 13, 1969, that SNCC was sending representatives to attend the National Students Association, 22nd National Student Congress, scheduled to be held at the University of Texas at El Paso, commencing August 16, 1969.

NY 100-147963

SNCC people attending the conference would be led by **GWEN PATTON** of SNCC Washington, DC. SNCC hoped through attendance at this conference to be able to formulate plans for organizing students on campus.

August 13, 1969

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
October 16, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. NY 100-147963

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted], dated and captioned as above at New York, New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] Contact with this informant has been insufficient to determine reliability.

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

7772

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	1/21/70	12/18/69 - 1/16/70

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted] TYPED BY: caml

CHARACTER OF CASE: RM

1 cc Crim Div. as captioned "ARC 694-G; RSM/cw; 2/4/70

1 cc File for New 176

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/16/69, at New York.
Bureau airtel, dated 12/12/69.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified "Confidential" due to the information from [redacted] who are informants of

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO; PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

☐ NONE

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 JAN 22 1970

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

	AGENCY:	RAO ATT:	ISD, RAO ATT:
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Notations: IDIU, Crim, IRS Paul Wright

RACIAL INT. SECT.

62 FEB 5 1970

COVER PAGE

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ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could compromise their future effectiveness and have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the United States.

Current status of SNCC members in New York is:

H. RAP BROWN

IRVING DAVIS

FRANCES BEAL

WILLIAM HUNT

RON JACKSON

JUDY SULLIVAN

Information copies of this report are designated for AT, CI, KX and SV, as current SNCC activity is occurring in these divisions.

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INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report SNCC activity in 90 days.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
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Report of: [redacted]
Office: New York, New York
Date: 1/21/70

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC shares space in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 W. 20th St., NYC. This is the National Office of SNCC. There are three SNCC chapters presently in the US; Atlanta, Georgia, Cincinnati, Ohio, and NYC, with seven persons active in NYC, including National Chairman, H. RAP BROWN. SNCC published one issue of a newsletter in the summer of 1969, and has been trying to publish regular issues since that time. New rules and regulations for SNCC members were adopted at National Staff meetings in NYC, November, 1969. These rules set forth. SNCC is planning to buy land in Tennessee as part of their new Agrarian Reform Program. SNCC has issued several booklets, including one on organization of a Revolutionary Action Party and two on guerilla warfare. These booklets are set forth. After National Staff meetings SNCC leaders reportedly indicated they felt that due to lack of funds, SNCC is not able to effectively carry out any type of endeavor.

-P-

Classified by 1259
Exempt from GDS Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/22/78

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classification
DATE 8/25/78

CONFIDENTIAL

~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded From Automatic Downgrading and Declassification~~

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is in the appendix.

I. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE

On November 25, 1969 [redacted] advised that the National Office of SNCC is located at 336 West 20th Street, New York City (NYC). SNCC has the use of a large room in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church. SNCC use of this space is not exclusive and other groups also have use of this space. SNCC does not function regularly at this office and as much as three days will elapse between times when an SNCC member will be present. There is no telephone service for SNCC and no rent is charged for this space.

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

SNCC has three chapters currently active throughout the United States. All other previously active chapters have ceased functioning. These chapters are NYC, Atlanta, Georgia and Cincinnati, Ohio. NYC has seven members, Atlanta three and Cincinnati three. There are two people in Baltimore, Maryland, one in Austin, Texas, and two in Detroit, Michigan, who are considered to be part of SNCC, although they are not active and no chapters are active in those locations.

[redacted] January 12, 1970

H. RAP BROWN is the National Chairman of SNCC and IRVING B. DAVIS is the Director of International Affairs. WILLIAM "MOHAMMED" HUNT is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council. The other four persons active in NYC are considered to be members of the National Staff.

January 12, 1970

H. RAP BROWN, IRVING DAVIS and WILLIAM "MOHAMMED" HUNT appeared to be the controlling forces within SNCC. DAVIS recently remarked that JAMES FORMAN, a former National SNCC official, is no longer affiliated with SNCC. BROWN, HUNT and DAVIS have the idea that SNCC can be built up again to the organization it once was, however, they currently lack the necessary finances and have not been able to afford the installation of a telephone in the space they use as an office.

December 22, 1969

The current membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members. The office is at Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

September 17, 1969
September 22, 1969

The SNCC office in Atlanta, Georgia, is at 360 Nelson Street Southwest. There are three persons who are currently active in SNCC.

December 3, 1969

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The SNCC office in Atlanta has for the past few months developed into more or less "dormitories" for the "parasites" who have no jobs or other meaningful purposes.

[redacted] September 19, 1969

III. FACTIONALISM IN SNCC

There continues to be dissension in SNCC with much dissatisfaction of IRVING DAVIS. DAVIS is considered by some to be dead weight and has been criticized for not having done anything of a constructive nature since he has been an SNCC official.

[redacted] November 7, 1969

WILLIAM HUNT and IRVING DAVIS have not been able to get along as HUNT has been critical of DAVIS and DAVIS cannot stand criticism.

[redacted] November 19, 1969

A severe conflict exists between FRANCES BEAL (a member of the National Staff) and WILLIAM HUNT. Reportedly BEAL recently made application to the Episcopal Peace Fellowship for money to get her group which she calls Women's Liberation Movement off the ground. DAVIS

is supposedly the cause of this application being rejected on the basis of his efforts to be included in the grant. Because of this type conduct on DAVIS' part, efforts have been undertaken by HUNT and others to chastise him.

[redacted] November 25, 1969

There have been accusations within SNCC that IRVING DAVIS has been stealing SNCC funds for his own use. Particularly, FRANCES BEAL has been heard to relate that in the past when SNCC receives checks and DAVIS gets his hands on these checks he cashes them for himself.

[redacted] December 9, 1969

During the SNCC National Staff meeting in NYC on November 10, 1969 and November 11, 1969, WILLIAM HUNT remarked to those present that IRVING DAVIS was suspected of misappropriating organizational funds. HUNT advocated that he be chastised, however, it was not advocated he be expelled. It was speculated that expulsion was not entertained due to the fact DAVIS is currently frequenting the offices of African representatives to the United Nations (UN) and is regarded by SNCC as the only one with foreign contacts.

[redacted] November 13,1969

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IV. FINANCES

On December 22, 1969, [redacted] advised that SNCC currently lacks finances to rebuild the organization. They have not yet been able to raise money to have a telephone installed in the NYC office.

V. FOREIGN CONTACTS

On November 19, 1969, [redacted] advised that IRVING DAVIS, Director of International Affairs of SNCC, has been spending a lot of time at United Nations.

JAPAN
VIETNAM
CHINA
RUSSIA

NY 100-147963

[redacted]

HUNT has claimed that on this trip he and STONE also visited Japan, North and South Vietnam, China and Russia, where they were allowed to tour these countries.

VI. NATIONAL STAFF MEETINGS, NEW YORK CITY NOVEMBER, 1969

[redacted] advised on November 18, 1969, that on the evening of November 4, 1969 and November 5, 1969, members of the SNCC held meetings at the National SNCC headquarters in New York City. Those attending these meetings who were not from New York City had been sent special invitations. Among those present were TERRY AUDREY, FRANCES BEAL, MUHAMMAD HUNT, RON JACKSON, and PHIL HUTCHINGS of New York City. Others observed in attendance were JIMMIE LAZARE of New Orleans, Louisiana, and GEORGE HUGHES and TAYLOR HUGHES of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The main portions of these meetings were presentation and discussion regarding new guidelines and rules and regulations for SNCC members as well as an organizational restructuring of SNCC for the future.

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A mimeographed draft of new rules and regulations pertaining to members was furnished to those in attendance. This draft had been prepared by RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT. After much discussion and suggestions of those in attendance, this draft was corrected and adopted.

Also at these meetings, those in attendance were provided mimeographed copies of SNCC's Agrarian Reform Program. After discussions and suggestions, corrections were made and these drafts were approved.

The following are the adopted drafts:

SNCC ---- DRAFT ----

The absence of organizational guidelines has precipitated undisciplined and counter-revolutionary behavior on the part of individuals in the organization in the past. Therefore, the following rules and regulations shall *heretofore be put into effect:*

POLITICAL

1. All persons, volunteers, and organizers engaging in SNCC activities and functions shall be subject to the rules, regulations and political positions established by the decision-making body of the organization. (The Revolutionary Political Council)

2. All persons willfully engaged in politically detrimental activities to the organization shall be expelled from the organization after review by staff members and the RPC. Such activities to be determined by SNCC staff members and the RPC. Members who participate in or contribute to misinformation and untruths concerning the organization in public or elsewhere shall be reprimanded on the 1st account and given political education on the position of the organization and upon the 2nd offense, shall be expelled.

3. Those persons who are absent or late for organizational appointments 4 times within a one month period shall be brought before the local staff and if said person is a frequent offender, he will be brought before the R.P.C.

4. Members who willfully disobey orders from people delegated responsibility by the R.P.C. will be brought before the R.P.C. for disciplinary action and/or dismissal from the organization.

5. All internal dissension and discussion shall be carried out by those parties involved and at no time shall arguments be tolerated in the presence of the public.

6. No member or person involved in the organization shall sanction the use of his/her name by any indigenous group, organization, etc. without the acknowledgment of the R.P.C.

7. No SNCC person, chapter, etc. shall make alliances with local or national or international groups or individuals without informing the Revolutionary Political Council.

8. All SNCC personnel including office workers, indigenous groups, etc. shall spend at least 15 days per month in community on one or more political projects.

9. Any member convicted of victimizing any other member of the organization (or member of the community) shall be expelled after the first warning.

10. Those persons assigned special tasks by office staff head and who do not function properly shall be replaced if R.P.C. finds them working below his/her fullest capacity.

11. All officers heading up any of the 7 or more networks shall be subordinate to the R.P.C. Each member or head shall, after review, be placed on the Council or Committee according to his/her work record, dedication, political ability, etc.

12. All office holders of the aforementioned networks shall present an outline of past and future activities to be reviewed by the R.P.C. upon the request of the R.P.C.

13. All national and international verbal and written contracts, documents, and contacts shall be approved by the decision of the R.P.C.

14. Any member of the organization found guilty one or more times of being discourteous, arrogant or egotistical toward people in the community shall:

    1. Be reprimanded and/or transferred or expelled if necessary from the project and/or the organization.

    2. Be given political education on the correct nature of dealing with people.

15. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council shall be elected by the said Council and the National Chairman. (In cases of emergency where the Council cannot meet, the National Chairman and those members of the Council present shall elect a Chairman of the R.P.C. on the selection of RPC members.

16. All SNCC chapters are required to have (1) Work-Study classes, and (2) Cadre Meetings at least once a month (preferably the last Sunday each month).

ECONOMIC

1. Those persons actively engaged in full-time work for the organization shall receive only a subsistence allowance according to (a) need, and (b) circumstance.

2. Except in cases of extreme emergency, all monies will be distributed equally to SNCC personnel. Need will be a determining factor as to priority in cases of conflict.

3. Those persons who participate willfully in embezzlement, hide or conceal, or hide and conceal information

concerning financial matters of the organization or personal financial matters, shall be, upon conviction, punished by the following:

A. Mandated to solicit a job within the system within 2 weeks following conviction and mandated to contribute 2/3 of their net salary to the organization for a period of 3 months.

B. Mandated to organize a political function twice a month for a four-month period, with gross proceeds going to the organization.

C. Or other punishment to be determined by the Revolutionary Political Council.

4. All cadres will be required to sell 50 copies of the national SNCC newspaper. This number will increase or decrease proportionally as production and output increase. Whenever possible, cadres will be required to pay for newspapers in advance to insure payment for producing the next edition of the paper. Cadres will have 10 days in which to sell newspapers. Suggestions may be made to the communications network and/or other related printed matter.

5. All economic matters, implementation or organization programs, and so on, shall take precedent over all other matters. Monies shall be used to implement programs of the organization first, subsistence pay will have to take 2nd place.

REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY

1. A high degree of respect between members and others of the organization must be maintained at all times.

2. Anyone who knowingly exploits either economic, military or political situations for personal gain will be brought before the R.P.C. and following conviction

shall be immediately expelled or otherwise punished. Opportunism in any form shall be dealt with appropriate action by the R.P.C. and/or office or committee head.

MILITARY

1. All members of the organization over the afe of 15 shall know or be instructed in operating an automobile and truck.

2. SNCC personnel should be encouraged to register with a karate class. Cadres should achieve at least knowledge of self defense and attack. Cadres will be tested by instructor.

3. The use of all drugs, narcotics, etc. including marijuana, is strictly forbidden to any member of the organization. The use of alcohol should also be extremely limited. Any member of the organization found in a state of intoxication will be immediately suspended from the organization.

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RESOLUTIONS: TO BE ADOPTED

(1) THAT WE ADOPT AND SUPPORT THE SNCC AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM (see detached sheet)

(2) THAT WE ADOPT & INITIATE ALL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, & POLITICAL ASPECTS OF BLACK LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

(3) THAT WE (SNCC) SEE OURSELVES AS INITIATING ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE FUTURE; AND THAT WE (EACH CHAPTER) IMMEDIATELY EMBARK ON THE TASK OF RECRUITING A CADRE OF NO MORE THAN 15 BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

(4) THAT WE ADOPT NEW RULES & REGULATIONS LAID DOWN BY THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COUNCIL FOR PURPOSES (RULES & REGULATIONS TO BE DISCUSSED BY MEMBERS PRESENT) OF DISCIPLINARY AND GUIDANCE.

(5) THAT WE ENERGETICALLY ADOPT & IMPLEMENT THE TWO MAJOR AREAS OF CONCENTRATION WHICH ARE THE MILITARY AND THE ECONOMIC, AND THAT STARTING IMMEDIATELY EVERY CHAPTER MUST SOLICIT AT LEAST ONE M1 GARRAND, A .38 REVOLVER, & A CROSSBOW.

(6) THAT ALL SNCC PERSONNEL SHALL BECOME A POLITICO-MILITARY CADRE, THAT IS TO SAY THAT THEY SHOULD BE ABLE & COMPETENT TO FUNCTION UNDER ANY POLITICAL SITUATION.

(7) THAT EACH CADRE BE TRAINED IN THE FIELD OF THE MARTIAL ARTS.

(8) THAT WE ADOPT THE CODE OF CONDUCT OF ACCEPTING IN MIND AND BODY BLACK WOMEN IN THE STRUFFLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION IN THE UNITED STATES. THAT WE ACCEPT WOMEN ON AN EQUAL BASIS.

THAT WE BEGIN TO ORGANIZE AROUND THE CONSCIOUSNESS REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE.

[redacted] advised that it was also brought out at these meetings that SNCC is to restructure itself in the future so that there will be seven councils within SNCC. One of these councils will be called the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC), which will be the new decision-making body within SNCC in much the same manner as the old Central Committee. Other councils to be the Revolutionary Economic Council, Armed Guerrilla Tactics Council, and the Research Council. Source advised he could not recall the identities of the other councils. This source stated that when all of the seven councils were formed, they would make up a body within SNCC to be known as the Revolutionary Action Party (RAP).

This source advised that at the present time the above restructuring is only in the formative stage and were the ideas of RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT.

It was also brought out at these meetings that the projected plans for SNCC in the future would be that each SNCC chapter would also have the same seven councils and, as the national body, seven to ten persons would be members of each chapter council. The chapter councils would be responsible to and guided by the corresponding council at the national headquarters.

Those in attendance were provided with SNCC handbooks with instructions to study and learn their content. They were also informed that from time to time other SNCC members from the United States would be asked to come to New York where they would be provided with the same information.

The source advised that they had been informed that these handbooks allegedly had been prepared within the past two or three months under the direction of RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT.

These bandbooks are identified as follows:

Revolutionary Action Party (RAP)
Handbook #1

Revolutionary Action Party (RAP)
Handbook #2

A Guerrilla Warfare Curriculum
Handbook #3

Handbook #4 entitled "Guerrilla Warfare"

A handbook entitled "In Memory of CHE"

A Xerox copy of RAP Handbook #1 is in the appendix of this report.

RAP Handbook #2 is a 19 page booklet on how to shoot both pistols and rifles.

A Xerox copy of Handbook #3, a Guerrilla Warfare Curriculum, is in the appendix of this report.

A Xerox copy of Handbook #4, entitled "Guerrilla Warfare", is in the appendix of this report.

The handbook entitled "In Memory of CHE" is a 26 page booklet on first aid.

On December 2, 1969 [redacted] advised that in connection with the meeting held by SNCC on November 10, 1969 and November 11, 1969, neither H. RAP BROWN nor IRVING DAVIS were present. Contacts with these leaders subsequent to this meeting revealed that both exhibited skepticism regarding the topics discussed and indicated that the organization, because of its lack of funds, was not able to effectively carry out any type of endeavor.

VII. SNCC NEWSLETTER

On September 23, 1969, [redacted] furnished a copy of volume one of a publication captioned "National SNCC". Informant stated SNCC hopes to publish this bimonthly, but this will depend on finances.

This first issue contained a [illegible] number of articles as follows:

1. An article by H. RAP BROWN, in which he stated during the past year, SNCC has been trying to regroup, reorganize, study and pull itself together for the struggle that lies ahead.

2. An article on Zambia expropriating mining rights.

3. An article on AHMED EVANS, who is scheduled to be electricuted in Cleveland for murdering three policemen.

4. An article on the SNCC Program on Agrarian Reform.

5. An article on a SNCC Program to provide free medical service to people in Brooklyn, New York.

6. An article on the people of North Korea and on United States aggression in the Korean War.

7. An article on SNCC Black Women's Liberation Committee, which is to help liberate Black women from economic exploitation.

On November 13, 1969, [redacted] advised that this newsletter was mimeographed at SNCC headquarters in New York City on the SNCC mimeograph which SNCC has had for a considerable time. To date, this newsletter was printed only one time. The moving force behind it was WILLIAM HUNT, a SNCC official in New York. There was no financing necessary for this newsletter and while some copies may have been mailed, most were distributed by hand as SNCC has insufficient funds for a large mailing.

[redacted] This newsletter was designed to be informative, as well as to arouse interest and financing, but none of these objectives have been accomplished.

A characterization of the "Guardian" is in the appendix of this report.

Concerning this newsletter, on November 25, 1969, advised that it is proposed that it will deal with the economic plight of oppressed people and will attempt to educate them.

On December 22, 1969, advised that HUNT is experiencing considerable difficulty in publishing this newsletter due to mechanical failure of equipment he is using at the office of the "Guardian" in New York City.

VIII. SNCC PROGRAMS

A. Agrarian Reform Program

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On December 9, 1969, [redacted] provided the following information:

He advised that MUHAMMAD HUNT is the Coordinator of the SNCC Agrarian Reform Program. He advised that SNCC is in bad financial shape but that HUNT claims that he has a person not further identified, who would put up the money for the purchase of land in Maryville, Tennessee, for the Agrarian Reform Program. HUNT has indicated that before this land is purchased, he wants to be sure that the land will fit the needs of SNCC's program.

HUNT has designated GEORGE HUGHES and TAYLOR HUGHES of SNCC at Cincinnati, Ohio, and TERRY ARDREY of SNCC at New York to make contacts in order to get professional help and counseling in the operation of this farm. These three persons have been charged with finding the manpower to come and operate the farm as well as to make contact with college students to see if they would be willing to come to the farm and do volunteer work. HUNT has indicated that he is presently working on the raising of money to buy the land as well as obtaining farm machinery.

On December 22, 1969, [redacted] advised that HUNT is still involved in the acquisition of a farm for SNCC in the vicinity of Morristown, Tennessee, which he stated would be an excellent base for SNCC affiliates to involve themselves in the mechanics of firearms familiarization. Source related HUNT is reluctant to discuss any details surrounding the acquisition of this farm site. He is the only one in the organization knowledgeable in the facts relating to the attempted acquisition of this farm; however, he has requested GEORGE and TAYLOR HUGHES of the Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Chapter to travel to Morristown, Tennessee to survey the farmland.

In early December, 1969, [redacted] advised that National SNCC had made a down payment of $2,000 on 200 acres of land located about 10 to 15 miles northeast of Morristown, Tennessee on Routes 11 E or 11 W; that HUNT himself did not know the exact location; that the purchase was in the hands of a broker, and in the name of another, name not disclosed, but that a map or details would be furnished Cincinnati SNCC whenever same became available. [redacted]

[redacted] further advised that a group of SNCC leaders from Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 7, 1969, traveled to the general area northeast of Morristown, Tennessee, and received the impression that the land was old with deteriorating farms, a one crop yield, small Black population and some re-zoning to industrial use.

On December 18, 1969, [redacted] [redacted] Blount County Courthouse, Maryville, Tennessee, advised that there has not been any individual or group negotiating for the purchase of land in the amount of 300 acres in the vicinity of Maryville. He stated that any such purchase would have to go through his office.

The SNCC Agrarian Program, adopted at the National Staff Conference on November 10, 1969 - November 11, 1969, as furnished November 13, 1969, by [redacted] is as follows:

SNCC'S AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

The agrarian reform program is the concept of uniting working tenant farmers and share-croppers of the South and Southwestern United States, into a co-operative system for the purpose of establishing:

(1) A common means of production

(2) a "socialized" use of agriculture, machinery, and livestock by pooling land purchased from indigenous sources.

(3) An organized method of farmers engaged in work activity and receiving the fruits of their labor.

Thereby enabling them to deal with the problem of acquiring the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter.

In conjunction with this, the program will seek to raise the political consciousness of this segment of the Black Population, and turn them on to the road of constructive radical change.

The program will entail all aspects mentioned below:

(1) Land purchases

(2) Organizers and Administrators

(3) Rules and Regulations

(4) Political Education

(5) Artificial insemination for increased production of hide, milk products and meat.

(6) Soil Cultivation and Conservation

(7) House construction (to be carried out by the organizers)

(8) Plant and Animal Culture

(9) Equipment (tractors, ploughs, discs, combines, etc.)

(10) Research teams (studying the soil, and land prices)

(11) Purchase of plant and vegetables (seeds)

(12) Community day care centers

(13) Free medical centers

SNCC'S AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

In the future, it is our hope to purchase a minimum of 200 acres of land, on which we will proceed to erect housing for the tenant farmers, and start cultivation of the acquired land immediately. To facilitate the manpower needed, we are initiating a drive on college campuses for students to go into the South to work on the Co-operatives.

SOME RULES AND REGULATIONS:

(1) All persons over the age of 15 years who live on the co-operative farm will be required to work in or around the farm in whatever manner the Tenant Farmers Directive see fit.

(2) Those persons who contribute their land or whatever resources to the co-operative farm shall be given 2/3 the value of their property whenever possible, when joining the co-operative farm.

(3) All persons engaged in the co-operative farm shall receive an equal share of all goods and services rendered by the co-operative farm.

(4) All persons engaged in the co-operative farm shall receive in-full, the nearest possible value of their labor.

(5) Those persons who work in the cities in factories and plants can become members of the co-operative farm by contributing such needed resources as machinery, plants and vegetables, and other such related items, on a regular basis or when the need arises.

(6) All persons living on the co-operative farm will be required to engage in some form of work activity.

(7) A Tenant Farmers Directive shall be immediately set-up, composed of those selected persons who exhibit the greatest amount of political awareness and self-sacrifice.

(8) Once the T.F.D. has been established, SNCC will then become the administrator and advisor.

(9) A minimum of at least six (6) hours of political Education per week shall be required of each person engaged in the farming Co-operative.

RESEARCH TEAMS:

We have co-ordinated a joint effort to establish a research team composed of (1) an Agricultural expert, (2) a land buying expert (or real estate agent), (3) an individual directly responsible for doing reasearch in to the holdings of all government owned property, and (4) an expert who will assist in doing research and experiments in plant cultures. We are at present doing reaearch on soil conservation and cultivation (the Atlanta SNCC Chapter has had some success in this area of research)

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION:

To increase and insure the continuity of the Agrarian Reform Program, we have embarked upon a complete and through examination of artificial insemination : we shall institute the artificial insemination process into the Co-operative farm because of the many benefits of this scientific process of cattle production and breeding. This process is of the utmost importance because of the many benefits gathered from it such as (1) a faster rate of cattle-birth, (2) hygiene, (3) an abundance of milk and milk by-products, (4) the hide, which can be used for leather (shoes, boots, etc.) and (5) the meat itself. Tenant Farmers shall be educated in this field.

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION:

Housing shall be built on the Co-operative farm as need and resources permit. All housing, which will accomodate Tenant Farmers, shall be built jointly by organizers and Tenant Farmers. Students and other indigneous organizers shall be instructed in the building of housing units, before doing work on the Co-operative.
All housing shall be built with funds accumulated from various sources. All materials such as lumber, nails, hammers, saws, shovels, electrial wiring, tar, and other roofing materials will be solicited by the effortsof students SNCC cadres and other indignoous sources.

Note:

(A) A downpayment will soon be made on the Agrarian Reform land.

(B) Preparations are also being made to have 25 head of cattle donated.

(C) Preparations are also underway to have chickens donated.

(D) The land will be "logged" (that is to say that the land will be cleared, and the timber sold, which would bring in some form of

B. Coffeehouse,
Augusta, Georgia

On December 15, 1969, [redacted] advised that several SNCC leaders from Atlanta and New York, had made a trip to Augusta, Georgia, in connection with some type of community project SNCC was considering.

On December 19, 1969, [redacted] advised that H. RAP BROWN had recently commented that SNCC will open a coffeehouse similar to those presently operated by White anti-war groups. BROWN remarked that IRVING DAVIS had recently traveled to Augusta, Georgia and reportedly had located a site to establish a coffeehouse for Negro soldiers stationed at Fort Gordon, Georgia. He stated that he hoped to open this coffeehouse on January 15, 1970, and was trying to secure JULIAN BOND, Georgia State Legislator, and former national official of SNCC, as the opening speaker. He stated the purpose of this coffeehouse will be to foment anti-war sentiment among Black soldiers and residents of the Black community.

NY 100-147963

C. National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

NBAWADU is an SNCC directed project and is their Anti-Draft Program.

May 22, 1969

On October 9, 1969 advised that the leader of NBAWADU has been JIMMY JOHNSON. Informant stated he has been totally inactive with respect to his efforts to re-organize NBAWADU. Informant stated this organization is not now functioning and has no office location in New York City or elsewhere.

N.Y.

IX. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER GROUPS

A. Republic of New Africa

N.Y.

N.Y.

A characterization of RNA is in the appendix.

X. MISCELLANEOUS

On January 9, 1970, advised that SNCC had compiled information on the installation of indoor firearms ranges and had prepared a document entitled "Reducing Noise in a Basement Range". This information was reportedly compiled by WILLIAM HUNT and as yet there has been no effort to effect distribution of this material. advised that HUNT has made no effort nor does he have any plans for the establishment of an indoor firearms range. He reportedly obtained this information from commercial publications available in the open market, dealing with firearms and target shooting. This material is as follows:

REDUCING NOISE IN A BASEMENT RANGE:

The installation of an indoor range is very often practicable even in the average home basement. Provided a safe and workable range can be fitted into the available space, the principal difficulty with home basement ranges is the amount of noise.

A limited amount of sound absorption can be obtained with rugs and wall hangings. However, this may not be sufficient to prevent annoyance to those upstairs, and the neighbors; and in the basement such materials can hardly be used. The most efficient and effective method is to muffle the noise at its source. The noise comes from both the gun and the bullet-stop.

Non-metallic bullet-stops for air, CO2, and .22 rimfire weapons, as detailed in the above thesis have the advantage of being quiet. Steel plate bullet-stops or bullet traps ring when they are struct. Experiments show, this sound was somewhat damped by wiring insulating board to all 4 sides of a heavy bullet-trap. Effectiveness is improved by cementing the insulation to the steel surface. It has been reported that sandbags piled closely on the trap or steel plate are also effective.

For muffling the more important noise at the gun, the most convenient arrangement is a pair of sound absorbing boards hinged to the ceiling so that when lowered, they hang close on each side of the gun muzzle. The boards must be at least 4 ft. square, and constructed of acoustical tile for this purpose, have the dealer recommend a type that has maximum sound deadening qualities. Handguns should be held entirely within the boards. This arrangement is adequate only when a limited amount of sound reduction is sufficient.

The muffling can be improved by making up such sound-absorbing boards in a long box. For smallbore rifle firing, a box one foot square and 4 ft. long is adequate. This requires 4 acoustical tiles on each of the 4 sides and one on each end. A larger box is necessary for center-fire handgun shooting because for effectiveness the gun must be held with at least its barrel inside the box. With either size, the end holes of the boxes must be kept as small as practicable.

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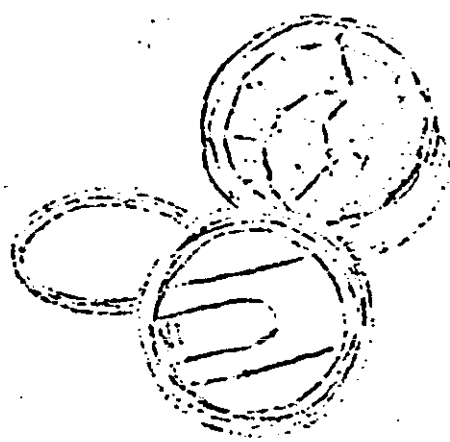
SNCC

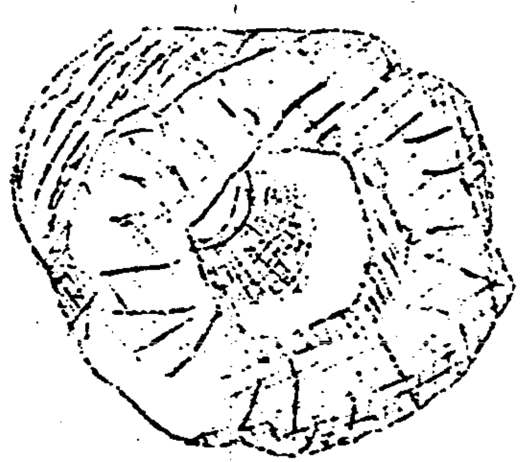
NOISE REDUCTION EFFECTIVE

A box of this kind lowers the pitch of the report, which makes it less disagreeable. The actual noise reduction has been estimated by the user, after careful trials, as much as 50% in the case of the .22 target handguns of standard barrel length, to only 20% with .45 ACP full loads.

A large box on this system, measuring 2ft. square by 4ft. long, was tested by a technical staff with target handguns in .22 long rifle, .38 Special, and .45 ACP. A marked noise reduction was obtained, but not nearly so great as with a muffler of the type next to be described. Also the size and weight of such a box are definite disadvantages.

A highly effective muffler is shown in the photograph.





Its foundation is a 40" length of hardware cloth 36" wide. (hardware cloth is a ½" wire mesh readily obtainable under that name at hardware stores.)Roll and fasten this material into a cylinder 36" long and about 12" diameter. Into one end make 6 cuts evenly spaced, each 8" deep. Do the same at the other end, making the cuts 6" deep.

Fold the segments inward like the ends of a fish trap, leaving a 4" and a 6" opening respectively. The overlapping cut segments should be stiched with light bell wire.

Wrap on a strip 3ft. wide by 6ft.long of fiberglass insulation 1" thick, such as [illegible] Sears Roebuck "Aerocar". This length will go around the cylinder almost twice. Hold the insulation in place with a layer of burlap. Then wrap on another length of the burlap, and also covering the whole cylinder with burlap, stiching in place with bell wire. The completed muffler weighs a total of approximately 7 3/4 lbs.

In the judgement of observers stationed in an adjoining room, this muffler reduced the noise from .22, .38 Special, and .45 ACP target handguns by at least half, and also made it much less sharp and penetrating. The sound-absorbing qualities of sponge rubber have been used by lining a card-board barrel with it. Sponge rubber taken from junked automobiles (seats), and therefore low in cost, can be used. As in a box lined with acoustical tile, the ends as well as sides of the container must be lined, and end openings kept as small as possible. All mufflers slowly accumulate unburned powder residue, in the same way that such residue accumulates on indoor range floors. In a closed muffler, the eventful ignition of this material would be disconcerting and might amount to a serious explosion. A lined box should be built with one side removable for vacuum cleaning the lining at intervals. This is also provided for in the removable lid of a lined cardboard barrel. A muffler built up by wrapping insulating material on a mesh form is not practically [illegible] and should simply be replaced after considerable service.

APPENDIX

1.

THE "GUARDIAN" FORMERLY KNOWN AS "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. ...'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly... it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'"

The February 3, 1968 issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian".

The May 10, 1969 issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East 4th Street, New York, New York.

The February 12, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled, "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement'". This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a Radical Movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists."

APPENDIX

2.

THE "GUARDIAN" (CONT'D)

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stated that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

A characterization of the American Labor Party is attached separately.

APPENDIX

1.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Labor Party:

"AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)

"2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the * * * American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc.117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

On October 7, 1956, PETER HAWLEY, New York State Chairman, American Labor Party, publicly announced the American Labor Party State Committee unanimously approved a resolution dissolving the organization and ordering the liquidation of its assets.

APPENDIX

1.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

A source has advised that the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is an all-Negro organization founded in Detroit, Michigan, in March, 1968. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was then residing in Peking, China, was named as its President-in-Exile. WILLIAMS fled the United States in 1961 following issuance of a local warrant for his arrest on a charge of kidnapping growing out of a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina. He published and broadcast hate-type material in Cuba and China prior to his return to the United States in September, 1969.

A second source has advised that the purpose of the RNA is to establish an independent black nation within the United States, demanding the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in addition to $10,000 per black citizen as payment for 400 years of ancestral slave labor.

A third source advised on March 14, 1969, that an army of the RNA, known as the Black Legion, dedicated to black freedom and committed to the concept of systematic armed revolution, has been established. Black Legion members are expected to participate in military training and engage in firearms practice. The RNA plans to establish an underground Black Legion in addition to an aboveground Black Legion in order to avoid detection by the police.

According to this source, Black Legion members acting as bodyguards at a session of the Second National Convention of the RNA in Detroit, Michigan, on March 29, 1969, were involved in a shoot-out with members of the Detroit Police Department which resulted in the killing of one policeman and the critical wounding of another.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

A second source advised that H. RAP BROWN succeeded CARMICHAEL as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

R.A.P.

R. A. P.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY

HANDBOOK #1

ORGANIZING ON A 1 TO 1 BASIS

If we are to organize in the urban areas (as well as rural), we must have such an organization that cannot be penetrated by the C.I.A., F.B.I., and the local police scoundrels, it is imperative that we, the SNICK vanguard organize on a 1 to 1 basis. Organizing on a 1 to 1 basis will elimate (1) Infiltration by police scoundrel agents (2) Platoons will exist even if there is an informer or a Brother cracks under torture & interrogation. (3) No one will know more than one person.

Brothers should be constantly tested for sincerity, dedication, intelligence, and his abilityto learn the Revolutionary martial arts. Training will consist of:

(1) Intelligence
(2) Weaponry (Field stripping, etc.)
(3) Demalition (under water demolition included)
(4) Karate
(5) Professional Organizing
(6) Medicine (comprehensive course in medical training)
(7) Supplies
(8) Structure
(9) Rank
(10) Subversion
(11) Method of selecting most important military targets to destroy.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY:

Techniques for Orgainizing the Black Ristance Movement:

(1) Always organize and recruit 1 to 1. This is for your protection, as well as the network. This is to protect also the person with whom you are contacting. When you explain these rules of security to one person, make sure that you have confidence in him or her. For once you talk with him or her, he then becomes part of the network and there is no quitting once a person is in. Functions of Brothers may vary but there is no quitting once a person is in. Tell each person to talk to ten people.Operating from the basis that once you have made contact with one individual, it then becomes your responsibility to (1) Politically Educate (correctly) (2) Teach how to organize (3) Give him ideological direction and (4) Military Training. This Bro. or Sister will in-turn go out and get 1 brother or sister using the same training procedure used on him or her. The third (3rd) person contacted will not know the first (1st) person, nor will the fourth (4th) know the second (2nd) person in his or her network. At least 4 weeks of political education(basic) should be completed by the recruit before he is accepted (officially) into the network. Political Education classes should be carried out whenever and wherever possible. Minimum of 2 weeks must be completed by new recruits. After working with new recruits from 2-4 weeks the orgainizer must decide on wheather or not the recruit will serve the revolution & the people. He (new recruit) must be given the option of deciding on working with the network or another branch of the Revolutionary Action Party. Once in the network there is no quitting. Anyone who tries to quit or desert must be put to death! Example should be made of these villaneous cowards and traitors. Those accepted for the Revolutionary Action Party must be throughly dedicated only to the R.A.P. and should be ready to mobilize themeselves whenever and wherever requested to do so. What happens, after organizing on a 10-10-10 basis, is that you then become the head of a network of at least one hundred people and it will grow larger. You are to talk to each of your ten people seperately, even if they know one another. Under no circumstances are they to reveal your name to anyone, not even your code name. You are to keep in touch with those people you contact and train, but that contact must be minimal unless it is a situation where you normally see each other. It may be that some person you have confidence in, does not know ten people. This is acceptable an

he can still be counted on since there will be different functions.

(2) Never use the telephone for discussions of any political questions. Under no circumstances are RAP Brothers and Sisters to speak of revolution on the phone or in public. Never use the telephone unless it is for usual business. This is to be adhered to at all times. It is good policy to even make business calls from pay phones if they involve some of your contacs. We must minimize the use of the phone , and under no circumstances are you to discuss business on the phone. This is must. JUSTICE WILL FLOW FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN IF THE SAID IS VIOLATED AT ANY TIME.

(3) REMEMBER: telephones are mostly tapped. Telephone taps, bugging devices (houses) and infiltrators are the three ways that the authorities use to trap revolutionaries and frame them up.

(4) PLAY MUSIC OR A TELEVISION SET OR RUN WATER AT HOME OR IN HOUSES WHEN TALKING. All discussions must be done on the outside; all information must be exchanged under cover(inside of buildings, resturants, houses). This rule is to be applied to houses that you think are clean. It will maximize your protection. Play Music when driving cars & talking. We can not take any chances on anything not being bugged. The man is not invincible, however we must take our time and be extra careful...

(5) Minimize contac with your people and only contac them when it is absolutely necessary. Brothers & Sisters must be contacted at least once a month to have them go on manuvers. Contac should be made when absolutely necessary.

(6) Never reveal names. Never reveal the names of the persons who contacted you to anyone. The people you contacted must never reveal your name under any circumstances and this extend throughtout the network. Keep everything secret and if anyone approaches you with the same type of information you are to listen and say you will do what you can do. It is quite possible that there may be some duplication in this type of network but under no circumstances do you reveal that you have been contacted before.Pretend ignorance and don't promise too much. At the same time you don't want to sound like a fool if someone has trust in you.Tell him or her you will do what you can do and if he is not willing to accept that, then he should be reported to your superior.

War names must be accepted.People in your respective units must know you by your war name, or code name only (If they must (all people in your unit) know you it must be through your code name). It should be common practice to accept Irish or Jewish names-this will be done to confuse the enemy.These names should be adopted, but should not be exhorbitant, for example: you should not except a name such as Morty Moskiwitz or Joshua Zuckerman; names, however, such as John O'Brian, Bill Flannigan, Terry Goldman, or Billy Kupers. Names should not be accepted of those people whom you know, unless it is the name of an "uncle tom" or a reactionary. You will be known to your unit(s) or platoon only as your war name. Identification should be duplicated or developed to support your name(in case you are picked up by authorities)......Birth certificates(phony) Licenses,credit cards, and/or anything with your picture on it.

ALL IDENTIFICATION MUST BE COVERED IN PLASTIC, TO MAKE IT LOOK LEGITIMATE.(this can be done by locating alibrary, or private concession shop)

(7) DEVELOP PATIENCE. (a good excercise in patience would be to go fishing for at least 6 hours at a time) Because a brother or Sister does not have vanguard conscience as you, their opinions are to be respected just the same as if they had this conscience. But, they should be told when they are incorrect. There must be descipline. This will be a long range protracted struggle and people must wait before action is often taken for the opportune time. Descipline must flow from total committment to the objectives we are talking about, but people must understand that this is not a game and DISCIPLINE WILL FLOW FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN.

(8) BEWARE OF PROBERS AND THOSE WHO SEEK TO KNOW TOO MUCH OR KEEP ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NETWORK. One needs to know only that which he needs to know. Probers should be questioned and/or tortured if necessary to get information as to their validity. NO ONE WILL KNOW ALL!

(9) THE NETWORK MUST BE CLOISTERED. Organizing should be done on a 10-10-10 basis. It must be organized into horizontal and verticle zones.Everybody will not do the same thing and the people must not know each other and they will not know each other. Therefore, the police cannot "bust" the entire network on some trumped up charges for they will have to "bust" the entire population . You must be willing to work hard and to organize on a ten-ten-ten concept. This must be done very clandestinely.

(10) BEWARE OF THOSE PEOPLE PROPOSING MILITANT AND DRASTIC ACTIONS IN PUBLIC MEETINGS AND WHO SAY DANGEROUS THINGS IN FRONT OF PEOPLE THEY DO NOT KNOW. They are most likely police agitators. These people must be avoided at all costs.

(11) CHECK THE HISTORY, THE SOCIAL ORIGIN, THE CLASS BACKGROUND OF THOSE YOU TALK TO. Check his references and see if he is lying or telling the truth.This is important for the network as well as you. A dozier must be kept on all those people who are potential recruits.

(12) CHECK A PERSONS QUALITIES AS A WORKER AND AS A MAN OR WOMAN. Observe his behavior and determine how much courage and tenacity he has or if he is a person who flees from task to task. He will be un-reliable if he cannot stick to a function. A DON JUAN IS DANGEROUS AND WILL HURT IN THE LONG RUN. A man who does not respect women is un-reliable. A drunkard is not to be touched. A pot smoker is apt to be an opportunist and un-controllable, and runs the risk of getting caught with some pot and may have some vital papers on him. Because those cats who wave a nickle bag in your face(nickel bag of pot) , there is a direct connection with the police even though he may not know it. Pot is permitted in this country only with the cooperation of the police. We are trying to build a new world and there are those things that are not needed.In this profession, a clear head must be maintained at all times. Ones life must be the revolution and only the revolution.

(13) CHECK A MANS IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION. We do not have time to waste on those who are committed to CAPATALISM for they will sell you out! This does not mean however, that you should not make contact with housewives, workers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers. You should tell from experience whether they are ready to help. Their help is much needed if nothing other than financial reasons, and it will be more difficult for the government troops and assorted stooge co-conspiritors to reach them. Talk to the masses, for they are more ready than some of us think.

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REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY

(14) AVOID ALL PUBLIC MEETINGS WHERE THE POLICE ARE USUALLY IN FULL FORCE OBSERVING THE MILITANTS AND TAKING PICTURES. It is a good rule not to be in public unless it is necessar, you have to be, and if you are into some heavy stuff then you stay away completely.

(15) WORK IN FRONT GROUPS. We need people in all the groups of this society. One does not have to be in the forefront with the lights glaring on him. You must avoid completely these circumstances. Stay in the back ground where one will last longer and do more work for the network.

(16) REMAIN CLANDESTINE. Try to get people who have never been involved in militant groups and try to get them to stay there.Their contribution is best served by remaining clandestine.

(17) AVOID LOOSE TALK IN A MEETING OR AT PARTIES.Keep quite and observe the talk of others. Ask leading questions to find out where people are(without exposing yourself). Make mental notes about people. Loose talk about revolution will get you into big trouble if there is an agent around, but that does not mean you do not seek information from those present.

(18) CHANGE LOCATION OF MEETINGS. NO MEETING SHALL BE HELD TWICE IN THE SAME PLACE CONSECUTIVELY.Vary your social spots. Don't be seen frequently at the same parties, gatherings, etc. You will be required to infiltrate various organizations. You can not do this successfully without being recognized if you are too well known.

(19) SECRECY: CONSTANT SURVAILLAINCE, CONSTANT MISTRUST, AND CONSTANT MOBILITY. Be very careful of what you tell your girl or your wife. They can sometimes form protective covers if they do not know too much. Also women must be very careful of what they tell their husband. This is not to say that a man and his wife cannot make a team, at times they make the best teams. But, it has been proven that often people who are married or going together are not completely agreed upon the principles of revolution and there will be times when either husband or wife will have to leave to take care of other network business without the other understanding why they are leaving. This type of revolutionary descipline must be understood. The revolution is the greaest love.

(20) ALWAYS PRINT OR TYPE MESSAGES TO BE DELIVERED TO OTHER PEOPLE. MISTAKES AND MIS-INFORMATION WILL BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS. ANYONE NOT ADHERING TO THESE PRINCIPLES SHALL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION COUNCIL.(R.A.C.)

(21)GET A "CLEAN" TELEPHONE NUMBER, BUT NEVER GIVE OUT THE NAME OF THE PERSON TO WHOM THE TELEPHONE BELONGS. Instruct them in the rules of security so they will know the importance of the calls they are receiving. You must give your contacs a code name if they are to call you at a telephone number which is "clean"number using a psudonym. (false name). Always talk with a handkerchief over your mouth (the person to whom you are calling must know of your psudo-nym to avoid being taken for an agent.)There are voice detectors that can recognize your voice, hence, no one has the same voice vibrations, or waves.

(22) IN BOTH THE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE AND THE NEW "CLEAN" ADDRESS FOR THE MAIL, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAY ARE NOT TO COME TO YOUR HOUSE AND GIVE YOU MESSAGES; Better still, it is better if they send someone with a message. People should not use the mail or make a call unless it is absolutely vital and necessary and this must be adhered to at all times(the only exception is that the brother sending materials through the mail should get stationary(envelopes) from other christian organizations such as the methodist church, etc.)

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(23) USE CODE NAMES. USE DIFFERENT NAMES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. TRY TO GET DUPLICATE IDENTIFICATION.

(24)MAKE ALL COLLECTIONS OF MONEY IN CASH AND SEEK OUT THOSE PEOPLE WHO WILL ... UTE FUNDS, FOR WITHOUT THEM THE NETWORK WILL NOT SURVIVE AND PEOPLE MUST BEGIN TO MAKE SACRIFICES WITH MONEY THEY EARN. THEY SHOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE 10% of their salaries to the network, for it connot have fund-raising parties or public collections;Everything will have to be done in secrecy.

(25) SPEAK THE REVERSE. If you are a man, assume a code name of a man. If you want to meet on wednesday, then arrange that beforehand. And if one of your contacs should happen to send a message saying"lets meet wednesdey", then you know that it is thursday. That is extra protection.

(26) OBSERVE TO SEE IF FOLLOWED. This is easie at night when the streets are not so crowded, but it can be done during the day.If you think you are being followed , walk two blocks to the left or right out of your way. Glance behind you to see different people have on(colors, types of clothing, etc.) Walk one or more blocks out of the way. Remember what each person has on. Take those streets that are not too crowded. It should be very easy to spot one or more persons you think are following you.

(27)POLICE INFILTRATORS MUST BE KILLED, ESPECIALLY IF THEY STAND UP IN COURT AND TESTIFY AGAINST A BROTHER OR SISTER THAT HE HAS INFILTRATED THIS OR THAT DEPARTMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY.One must be careful about calling someone an informer and undr no circumstances should anyone shaky be allowed into the network. Brothers & Sisters of the R.A.P. should go to all trials when Brothers have been "busted" because of infiltrators(in the court room, pay attention to (1) name of informer (2) badge number (3) percinct,and if possible , (4) his or hers address.It is possible that someone will talk to an agent or informer, but he will not know the extent of the network and if he probes too much then you know he has to be [illegible]ated.

(28) RECORDS SHOULD BE [illegible] INFORMERS IN HORIZONTAL AND VERTICLE (Method of deviding the community into zones) ZONES SO THAT THEY CAN BE WATCHED, AND WHEN THE THE OPPORTUNITY AFFORDS ITSELF , THEY SHOULD BE ASASSINATED.

(29) We are trying to infiltrate every branch of government and all the agencies. We want to be everywhere gathering intelligence and information and the enemy will never know who is who is we are careful and obsefve these rules.

(30) Unless you are well known it is not a good policy to give out your address to people. The fewer people who know where you live the better it is for you. And if you are really involved in some heavy things, then only the person to whom you are responsible should know how to contact you.

(31) Be patient with all people. The government of the United States has tried to sow dissention among the ranks of Black people and make us all afraid of each other. That is why there are [illegible] periodic frame-ups such as the statue of liberty case

where the police initiated the action and then framed the militants. The RAM arrest in the summer of 1968 was designed to frighten the population. The history of Black people in this country who have been framed by the police should teach us all that everything that we do must be done in secrecy. And we will not make revolution by shouting it and identifying all the militants. This we will stop.

(32) We must get to the very young people to study the sciences, electronics and other revolutionary skills that can be useful for the long range struggle. We must get the older people to help us in any manner they can. Most of them are more prepared to help than we realize and we must spend time with them explaining that we are fighting for a new world, free of racism, capitalism and imperlism, wars, police brutality, hunger, bad housing, sickness, inadequate medical facilities. We must seek their support if only financially and places for us to hide. When we talk to to them, they too are a part of the network, for we have revealed ourselves.

(33) Do not be afraid of risk. Be careful, but one must take risks. Contact those you know best first, but do not be afraid to expand your contacts. At this stage we must have mass support. And we can only get mass support by working hard each day, talking to people about the need for secret organization and showing them what it can accomplish. Do not argue in groups. Remember talk one to another. Be patient and be committed.

(34) Arm yourselves and store your weapons in secure places. The right wing and the police are well armed and we are not at this point of development.

(35) Patience, discipline, the future is ours if we learn secrecy, and more secrecy and if we organize and develop a sixth sense. The police and security agents in this country are powerful and they are trying to recruit more young Black people to help them, but they are not invincible and if we take the long view of history, we will win without a doubt.

(36) Study the revolutionary works of Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerre, Sekou Toure, Che Gueverra, Mao Tse Tung, Lenin, Marx, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, General Giap and all others concerned with revolution. Study not only African history but the history of Latin America and Asia.

(37) There will be tests imposed upon the entire network to see how efficient it is, how fast can secret communiques be issued, who is responsible, who has betrayed confidence, and who must be eliminated by whatever means necessary. We are building a new society, but secrecy and discipline and a passion for the liberation of Blacks is a must and this means one must have patience. Things will happen in this country but they can only happen if there is proper organization and a secret mobilization of the population. We are not interested in anyone who feels he needs to wear a uniform to mark him as a revolutionary. We are not interested in anyone who has uncontrollable ego problems. We want firm, disciplined, committed men and women, young and old who will work for the revolution so that the oppression which has marked our lives can be ended. We organize this resistance for the new day, the creation of the new man, the new society where the wealth is not concentrated in the hands of a few but belongs to the people. We organize and we are ready to die for the African continent and the liberation fighters in Latin America, the Carribeans, Asia, all of whom suffer from the domination of the United States as we do.

(38) We are firmly aware that the United States government considers black ...

-REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY

as surplus "items" in this country and is moving to exterminate us. We are also aware we must have a black resistance movement for survival. Therefore the Revolutionary Action Party has decided to launch a massive black underground, a massive resistance movement in this country. We call upon all those who are contacted to work day and night to enlarge the resistance network so that we may survive and wage revolutionary warfare in the United States. The Revolutionary Action Party is as secret as the Black Resistance Movement, but victory or death is our cry and we shall deal harshly with those who betray us, as as we intend to deal with the United States government. In other words, we will kill those who betray us and we know only organized violence will make a revolution in the United States.

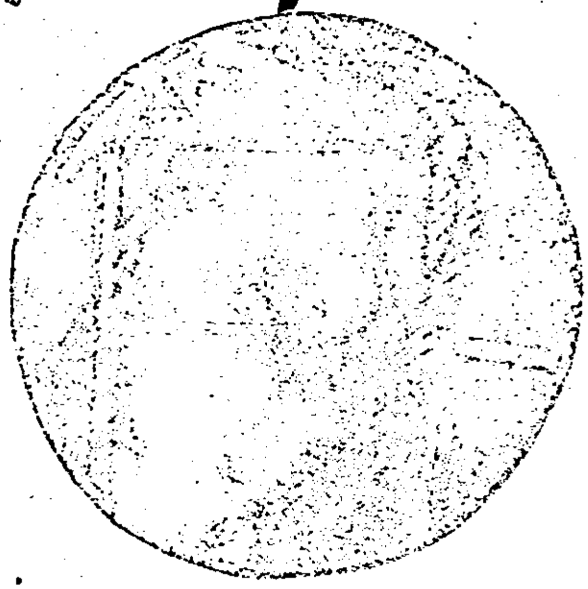
LASIMA TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

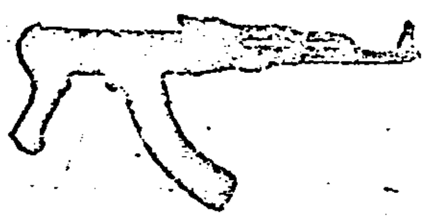
PART 12 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 14 (CONTINUED)



"A UNITED AFRICA: AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS; SOCIALISM"

PATRICE LUMUMBA



A GUERRILLA WARFARE

curriculum

Handbook #3

Guerrilla war has become the political phenomenon of the mid twentieth century, the visible wind of revolution, stirring hope and fear on three continents.

In the world at large, it is destroying the last vestiges of feudalism and of traditional colonialism where these remain. Its full vigor is turned now against neo-colonialism and against what, in Marxist terminology, is called imperialism - the economic and political (and often military) domination of the weak, industrially poor nations by the rich, powerful, and technologically superior ones.

It is a confrontation, in its essence, of the world's "haves" and the world's "have-nots", of the rich nations and the poor nations. It is reshaping the world that we have known, and its outcome may well decide the form and substance of the foreseeable future, not only in the present theatres of war, which are vast and shadowy but everywhere.

Nationalism, social justice, race, religion - beneath all of these symbolic and abstract "causes" that are rallying cries of the revolutions of the past two decades, one discovers a unifying principle a common mainspring. Limitations that were fomerly accepted all at once become intolerable. The hint of imminent change suggests opportunities that had not been glimpsed until now. The "will to act" is born. It is as though people everywhere were saying: "Look, here is something we can do, or have, or be, simply by acting. Then what have we been waiting for? Let us act!"

The defeat of the military enemy, the overthrow of the government, are secondary tasks, in the sense that they come later. The primary effort of the guerrilla is to militate the population, without whose consent no government can stand for a day.

The guerrilla is subversive of the existing order in that he is the disseminator of revolutionary ideas; his actions lend force to his doctrine and show the way to radical change. Yet it would be an error to consider him as a being apart from the seed bed of revolution. He himself is created by the political climate in which revolution becomes possible, and is himself as much an expression as he is a catalyst of the popular will toward such change.

One view on guerrilla warfare is the "Conspiracy Theory": The view that revolution is the (usually deformed) offspring of a process of artificial insemination, and that the guerrilla nucleus (the fertilizing agent, so to speak) is made up of outsiders, conspirators, political zombies - in other words, actual or spiritual aliens who somehow stand separate from their social environment, while manipulating it to obscure and sinister ends.

Another view is the "Methods Fallacy", held, at least until very recently, by most American military men: the old-fashioned notion that guerrilla warfare is largely a matter of tactics and techniques, to be adopted by almost anyone who may have need of them, in almost any irregular warfare situation.

The first view is both naive and cynical. It lacks confidence in popular decisions; it tacitly assumes that people in the mass are simpletons, too ignorant, unsophisticated, and passive to think for themselves or to have either the will or the capacity to wage a revolutionary war. Ergo, the revolution which in fact exists must be due to the machinations of interlopers. The guerrillas must be the dupes or the wily agents of an alien power or, at least, of an alien political philosophy.

On the more naive level, it seems to be assumed that people would scarecely choose the revolutionary path of their own accord; certainly not if the revolution in question were out of joint with the political traditions and ideals held dear by Americans. To quote former Pres. Eisenhower in this connection, relative to the war in South Viet Nam:

"We must inform these people (Vietnamese) of what is happening and how important it is to them to get on our side. Then they will

... General Eisenhower's.

Most American foreign policymakers and experts of the new politico-military science of counterinsurgency (the theory and practice of counter revolution) appear more cynical than General Eisenhower. It is manifest in their pronouncements that all modern revolutions are, or are likely to become, struggles between two world "systems," the Communist on one side, the Americans and their allies on the other, with the people most directly involved merely pawns, to be manipulated by one side or the other.

Since it is the United States that is, more often than not in this era, the interloper in almost any revolutionary situation that comes to mind (Viet Nam, Cuba, Iran, Guatemala, Brazil, Congo, Venezuela, to name a few), it is not surprising that the Cold War psychology should lead us to look for our Russian or Chinese counterpart in the given area of contention, and, finding him, or thinking so, to assign to him a major role. To do so, however, is to succumb to a curious illogic, in which our powers of observation ... to fail us.

The following excerpt from an article entitled "Plea for 'Realism' in Southeast Asia" by Roger Hilsman, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Raf Eastern Affairs, is fairly typical:

> "Any analysis of the situation in South Vietnam should probably start with the realization that we are not dealing with a war. The problem is more political than military, involving acts of terrorism rather than battles. Out of a population of 14 million, the Communist Viet Cong numbers only 28,000 to 34,000 regular guerrilla troops plus 60 - 80,000 part-time auxiliaries. Its campaign is more like the gangland warfare of the 1930's and the teenage terrorism of New York today than the war in Korea or World War II. In a very real sense, the FBI has had more experience in dealing with this kind of problem than the armed services."

Hilsman's article appeared in the N.Y. Times Magazine, August 23, 1964.

His compar... teenage terrorism indeed! Hilsman's analysis suffers from grave defects of observation and interpretation. Out of a population that is closer to 16 million than to 14 million, the Viet Cong did not have only 28,000 guerrillas, etc. It had AS MANY AS 28,000, and President Johnson's decision early in 1965 to expand the war by the punitive bombing of military targets in North Viet Nam made it amply clear how potent a force it was.

Fidel Castro's Cuban guerrillas, fighting on an island with a population of close to 7 million, NEVER AT ANY TIME EXCEEDED 1500 ARMED MEN. Yet when the decisive battle of Santa Clara came in December of 1958, cutting the island in two, the whole city, except for the isolated military garrison, became involved in the conflict. And when Batista finally fled the country on the last day of the year, virtually the entire population of Cuba claimed participation in the victory. Far from being isolated or indifferent, all had been rebels, it seemed.

With respect to the question of popular support of the Viet Cong in South Viet Nam Hilsman himself admits "...the vast majority of the Vietcong are recruited in the South; their food and clothing are procured in the South, and they collect taxes in the South to import other supplies through Cambodia."

On this same question, Walter Lippman wrote in the N.Y. Herald Tribune in April, 1964: "The truth, which is being obscured for the American people, is that the Saigon Government has the allegiance of probably no more than 30% of the people and controls (even in daylight) not much more than a quarter of the (national) territory."

It should be fairly obvious that when a Vietnamese army of 400,000 men, supported by two divisions of American "advisors", an immense armada of fighter planes, jet bombers and helicopters, and financial infusions on the order of close to 5 million dollars a day cannot control an insurgency, something more than "teenage" terrorism is involved. The error that the Viet Cong insurgency is the work of a fanatical minority directed from outside the country nevertheless persists, fostered by Washington for reasons which will be examined in subsequent chapters.

Can Guerrilla Tactics Be Used Successfully Against Guerrillas ?

The answer is negative. To suppose otherwise is to fall into the "Methods Fallacy." Indian fighters do not become Indians by taking scalps. A spotted jungle suit does not make a United States marine a guerrilla.

The experience of World War II and of every conflict since then has made it clear that commando troops are not guerrillas. Nor can the so-called "counter insurgency" forces now being developed in a more sophisticated school be considered guerrillas, although they may employ some of the more obvious techniques of the guerrilla fighter - the night raid, the ambush, the roving patrol far from a military base, and so on.

Such techniques are as old as warfare itself. It is possible to conceive of their use by Cro-Magnon man, whoever he was, against the last of the Neanderthals.

The distinction is simple enough. When we speak of the guerrilla fighter, we are speaking of the "Political Partisan," an armed civilian whose principal weapon is not his rifle or his machete, but his relationship to the community, the nation, in and for which he fights.

In surgency, or guerrilla war, is the agency of radical social or political change; it is the face and the right arm of revolution. Counter insurgency is a form of counter-revolution, the process by which revolution is resisted. The two are opposite sides of the coin, and it will not do to confuse them or their agents, despite superficial similarities.

Because of the political nature of the struggle, the disparity of the means at the disposal of the two forces, and, above all, the total opposition of their strategic aims, the most fundamental tactics of the guerrilla simply are not available to the army that opposes him, and are available only in the most limited way to the counter insurgency specialist, the U.S. Special Forces officer, let us say, who may try to imitate him.

The reasons are clear. First the guerrilla has the initiative; it is he who begins the war, and he who decides when and where to strike. His military opponent must wait, and while waiting, he must be on guard everywhere.

Both before and after the war has begun, the government army is in a defensive position, by reason of its role as policeman, which is to say, as the guardian of public and private property. The military has extensive holdings to protect: cities, towns, villages, agricultural lands, communications, commerce, and usually some sort of industrial base to defend. There is also the purely military investment to consider: garrisons, outposts, supply lines, convoys, airfields, the troops themselves and their valuable weapons, which it will be the first tactical objective of the guerrillas to capture, so as to arm more guerrillas. Finally, there is a political system, already under severe strain if the point of open insurrection has been reached, to be preserved and strengthened. In all of these areas, the incumbent regime and its military arm present highly vulnerable targets to an enemy who is himself as elusive and insubstantial as the wind.

For, while the army suffers from an embarrassment of wealth, and especially of expensive military hardware for which there is no employment, the guerrilla has the freedom of his poverty. He owns nothing but his rifle and the shirt on his back, has nothing to defend but his existence. He holds no territory, has no expensive and cumbersome military establishment to maintain, no tanks to risk in battle, no garrisons subject to siege, no transport vulnerable to air attack nor aircraft of his own to be shot down, no massed divisions to be bombarded, no motor columns to be ambushed, no bases or depots that he cannot abandon within the hour.

He can afford to run when he cannot stand and fight with good assurance of winning, and to disperse and hide when it is not safe to move. In the extremity, he can always sink back into the peaceful population - that sea, to use Mao Tse-tung's well-worn metaphor, in which the guerrilla swims like a fish.

The population, as should be clear by now, is the key to the entire struggle. Indeed, although Western analysts seem to dislike entertaining this idea, it is the

the government soldier ca[illegible] (for if the regime were not alienated from the people, whence the revolution?), fights with the support of the noncombatant civilian populace: it is his camouflage, his quartermaster, his recruiting office, his communications network, and his efficient, all-seeing intelligence service.

Without the consent and active aid of the people, the guerrilla would be merely a bandit, and could not long survive. If, on the other hand, the counter insurgent could claim this same support, the guerrilla would not exist, because there would be no war, no revolution. The cause would have evaporated, the popular impulse toward radical change - cause or no cause - would be dead.

Here we come to the vital question of AIMS, on which the strategy and tactics of both sides are necessarily based. The guerrilla fighter is primarily a propagandist, an agitator, a disseminator of the revolutionary idea, who used the struggle itself- the actual physical conflict - as an instrument of agitation. His primary goal is to raise the level of revolutionary anticipation, and then of popular participation, to the crisis point, at which the revolution becomes general throughout the country and the people in their masses carry out the final task - the destruction of the existing order and (often but not always) of the army that defends it.

By contrast, the purpose of the counter-revolutionary is negative and defensive. It is to restore order, to protect property, to preserve existing forms and interests by force of arms, where persuasion has already failed. His means may be political insofar as they involve the use of still more persuasion, the promise of social and economic reforms, bribes of a more localized sort, counter propaganda of various kinds,. But primarily the counterinsurgent's task must be to destroy the revolution by destroying its promise - that means by proving, militarily, that it cannot and will not succeed.

To do so will require the total defeat of the revolutionary vanguard and its piecemeal destruction wherever it exists. The alternatives will be to abdicate the military effort in favor of a political solution - for example, [illegible] tion, etc, in [illegible]r words, compromise or complete surrender.

That military victory against true guerrillas is possible, seems doubtful on the basis of modern experience, barring the use of methods approaching genocide, as applied notably by the Germans in certain occupied countries during World War II.

The counter insurgent cannot win by imitating the insurgent, because he is the alien in the revolutionary situation, and because his tasks are precisely the opposite of those of the guerrilla, where symmetry exists at all. The guerrilla's mere survival is a political victory: it encourages and raises the popular opposition to the incumbent regime. This he can afford to run and to hide. The counterinsurent gains nothing by running and hiding. He surrenders everything. The guerrilla can disguise himself as - in factfact he can be - a peaceful agrarian worker, and still spread his revolutionary message. In a similar role, the counter-insurgent would be merely a police spy, and would accomplish little, spread no message. The guerrilla can hit and run. Every successful raid gives him more arms and ammunition, and more favorable publicity. The counterinsurgent can gain nothing by such Red Indian tactics- even if similar targets were available to him-and they are not. His military campaign must be sweeping, continuous and cumulative in its effects. Either he clears the country of guerrillas, or he does not. If he does not, he continues to lose.

The distinction made here between guerrilla war as a politico-military technique and mere guerrilla-ism (banditry on the one hand or the application of irregular warfare techniques by regular military organizations on the other) is by no means as arbitrary as it may at first appear.

Popular insurrections have occurred throughout history. They have usually failed, or in any case have produced only limited victory, because the techniques they can exploit today were then irrelevant to the historical situation. This is simply another way of saying that, until now, the popular majorities, the laboring, unspecial-

were able to exert very l[illegible] political or economic leverage.

The serfs of the medieval period, for example, were unable to resist the feudal military power not merely because they lacked arms and skills, political consciousness, and cohesion, but because they had no other means to affect the political and economic processes of their world.

Economically, they were manageable because they lived too close to the level of bare existence to be otherwise. They could not even think oo withholding their labor- their only economic lever. Isolated by their brute conditions and their ignorance, they lived below the level of politics. If they starved, or rebelled and were slaughtered, there was no one to care, no economically or politically potent class to whom it would make the slightest difference.

Subsequent revolutions, from the Renaissance to the Russian revolution and not excluding Mexico, 1910-1917, have been bourgeois in character, or have quickly been converted into bourgeois movements, after an initially populist period. "Liberté, egalité, fraternité" applied only to the great and petite bourgeoisie of France, after a brief Jacobin interval(significantly, all bourgeois historians loathe and fear the proletarianism of the Terror), because, in the end, only the bourgeoisie had the lever-wealth and the tools of production- to assume leadership in a confrontation with the landowning feudal aristocracy. Although there was now some class mobility and a greater need of democratic slogans, the landless, unspecialized masses remained submerged. They could remain idle and starve. All the better. It reduced beggary and banditry. Isolated, they could be slaughtered and no one would care.

History brings us to a pass in which (for a variety of reasons but principally because of the complexity of the productive processes, the fragmentation, specialization, and interlocking nature of the industrial society and the importance of disciplined labor and huge consumer markets, relative to the profit system) the laboring masses assume political potency. Their new role in the industrial society-as producer, as distributor, as con [illegible] their work, [illegible]nomy collapses. If they cease to buy and to consume, the same thing happens. If they are slaughtered, there are worldwide repercussions, based, in the final analysis, on economic considerations.

The modern industrial society cannot function, and its government cannot govern, except with popular participation and by popular consent. What is true of the industrial states is also true, with minor qualification, of the non industrial states and colonies on which the former depend for the raw materials of their industry, and, often, for their export markets.

For the best of economic reasons, modern governments must seem to be popular. They must make great concessions to popular notions of what is democratic and just, or be replaced by regimes that will do so. The governments of the dominant industrial states themselves, even more than those they dominate, are strapped politically by this factor of the domestic "image".

This fact makes such governments extremely vulnerable to a sort of war - guerrilla war with its psychological and economic weapons- that their predecessors could have ignored, had such a war been possible at all in the past.

They are vulnerable because they must, at all cost, keep the economy functioning and showing a profit or providing the materials and markets on which another, dominant economy depends. Again, they are vulnerable because they must maintain the appearance of normalcy; they can be embarrassed out of office. And they are triply vulnerable because they cannot be as ruthless as the situation demands. They cannot openly crush the opposition that embarrasses and harasses them. They must be wooers as well as doers. These are modern weaknesses. They invite a distinctly modern development to exploit them, and that development is modern guerrilla warfare. The weaknesses peculiar to the modern, bourgeois democratic, capitalist state make popular war possible, and give it its distinctive forms, which clearly cannot be imitated, except in the most superficial way, by the armies of the state itself.

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Fundamentally, the gue[illegible]'s tactics and those of the counter insurgent differ because their roles differ. They are dissimilar forces, fighting dissimilar wars, for disparate objectives. The counter insurgent seeks a military solution: to wipe out the guerrillas. He is hampered by a political and economic impediment: he cannot wipe out the populace, or any significant sector of it. The guerrilla for his part, wishes to wear down his military opponent and will employ suitable tactics to that end, but his primary objective is political. It is to feed and fan the fires of revolution by his struggle, to raise the entire population against the regime, to discredit it, isolate it, wreck its credit, undermine its economy, over extend its resources, and cause its disintegration.

Essentially, then, the guerrilla fighter's war is political and social, his means are at least as political as they are military, his purpose is almost entirely so. Thus we may paraphrase Clausewitz: Guerrilla war is the extension of politics by means of armed conflict. At a certain point in its development it becomes revolution itself.

[illegible] war = Revolutionary War: the extension of politics by means of armed conflict.

[illegible] 2: THE EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTION]

The policy of hitting the enemy when he is weak, evading him when he is strong, taking the offensive when he falls back, circling round when he advances - all of this is only common sense. There is no great novelty in it.

What IS new, is the application of guerrilla activity, in a conscious and deliberate [illegible], to specific political objectives, without immediate reference to the outcome of battles as such, provided only that the revolutionaries survive.

The explanation seems to baffle conventional military men, yet it is simple enough: guerrillas who know their trade and have popular support cannot be eliminated by the [illegible] available to most governments. And on the other hand, few governments can stand the political, psychological, and economic stresses of guerrilla war, no matter how strong [illegible] militarily.

In general, [illegible] warfare involves the same basic problem: how to use one's strength to exploit the enemy's weaknesses and so to overcome him. In an internal war, the government's strength is its powerful army, its arsenal, and its wealth of material means. Its weaknesses are social, political, and economic in the sense that the economy, while an asset, is vulnerable from several points of view. It provides both military and psychological targets.

On the military level, a regular army, under whatever political system, has disadvantages that are owing to the very size and complexity of the organization, and again to its defensive role, as the guardian of the national wealth and of the whole of the national territory.

The guerrilla, for his part, finds his strength in his freedom from territorial commitments, his mobility, and his relationship to a discontented people, as the spokesman of their grievances, the armed vanguard, as Che Guevara puts it, of militant social protest.

His weakness is merely (the word is used advisedly) is a military weakness. He lacks the arms, and usually the manpower, to risk a military decision. Under these circumstances, it is obvious what the guerrillas's tactics must be:

(1) POLITICALLY - he must seek to aggravate such social and political dissension as exists and to raise the level of political consciousness and of revolutionary WILL among the people. It will also be part of his design to bring about an intensification of the political repression that already exists, so deepening popular opposition to the regime and hastening the process of its dissolution.

(2) MILITARILY - his tactics will be designed to wear the enemy down, by chipping away at the morale of the government troops and by inducing the maximum expenditure of funds material, and manpower in the effort to suppress him. At the same time he will endeavor to build his own forces through the capture of government arms and by recruitment from an increasingly alienated populace, avoiding a military confrontation

...and it will ... late - when an equalization of forces has been obtained.

An army deals from strength, seeking out the enemy's weaknesses in order to destroy him. The guerrilla is sometimes said to deal from weakness, but this is an absurdity. In fact, he exploits his own kind of strength, which lies in the extreme mobility of lightly armed forces without territorial or hardware investments, a bottomless well of manpower from which to recruit, and the fact that TIME which is both money and political capital, works in his favor.

Analogically, the guerrilla fights the war of the flea, and his military enemy suffers the dog's disadvantages: too much to defend; too small, ubiquitous, and agile an enemy to come to grips with. If the war continues long enough, the dog succumbs to exhaustion and anemia without ever having found anything on which to close his jaws and to rake with his claws.

But in practice, the dog does not die of anemia. He merely becomes too weakened - in military terms, overextended; in political terms, too unpopular; in economic terms, too expensive - to defend himself. At this point the flea, having multifplied to a veritable plague of fleas through long series of small victories, each drawing its drop of blood, each claiming the reward of a few more captured weapons to arm yet a few more partisans, concentrates his forces for a decisive series of powerful blows.

Time works for the guerrilla both in the field - where it costs the enemy a daily fortune to pursue him - and in the politico-economic arena.

Almost all modern governments are highly conscious of what journalism calls "world opinion." For sound reasons, mostly of an economic nature, they cannot afford to be condemned in the United Nations, they do not like to be visited by Human Rights Commissions or Freedom of the Press Committees; their need of foreign investment, foreign loans, foreign markets, satisfactory trade relationships, and so on, requires that they be members in more or less good standing of a larger community of interests. Often, too, they are members of military alliances. Consequently, they must maintain some appearance of stability in order to assure the other members of the community - the alliance that contracts will continue to be honored, that treaties will be upheld, that loans will be repaid with interest, that investments will continue to produce profits and be safe.

Protracted internal war threatens all of this, for no capitalist investor will wish to put his money where it is not safe and certain to produce a profit, no bank lends without guarantees, no ally wishes to treat with a government that is on the point of eviction.

It follows that it must be the business of the guerrilla, and of his clandestine political organization in the cities, to destroy the stable image of the government, and so to deny it credits, to dry up its sources of revenue, and to create dissension within the frightened owning classes, within the government bureaucracy (whose payrolls will be pinched), and within the military itself.

**The outbreak of the insurgency is the first step - it is abody blow that in itself inflicts severe damage on the prestige of the regime. The survival of the guerrilla force over a period of time, demonstrating the impotence of the army, continues the process. As the guerrilla's support widens - and this will come automatically as the weakness of the government is revealed - political trouble is sure to follow, in the form of petitions, demonstrations, strikes. These in their turn will be followed by more serious developments - sabotage, terror, spreading insurrection.

In such circumstances, it will be a remarkable government that will not be driven to stern measures - curfews, the suspension of civil liberties, a ban on popular assembly, illegal acts that can only deepen the popular opposition, creating a vicious circle of rebellion and repression until the economy is undermined, the social fabric torn beyond redemption, and the regime tottering on the verge of collapse.

** This by no means indicate that the evolution of Guerrilla Warfare will follow the exact mentioned pattern.

In the end, it will be a question whether the government falls before the military is destroyed in the field, or whether the destruction of the military brings about the final deposition of the political regime. The two processes are complementary. Social and political dissolution bleeds the military, and the protracted and futile campaign in the field contributes to the process of social and political dissolution, creating the "climate of collapse."

This is the grand strategic objective of the guerrilla: to create the "climate of collapse." It may be taken as the key to everything he does.

Insurrection is a phenomenon, revolution a process, which cannot begin until the historical stage has been set for it. Since guerrilla war is, in our definition, a revolutionary process, it can only come out of a revolutionary situation. For this reason, one should agree with Che Guevara when he writes in "Guerrilla Warfare":

> "Naturally, it is not to be thought that all conditions for revolution are going to be created through the impulse given to them by guerrilla activity. It must always be kept in mind that there is a necessary minimum without which the establishment andconsolidation of the first center (of rebellion) is not practicable. People must see clearly the futility of maintaining a fight for social goals within the framework of civil debate. When the forces of oppression come to maintain themselves in power against established law, peace is considered already broken.
>
> "In these conditions, popular discontent manifests itself in more active forms. An attitude of resistance crystallizes in an outbreak of fighting, provoked initially by the conduct of the authorities.
>
> Where a government has come into power through some form of popular vote, fraudulent or not, and maintains at least an appearance of constitutional legality, the guerrilla outbreak cannot be promoted, sincethe possibilities of peaceful struggle have not yet been exhausted."

We have defined guerrilla war as the extension of politics by means of armed conflict. It follows that the extension cannot logically com[illegible] all acceptable peaceful solutions - appeals, legislative and judicial action, and the resources of the ballot box have been proved worthless. Were it otherwise, there would be no hope of enlisting the popular support essential to revolutionary activity. If people are to accept the risks and responsibilities of organized violence, they must believe first that there is no alternative; second, that the cause is compelling; third, that they have reasonable expectation of success. The last named is perhaps the most powerful of motives.

Where the cause appears just, the situation is intolerable, and oppression past all appeal, the way to action is clear. Even then, however, much groundwork must be done before a guerrilla campaign will become feasible.

The experiences of Algeria,, of Cuba, and of other successful revolutions indicate that, in most circumstances, guerrillas require the active support of a political organization outside of their own ranks but dedicated to their cause, an urban arm of the revolutionary movement, that can provide assistance by means both legal and illicit, from placing bombs to defending accused revolutionaries in the courts of law (provided that these still exist). Hence the creation of the R.A.P.

Isolation, military and political, is the great enemy of guerrilla movements. It is the task of the urgan organization to prevent this isolation, to provide diversions and provocations when needed, to maintain contact, to keep the world aware of a revolution in progress even when there is no progress to report.

Usually the revolutionary political organization will have two branches: one subterranean and illegal, the other visible and quasi-legitimate. On the one hand, there will be the activists - saboteurs, arms runners, fabricators of explosive devices, operators of a clandestine press, distributors of political pamphlets, and couriers to carry messages from one guerril sector to another, using the towns as communications centers.

of the underground, opera[illegible] the most part within the law, but s[illegible]ning the efforts of the activists, and of themselves, accomplishing far more important tasks. The visible organization will, of course, have invisible links with the revolutionary underground, and through it, with the guerrillas in the countryside. But its real work will be to serve as a respectable facade for the revolution, a civilian front, or, as the Cubans called it, "resistencia civica", made up of intellectuals, tradesmen, clerks, students, professionals, and the like - above all, of women - capable of promoting funds, circulating petitions, organizing boycotts, raising popular demonstrations, informing friendly journalists, spreading rumors, and in every way conceivable waging a massive propaganda campaign aimed at two objectives: the strengthening and brightening of the rebel "image," and the discrediting of the regime.

SECTION 3: TRANSITION TO CIVIL WAR/

Let us say that a cause exists. Peaceful alternatives have been exhausted. The revolutionary organizations have come into being, perhaps only in skeletal form, but sufficient to the immediate need. Somewhere in the remotest province, which will be the most revolutionary because the most neglected and the most favorable to guerrilla action because the most primitive and inaccessible, insurrection breaks out and spreads.

A rebel band springs into existence, composed of armed civilians who call themselves patriots, and whom the tovernment will call bandits or Communists.

A government arsenal is assaulted, a police post is burned, a radio station is briefly seized, and a proclamation is issued in the name of the revolution. The hour is at hand, the people are in arms, the tyrant (or puppet, or foreigner) must go. A blow has been struck for national liberation and the lines of battle are drawn.

The aims and principles of the revolution are specified in appropriate rhetoric, with patriotic references and historical footnotes. They are just aims, worthy principles. Who would propound any others? They involve

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The government is not concerned about the loss of a few policemen, or even an arsenal, but it is terrified of the attendant publicity, which casts doubts on its stability, and thus on the future of the economy. Besides, who knows what other insurrections may not be brewing?

Reassuring statements are issued, provincial garrisons are quietly reinforced. An expedition is sent, with as little fanfare as possible, to extirpate the bandits, root and branch.

Now is the crucial time for the revolution. If the insurrection has been well timed, the terrain well chosen, and the guerrilla leaders competent and determined, the military effort will fail. The experience of scores of guerrilla campaigns in the era since World War II - indeed, of the Peninsular War In Spain (1804-14)- shows that it is virtually impossible to stamp out guerrillas in rural areas where they have room to maneuver and to hide, assuming that they have also the support of the rural population. Conceivably it may be accomplished by exterminating the rural population itself, but such draconian methods failed even the Nazis in eastern Europe, and not for scruples or lack of determination on their part.

This is not to day that guerrillas can win battles. In the early stage of the insurgency they will have NO BUSINESS TO SEEK BATTLES AND EVERY REASON TO SHUN THEM. Rather, the rebel strategy will be:

(1) To attack only when assured of success by the overwhelming superiority of firepower, position, and the element of surprise, and only in pursiut of limited objectives, such as the capture of arms, or to create a diversion from some other action, or to avoid encirclement;

(2) To use the campaign as an educational tool and a propaganda weapon by disclosing the impotence of the enemy, showing that he can be defied with impunity; to proselytize among the rural population by identifying with its grievances and aspirations and by putting the burden and the blame of blood-

In the beginning, only small actions in isolated sectors will be possible. Later, as the guerrillas grow stronger, they will divide their forces, to take their revolutionary message into new areas, and to harass the army on a broader scale, forcing it to extend its lines so that its defenses are weakened, and small units can be reduced, one at a time.

Throughout the campaign to the final stage, the rebel strategy will be to avoid a military decision, until an equalization of forces has been reached, and the government army can be confronted on the battlefield with clear assurance of success.

At the onset, defiance will be enough. The existence of insurgency will in itself serve to descredit the government and so to advance the rebel cause. The difficulty will be to continue to make political capital of an uprising that can consist, initially, of only small actions. Just as the regime depends for its life on an appearance of stability and progress, so does the rebel leader depend on action as the means of asserting his intransigence and winning mass support.

If their clandestine organization in the towns is up to it, there will now be incidents of industrial sabotage, communications sabotage to heighten the crisis. If there are atrocities in the way of reprisal on the part of the authorities, they must be well publicized. If there are martyrs, there must be big funerals, protests led by the mothers of the slain, outcries of popular indignation. Ideally, there will be a general strike. With it will come further repression, a curfew, beatings, arrests, creating further alienation of the populace from the regime, perhaps creating new martyrs, new incidents.

As it becomes clear that the government can no longer maintain order and cannot suppress the insurrection, the revolutionary tide begins to rise and swell. Students join the ranks of the underground. The working class and liberal middleclass elements of the towns - housewives, white-collar workers, the "out" political factions, the economic nationalists, idealists of one sort or another, and the disaffected of all classes - join the ... organization ... to the countryside to join the guerrillas, and peasants who have become the victims of a military campaign which is sure to claim innocent casualties, or who have fallen under suspicion for their association with the rebels, also swell the insurgent force.

As it grows, it becomes capable of action over wider territory; even more important, it becomes capable of establishing guerrilla bases in areas which the military can no longer control. With the establishment of such bases come into being a rebel government and a guerrilla economy, capable of supporting the guerrilla fighters independently of raids and smuggled supplies from the towns.

In a later phase, the base areas are expandedpanded, continual pressure being maintained against the government forces on their perimeters, until the guerrillas hold or operate freely in most of the rural territory of entire regions, confining the army, except for excursions which will grow shorter and more dangerous as time passes, to their fortified strong points in the towns.

At this point, the conflict begins to resemble a civil war between territorial entities of the same nation, each with its separate economy and government. There will, however, be significant differences:

(1) The territory of the guerrillas will be rural and its economy agricultural and primitive, while the economy of the enemy will be industrial - continuing to present targets for sabotage - and his territory increasingly restricted to urban areas;

(2) The legitimate government will continue to suffer all the pangs and pressures, political, diplomatic, economic, of a regime confronted by open insurgency which it cannot suppress, while the rebels will only gain prestige and popular appeal by their successful insurgency.

* * *

We have discussed characteristic developments in a revolutionary situation, from the start of an insurgency to the point at which a relative balance of forces is reached. The

ill follow - military or [illegible]cal. We believe that the decision will [illegible] political.

The Cuban revolution provides an excellent example of the process that we have been discussing in hypothesis. The stage had been set much as described above.

In December of 1956, Fidel Castro and 81 armed followers disembarked from a leaking motor cruiser on the lonely shore of Cuba's easternmost province of Oriente, arriving from Mexico. In the month that followed, the force was reduced to a round dozen, most of the other men being killed or captured in a military ambush before they could make their way into the mountains.

THE CUBAN EXAMPLE

Fidel Castro's military activities during the next 6 months were minuscule. They consisted of small raids on isolated army posts (yet the first produced sufficient captured weapons to double the force, when recruits were found), sugar mills, and villages on the edge of the Sierra Maestra range. In April of 1957, Castro had perhaps 100 followers. Half of these had arrived only 2 weeks before from Santiago, the provincial capital, where they had formed the bulk of his urban underground.

The biggest single action of the "fidelistas" during this period was an attack, May 28, 1957, on the small military outpost of Ubero, manned by about 70 soldiers. Rebel losses came to 8 dead; military losses were put at 30. Other actions during the first year were on a similar scale, or smaller, and at no time during the entire insurrectionary period did battles involve more than a few hundred men on either side. In almost all cases of unprovoked attack, where there was no prior move by the Batista military, the rebel purpose was to capture weapons with which to arm the guerrillas.

EFFECT OF PROPAGANDA VICTORIES

The scale of the action was miniature, yet propaganda victories came early and were international in their scope. One followed the other. The reports of the N.Y. Times correspondent Herbert Matthews made Fidel Castro's name a household word in the U.S.; subsequent publicity carried it around the world.

The effect, on the political and economic [illegible] [illegible] about an American arms embargo against the government of Fulgencio Batista, to discourage investment and restrict credits to such an extent as to put a severe strain on the regime, and to cause, gradually, a failure of nerve within the administration that spread to the military and made it practically impotent long before most of the troops had ever heard a rifle shot.

The Batista regime was hopelessly corrupt and inefficient. When it fell, it appeared, superficially, to have fallen of its own weight and weakness. Foreign journalists covering the story could not quite believe that Castro's handful of bearded riflemen had had much to do with it, except on the propaganda level.

At first, Batista had been disdainful of what appeared to be a small band of political adventurers, almost completely isolated in the remote Sierra Maestra. After the first fitful attempts to flush the guerrillas out of the mountains, he was inclined to dismiss the danger, and to cede to Castro by default a territory so remote, inaccessible, thinly populated and uneconomic as to be scarcely worth bothering about. Bandits had existed in the Sierra before; they had attracted little attention and had done no great harm. Doubtless Batista reasoned that the publicity would soon die away and that in due time the adventurers would be starved out of their sanctuary, or grow weary of a gruitless campaign and give it up.

Later he was to feel that he had grossly underestimated the threat, and to see rebels everywhere- even when there were none. With a secure mountain base, Castro was able to recruit a strong irregular force, and to make what he had seem many times stronger than it actually was. Fast-moving guerrilla patrols, sometimes of onlya half dozen men, managed to be everywhere at once. No army patrol was quite safe in the mountains; no outpost, sugar plantation, or village was safe in the foothills or within striking distance of them. [illegible]

[illegible]

When Castro grandiosly ammounced a "total war" in March of 1958 and warned of "columns" moving quickly north, east and west toward key objectives in all parts of the island, the army reacted as to an invasion. It had no way of knowing that the "columns" consis-

...ted of fewer than 200 men ...ll, or that a so-called "second front" announced at the same time, had been opened in northern Oriente by a force of no more than 65 guerrillas - their heaviest weapon a 30 caliber Browning automatic rifle.

At the onset of the insurrection, Batista had sent 5,000 soldiers to the Sierra Maestra to cordon off the area and eliminate the guerrillas. The Sierra runs more than 100 mi. east and west and is 15-25 miles deep. Simple arithmetic shows how impossible was the task set for the army, given a trackless terrain of precipitous and thickly wooded mountains. It would have been impossible with twice the number of troops.

Aircraft were used against the guerrillas but as Castro noted, the thick, wet woods blotted out the effects of high explosive bombs and napalm within 25 to 50 yards. There was little danger even had the bombardiers been accurate and the location of the guerrillas known - and neither of these "ifs" ever prevailed. The only damage done by the aircraft was to the thatched "bohios" of the ... dwellers, living in cultivated clearings.

The Sierra quickly became the first "territorio libre" of the revolution, and the first year was devoted by the free-ranging guerrillas to building a rear-base economy - small shops for the fabrication of uniforms and equipment, for making crude explosive devices and for repairing arms, for canning foodstuff, and so on - and proselytizing the inhabitants of the zone.

The harassment of the outlying districts and the interception of army patrols were undertaken as a matter of course. It was relatively easy because of the superior military intelligence of the guerrillas - thanks to the cooperation of the "Guajiros". Seldom was a military patrol able to come within even a few miles of the "fidelistas" force without the guerrillas becoming aware of it.

One of Castro's first acts on entering the Sierra had been to execute 2 bandits, accused of rape and murder, so dramatically establishing a revolutionary government with a code of ... which could be looked to as a stabilizing ... in an area long neglected by the Havana government.

The next step, important in winning a following politically and recruiting militarily, was to promulgate an agrarian reform law that conferred title on hundreds of small tenants, sharecroppers, and squatters, who were told that they now owned the land they tilled.

SECOND FRONT - FRANK PAIS

Similar tactics were followed in the more densely populated, rich coffee-growing uplands of the so-called "Segundo Frente, Frank Pais, opened by Raul Castro. A code of law was imposed, taxes were collected, and certain benefits - schools, hospitals - were conferred in return. Supplies were scrupulously paid for - in cash. The villagers were treated much as they would have been treated by any ordinary government - except that political indoctrination was more intense and more was demanded of them, in the way of identification with the revolution and adherence to its goals.

The few rural guard posts in the area were quickly eliminated. Since they consisted of no more than a few men at each post, they presented no obstacle for even so small an "army" as that of Raul Castro, with 65 men, all of whom could be concentrated on a single objective at a time.

Army columns sent into the area were ambushed as they entered, and then after brief resistance, allowed to pass. As they returned, they were likely to be ambushed again at other points - and again permitted to pass.

If pursued, the guerrillas simply withdrew into the wooded hills, dispersed, and regrouped elsewhere. When the zone was clear, they returned to the villages. After a few weeks of this futile exercise, the army ceased to send patrols, and contented ~~itself~~ with strengthening the garrisons in the towns on the outskirts of the free territory. But as the rebel force grew from internal recruitment and its economy prospered, these garrisons, too, became unsafe, and had to be reduced in number for reasons of security.

In terms of both expense and of military manpower, it became simply uneconomical for the government to attempt to hold dozens of tiny villages and farms and to police an area several thousand sq. miles in extent; and so

lages were abandoned to the rebels, the military having the larger towns and the uneasy provincial capital to defend. In this manner, the liberated territory was gradually extended. At its expanding periphery, a no-man's land was created, visited by both rebels and Batista troops but held by neither. Slowly bits of this neutral strip were also nibbled away, as not worth fighting for, and the free zone continued to grow.

Within 3 months, the army found itself unable to protect the big American nickel and cobalt mines on Oriente's northern coast, except in daylight. For reasons of political expedience, these were permitted to continue in operation. But the rebels helped themselves to such motor transport as they were able to use - several dozen jeeps and trucks from the mines - and earthmoving equipment for building new roads and improving those that existed.

A rebel guard post was actually established within a few yards of the entrance to the great U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay. When the Americans were found to be fueling Batista's military aircraft on one occasion and supplying the air force with rockets on another - this after an arms embargo had been declared by the U.S. -Raul Castro's guerrillas promptly kednapped 50 odd American sailors and marines on an outing, along with their excursion bus, and simultaneously swooped down on the mining communities and a United Fruit Company experimental station to seize half a dozen executives and engineers as hostages.

The resultant embarrassment to Batista was great. It effectively demonstrated, to a world largely unaware of the dimensions of the guerrilla campaign in remote Oriente, that the dictator no longer had control of a considerable part of his country.

That the "great" U.S. itself could be defied by a few hundred Cuban guerrillas was a further political lesson -and a powerful one. It naturally increased pressure on Batista to "do something." In the circumstances, it is hard to see what he could have done. Short of exterminating his own people and burning their villages, he was helpless. In the extremity of the final months, a few military commanders in the [illegible] executed as war criminals, began to w[illegible] a scorched earth campaign. But by then it was far too late.

* * *

The rebels had built a strong force and a viable economy in secure rear-base areas. In northern Oriente, they had control of the entire national coffee crop, worth some $60 million; since the government had to have it and could not get it in any other way, it was allowed to come to market, and was duly taxed by the guerrillas.

Other farm produce was also marketed. In addition to the revenue it brought, it provided the guerrillas, in exchange, with supplies which they were unable to obtain within the liberated territory. The government needed the crops for the sake of its own economy; it was also in the position of having to maintain an appearance of normality a pretense of business-as-usual (venality also played a part), and for these reasons tolerated a commerce that nourished the rebellion.

Guerrilla action continued, slow, sporadic and small-scale, often serving merely as a distraction while the rebel build-up within the free zones continued, yet always having definite objectives: the gradual extension of the territorio libre, the capture of arms, the training of new recruits.

A similar process had been going on in the middle of the island, in the mountains of the Escambray in Las Villas Province, on a smaller scale. In the late summer of 1958 2 columns from the Sierra Maestra, having taken part in the defeat and capture of a regiment-sized expedition sent into the mountains in June, left the Sierra to join the rebels in the Escambray, arriving in early September.

The campaign gradually intensified on both fronts. Guerrilla patrols began to interdict the main roads and the national highway, railroad bridges were destroyed, traffic in the country was brought to a virtual standstill; except for the movement of large military convoys; then these, too, began to come under fire.

rillas became a swarm. [illegible] and terrorism were stepped up in the towns. On occasion, rebel jeep patrols drove boldly into cities to reconnoitre the suburban areas. Small towns along the national highway were isolated and their garrisons reduced. Santiago was cut off. In mid-island, an armored train carrying troops to defend the city of Santa Clara was derailed and set afire, and its military passengers captured, along with a huge supply of arms, enough to supply all of the young volunteers in the city.

The demoralized Batista soldiers, restricted first to the towns and then to their own fortified barracks, found no military profit in venturing out; since the guerrillas would not stand and fight, unless assured of overwhelming odds. On the other hand, the troops risked ambush and capture or death whenever they traveled in less than company or even [illegible] strength. Slowly, lacking unified leadership, their communications destroyed, they allowed themselves to be sequestered. When the hour of decision came, most of them were on guard within their own isolated fortresses, controlling not even the towns they were supposed to defend.

The army general staff and the government meanwhile, had been shattered by a general crisis of nerves, with no member of the establishment able to trust another and each preparing to sell out or get out at the first sign of the regime's collapse. The loss of confidence in Batista had proceeded to such an extent that the ambassador of the "all-powerful" United States, on whom the Cuban economy depended and whose puppet the government was for all practical purposes, was in the process of negotiating with the political opposition, seeking a conservative alternative to Batista, when the latter precipitately fled the country, along with his generals and the ranking members of his government.

To summarize the Cuban revolution in this way is to neglect the part played by the urban underground and the civic resistance movement -both of which contributed much, in the way of strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, and propaganda work, to undermine the morale of the government and to destroy the prestige without which it could no longer direct the economy nor continue to exist.

[illegible] guerril[illegible] [illegible]ng a war of attrition, slowly nibbling away the rural areas, gradually expanding the free territories and building a military force with captured arms while strangling the army in its barracks, whose action was decisive.

Virtually all of the weapons to arm some 1500 men, save a few hundred small arms smuggled in from the United States, were captured from Batista's troops, a few dozen or at the most, a hundred at a time. The fall of the Oriente capital of Santiago put tanks and artillery into the hands of the rebels. Further surrenders in Las Villas gave them the means to confront any remaining army regiments that might have been disposed to fight.

But by that time, Batista had already fled, a general strike had put Havana in insurgent hands, the principal garrison at Camp Columbia, outside the capital, had surrendered without firing a shot, the navy had rebelled, and the war was over.

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SECTION 4: REVOLUTIONARY PROTRACTED WAR: A NECESSITY AND AN ADVANTAGE TO THE GUERR[illegible]

Revolutionary wars are generally, of necessity, wars of long duration. The seed of revolution are slow to germinate; the roots and tendrils spread out silently und[er]ground long before there is any sign of sprout or bud. Then suddenly one day, like new wheat springing up in a cultivated fie[ld] there is a blaze of color, an overnight growth: the rebels are there and everywher[e]

It is customary to speak of guerrilla wars as wars of attrition** The phrase is not perfectly accurate. Guerrilla warfare is not so much abrasive as subversive. It [is] a growth that penetrates the crevices of a rotting structure and one day bursts it asunder.

Yet attrition does, after all, play a great part. In the political sphere, the government is subjected to a constant, wear[y]ing pressure that comes from the great expense and anxiety of the anti-guerrilla

**Attrition: the gradual act of wearing something down by friction (as resources).

campaign and from the [illegible] cry of the opposition, the banks, the business community: "When will it all end? What are you doing about it?"

Economic attrition has already been discussed. Sabotage is one aspect of it. The loss of credit and investment suffered by a country engaged in civil war is the other, far more important aspect. No small nation, and few great ones, can stand the deprivation indefinitely. Yet the astounding fact is that the guerrillas, for their part, can carry on indefinitely.

Having no vested interest, No political opposition within their own ranks, no economic problems other than these that can be solved by extending the war and capturing what they need, the insurgents have nothing to lose and everything to gain by continuing the struggle. And, on the other hand, they have nothing to gain and everything to lose by giving up. In fact, once the banner of rebellion has been raised and blood has been shed, it is no easy matter to give up. The rebels begin to fight for whatever reason: they continue because they must.

They fight, then, in order to survive. Given their inferiority of resources, they can survive only by avoiding direct confrontation with a superior enemy; that is, battle on the enemy's terms. Guerrilla strategy is dictated from the start by this consideration. The result -if the guerrillas are to be successful and to avoid extermination- is a protracted war. The conflict must continue until the movement has recruited and trained enough men, and come into possession of enough arms, to build a revolutionary army capable of defeating the regular army in open battle.

Failing this, it must continue until political developments resulting from the campaign have brought about the desired end: the rising of the masses of the people and the overthrow or abdication of the discredited government.

In Cuba, the Batista regime collapsed before the military confrontation had fully developed. The army, lacking leadership, its general staff gone, found no reason to continue the struggle, and surrendered. A general strike in Havana - in other words, a rising o[illegible] the people - was sufficient to m[illegible] it clear to the military that there would [illegible] no further purpose in fighting; Batista ha[illegible] fled and his designated heirs could not be forced on the rebellious country. Nothing but a revolutionary government would be accepted.

Cuba is a prototype. It is typical of the dependent, semi-colonial countries in which revolution can be attained without th[illegible] bloody necessity of full-scale war. In such countries, it will be sufficient, barring intervention by the dominating colonial pow[illegible] to create by guerrillas warfare the conditions in which a discredited government (di[illegible]credited because it can no longer keep ord[illegible] and assure a profit to the country's capita[illegible]ists) falls from lack of support, and the revolutionaries rush in to fill the political vacuum.

Popular revolutionary forces can defeat regular armies. This is the fundamental lesson of China. Popular forces, to put the matter more precisely, can BECOME armies, making the transition from guerrilla activity to mobile warfare, that will be superio[illegible] on their own ground to regular troops equipped with all of the heavy weapons produced by modern industry.

How can a nation that is not industrialized defeat [illegible] that is? The answer, which applies to [illegible]rgency anywhere, as against the mechanized army, is guerrilla warfare.

Where the industrial nations stressed suc[illegible] tangible military factors as arms, logistic[illegible] and manpower, Mao looked to the INtangibles: time, space, and will. Lacking the arms wi[illegible] which to confront well-equipped armies in the field, Mao avoided battle by surrenderi[illegible] territory. In so soing, he traded space for time, and used the time to produce WILL: th[illegible] psychological capacity of the Chinese peopl[illegible] to resist defeat.

This is the essence of guerrillas warfar[illegible]. The basic premise of Mao's theory is that political mobilization may be substituted for industrial mobilization with a successful military outcome. That is to say, his fundamental belief is that only those who will admit defeat can be defeated. So if the totality of a population can be made to resist surrender, this resistance can be tur[illegible]

into a war of attrition ... will eventually and inevitably be victorious.

So Mao's real military problem was not that of getting the war over with, the question to which Western military thinkers have directed the greater part of their attention, but that of keeping it going.

Mao's problem, then: how to avoid a military decision. His answer: hit and run, fight and live to fight another day, give way before the determined advance of the enemy, and, like the sea, close in again as the enemy passes. The formula, "space" for "time", is well conceived. Mao makes it clear that nothing is gained unless the time is used to produce political results, by raising the revolutionary consciousness, the "will" of the masses:

> "When the Red Army fights, it fights not merely for the sake of fighting, but to agitate the masses, to organize them, and to help them establish revolutionary political power; apart from such objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army the reason for its existence."

PLEASE NOTE:

Political mobilization - raising the level of political consciousness of the people and involving them actively in the revolutionary struggle -is the first task of the guerrillas; and it is the nature of this effort, which necessarily takes time, that accounts for the PROTRACTED CHARACTER OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Furthermore, time is required, not alone for political mobilization, but to allow the inherent weaknesses of the enemy to develop under the stress of war.

Mao makes this point more than once in his military writings, in several different contexts. In the Sino-Japanese War, for ex., Japan, an industrial power, had the great advantage of a superior war machine, capable of striking devastating blows at the poorly armed troops of semi-feudal, semi-colonial, unindustrial China. Yet such an advantage, unless immediately decisive, could not compensate for defects that would become apparent in prolonged conflict.

The fi... ...hese was that Japan, while powerful militarily, lacked the base in natural resources and manpower to sustain her war machine, far from home and in a vast, populous country over a long period of time. Indeed, the war had been started to compensate for the defect, but extended through conquest Japan's paucity of material resources. Insofar as this was true, war was an act of desperation, and a contradiction, putting the cart before the horse. For what would happen if the war was NOT quickly won, and the new wealth quickly absorbed and exploited?

Japan was seeking, of necessity, a war of quick decision. The correct military response was to deny it, by avoiding a military confrontation and fighting along the lines of guerrilla and mobile warfare, trading the vast space of China for the time necessary--

(1) To let the inherent weaknesses of Japan develop and show themselves under the stresses of a protracted war;

(2) To build Chinese resistance forces to the strength and degree of organization needed to confront the gradually weakened Japanese war machine.

As Mao analyzed the situation:

> "...Japan's war is conducted on the basis of her great military, economic and political organizational power, but at the same time, it rests on an inadequate natural endowment. Japan's military, economic and Political organizational power is great but quantitatively inadequate. Japan is a comparatively small country, deficient in manpower and in military, financial and material resources, and she cannot stand a prolonged war. Japan's rulers are endeavoring to resolve this difficulty through war, but again they will get the very reverse of what they desire; that is to say, the war they have launched to resolve this difficulty will end in adding to it and even in exhausting Japan's original resources."

Other defects were apparent:

> "...the internal and external contradictions of Japanese imperialism have driven ... not only to embark on an adventurist war unparalleled in scale, but also to approach final collapse. In terms of development, Japan is no longer a thriving country; the war will not lead to the prosperity sought by

... does of Japanese imperi... this is what we mean by the retrogressive nature of Japan's war. It is this reactionary quality, coupled with the military-feudal character of Japanese imperialism, that gives rise to the peculiar barbarity of Japan's war. All of which will arouse to the utmost the class antagonisms within Japan, the antagonism between the Japanese and the Chinese nations, and the antagonism between Japan and most other countries of the world.

"...while Japan can get international support from the fascist countries, the international opposition she is bound to encounter will be greater than her international support. This opposition will gradually grow and eventually will not only cancel out support but even bear down on Japan herself.... To sum up, Japan's advantage lies in her great capacity to wage war, and her disadvantages lie in the reactionary and barbarous nature of her war, in the inadequacy of her manpower and material resources, and in her meager international support."

Against the Japanese war-making capacity were pitted the Chinese advantages of space, time, and will. The long struggle for national liberation, as Mao notes, had tempered the Chinese people; social and political gains had created a WILL that was capable of great sacrifice and resistance over long periods of time; and:

"Again by contrast with Japan, China is a very big country with vast territory, rich resources, a large population, and plenty of soldiers and is capable of sustaining a long war."

(1) Space in which to maneuver; (2) abundant manpower; (3) strong international support; ~~and~~ (4) the Chinese will to resist agression -- these were China's advantages. These were also the reasons for avoiding a quick decision in favor of a protracted war, one in which Japan's single advantage, superior arms and organization, would be worn away.

* * * * *

In the beginning (of guerrilla warfare) and the first phase may last for many months! - territory is nothing, attrition is everything. The enemy is permitted, even encouraged to expand where he will. The guerrillas give ... only harassing ... circling ... fighting always in the enemy's rear areas and presenting no continuous front for the foe to smash.

(1) The enemy is engaged, during this period, in a strategic offensive, with the object of wiping out the guerrillas. On his part, the action is characterized by a series of "encirclement and suppression" campaigns (compare the so-called "clear and hold" efforts in South Viet Nam today, under American leadership) during which the effort is made to occupy territory and to rid it of guerrilla infestation, piecemeal.

The contradiction implicit in this effort is that it converts increasingly large parts of the national territory into government "rear areas" where guerrilla operations work best. The repressive forces succeed in encircling areas of guerrilla activity - no one stops them - but in the process they themselves become encircled by guerrillas, and while the guerrillas can almost always slip out of any given encirclement, by dispersion and exfiltration, how can the army slip out? Where is the front? It does not exist. Movements of men and material become progressively greater and more expensive; the lines of supply and communication become ever longer, more attenuated, and more vulnerable to guerrilla attack. In effect, the army, in occupying broad expanses of rural territory, ab... the guerrillas by providing them with broad... and easier targets and more accessible sour... of arms and ammunition.

The guerrilla strategy remains constant during this period, although tactics vary with the situation. The strategy is to force the enemy to spread himself as thin as possible, by harassing him all along the line, wherever he is weak, and then to concentrate all available guerrilla strength to annihil... never merely to rout - inferior enemy units one at a time.

"Ours are guerrilla tactics," writes Mao. "They consist mainly of the following point...

"Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the ene...

"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."

a powerful enemy, employ [illegible] policy of rcling around."

"Arouse the greatest numbers of the masses . the shortest time by the best possible ethods."

"These tactics are just like casting a net; any moment we should be able to cast it or aw it in. We cast it wide to win over the sses and draw it in to deal with the enemy."

In areas where little opposition is met, e net is cast. The guerrillas disperse, to rry on the work of political indoctrina- on, to strengthen the internal economy of e revolutionary movement, to establish rear se areas -bases which, it should be noted, n be expanded or contracted, or even aban- ned, on short notice.

Where opposition is strong, the net is [illegible] guerrillas are able to concen- ate heavy forces - Mao recommends two, or ur, or even six times the enemy strength - ainst a single enemy weak point.

Battles are not prolonged. On the contrary, is Mao who has invented the "five-minute tack"; it consists of a sudden onslaught, brief and furious interval of fighting, d then the assault is broken off as sudden- as it began and the guerrillas rapidly re- e, having inflicted as many casualties and ken as many arms as possible during the ated time but not lingering even a minute r [illegible]. Mao stresses the battle of quick cision -the very opposite of Western mili- y strategy. Where the army backed by heavy dustry is able to make a long-drawn techno- gical contest of each battle, relying on periority of equipment and logistics to ll in the end, the guerrillas must rely on [illegible] superior position, and locally, super- r manpower, and must break off the engage- nt before the superiority of heavy weapons [illegible] toll.

As we have remarked before, the guerrilla ghts the war of the flea. The flea bites, [illegible] bites again, nimbly avoiding the ot that would crush him. He does not seek kill his enemy at a blow, but to bleed him d feed on him, to plague and bedevil him, keep him from resting and to destroy his [illegible] morale. All of this requires tion must beco[me a]n epidemic, as one by one the areas of [resi]stance link up, like spreading ink spots on a blotter.

(2) The Second Phase of the campaign, the period of equilibrium, a stalemate sets in. The government finds it cannot destroy the guerrillas; for the moment it can only seek to contain them, while preparing new offensives for the future. The guerrillas cannot destroy the army: They continue to harass it, taking advantage of lulls in the conflict to expand the revolutionary base areas, nibbling away at the fringe of no-man's land that surrounds each liberated zone, improving the internal economy of crops, workshops, arms repair depots, and using the time to agitate the people, to forward the war of propaganda, and to sharpen the internal conflicts that shake the enemy camp as the long, expensive anti-guerrilla campaign bogs down and the end appears hopelessly far away.

(3) The third Stage, that of the revolutionary strategic offensive, or general offensive, begins when the opposing forces of the government and those of the guerrillas have reached a balance, and the insurgents seize the military initiative, now no longer as pure guerrillas, but as mobile columns up to divisional strength, capable of confronting and destroying the army in open battle.

Where the insurgents formerly gave way at the approach of the enemy, or depended on hit-and-run ambushes, they will now give battle, using small units, to pin down the main forces of the government while their regular troops are thrown -always in superior numbers -into concentrated attacks on the most vulnerable objectives along the enemy's attenuated lines of support or weakest points of concentration.

When encircled, the rebels, instead of dispersing and exfiltrating under cover of darkness, as before, will concentrate and make a powerful breakthrough at a chosen point in the enemy's lines - again, perhaps, using secondary troops to pin down the army in other areas.

Gradually, sometimes using guerrilla tactics, at other times concentrating for powerful strategic blows, the rebels will succeed in cutting the enemy's main lines of communi-

e insurgents will themselves begin to hold territory, first expanding their rural bases until they have blotted up most of the countryside, making it untenable for the enemy, then seizing the villages and the larger towns, driving the army back into its urban strong points, which, once isolated, can be reduced piecemeal.

As the strong points are reduced and the army's manpower is whittled down, with big units captured or annihilated and others defecting (as may be expected if they are native troops), the rebels will come into possession of heavy weapons - tanks, artillery - which can be used to reduce even larger strong points, until at last a siege of the cities, aided by popular uprisings, brings the war to its successful termination in the destruction or surrender of the army and the collapse of the government.

* * * *

A principle can be observed throughout this entire process: the more the enemy holds the more he has to defend and the broader the insurgent target area. Yet on the other hand, the more the insurgent fights and wins, the more he has with which to fight and to win - in arms, in manpower, in material resources. Thus the objectives of the government and of the insurgent must be diametrically opposed. The army seeks to end the war as quickly as possible, in order to minimize its losses; the insurgent seeks to prolong it, since he has everything to gain by it.

It is clear that the guerrilla objectives cannot be accomplished overnight, or even within any predictable period. It is a basic premise of Mao's theory that the phases of the campaign will overlap, that on many occasions setbacks will occur, mobile units may have to be dispersed, again to become guerrilla bands, the third phase may slip back into the second, territory that has been won may be surrendered, and may change hands many times before it can finally be consolidated as part of the spreading Red territory.

On a map, the areas of guerrilla activity will appear as tiny ink spots. Gradually they will become splotches, and the splotches will grow larger until they finally run together

will progress not from east to west or north to south, but from the outside in, from the mountains and the jungles to the cultivated rural areas, then to the villages within those areas, then to the towns, and along the national highways, and only in the final struggle to the diminishing pin-pricks of the cities.

The principles of the operation may be observed in the Communist war on Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops in the period immediately following World War II. Analysing a campaign of 17 months duration in 1946-47, during which 640,000 Nationalist troops were killed or wounded and 1,050,000 were captured Mao lists the following points of insurgent strategy:

(1) Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong forces later.

(2) Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

(3) Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place will be held or deized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

(4) In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (2, 3, 4, and sometimes even 5 or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly, and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all-out strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on we shall become

. of the ene NY100 · ~~47903~~ blow, seek a [illegible]ning decision.

(5) Fight no battle unprepared, fight no ittle you are not sure of winning; make every ffort to be well prepared for each battle, ake every effort to ensure victory in the iven set of conditions as between the enemy id ourselves.

(6) Give full play to our style of fighting courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no ear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that s, fighting successive battles in a short ime without rest).

(7) Strive to wipe out the enemy when he s on the move. At the same time, pay atten- ion to the tactics of positional attack and pture enemy-fortified points and cities.

(8) Replenish our strength with all the ms and most of the personnel captured from [illegible]. Our army's main sources of man- ower and material are at the front.

(9) Make good use of the intervals between ampaigns to rest, train, and consolidate ur troops. Periods of rest, training, and onsolidation should not be very long, and he enemy should so far as possible be per- itted no breathing space.

* * * *

As to the question of supplies, it is a enet of guerrilla theory, not only in China ut in all revolutionary wars, that the enemy ust be the main source of weapons and ammuni- ion. One advantage is that one always finds he proper calibers of ammunition close at and. Another, greater advantage is that lo- istical problems are reduced to a minimum. he enemy supply lines serve both armies, and ften serve the guerrilla army better than hey do that of the adversary.

G[illegible]rillas can gain the initiative if they [illegible]nd the weak points of the enemy. ecause of the enemy's insufficient manpower, uerrillas can operate over vast territories; ecause the enemy is the oppressor and the xploiter, guerrillas can gain the confidence f millions of their countrymen.

In guerrilla warfare select the tactics of [illegible]ing to come from the east and attacking [illegible] the west; avoid the solid, attack the

Without a political goal, guerrilla warfare must fail, as it must if its political ob- jectives do no coincide with the aspirations of the people, and their sympathy, coopera- tion and assistance cannot be gained. The essence of guerrilla warfare is thus politi- cal in character.

On the other hand, in a war of counter- revolutionary nature, there is no place for guerrilla hostilities. Because guerrilla war fare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can ne[i]ther exist nor flourish if it separates it[s]elf from their sympathies and cooperation.

NOTE: This is the essential contrast between conventional war and guerrilla war. The army fights to occupy territory, roads, strategic heights, vital areas; the guerrilla fights to control people, without whose cooperation the land is useless to its possessor.

* * * * *

VIETMINH VS. THE FRENCH

The Vietminh were organized on three levels

(1) The so-called "Chu-luc" regulars - per- manent guerrilla fighters who could be em- ployed strategically wherever needed and who carried the main campaign, when insurgent forces were concentrated for a major strike;

(2) Regional Guerrillas - fought only in their zones, and could always return to thei civilian character as peasants and workers if hard pressed;

(3) The Village Militia, the "du-kich", gue rillas by night and peasants by day, carry- ing out limited assignments -sabotaging a bridge here, ambushing a patrol there, minir the roads, carrying messages or funds - and fading back into their farms and villages at the first approach of military opposition.

"At the first shots of the imperialist in vasion," (writes General Giap) "General Le- clerc estimated that the reoccupation of Vietnam would be a military walk-over. When encountering resistance in the South, the French generals considered it weak and

pacify the whole of South [illegible]

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"Why did the French colonialists make such an estimate? Because they considered that to meet their aggression, there must be an army. ..It was not possible for them to understand a fundamental and decisive fact: the Vietnamese Army, although weak materially, was a people's army....In provoking hostilities, the colonialists had alienated a whole nation. And the whole Vietnamese nation, the entire Vietnamese people rose against them. Unable to grasp this profound truth, the French generals, who believed in an easy victory, went instead to certain defeat."

Allowing for rhetorical exaggeration, there is still much in what General Giap says. The French forces, concentrating on strong points and other objectives of conventional warfare strategy, found themselves "submerged in a sea of armed people." The arms, in the main, came from the French Expeditionary Corps, which became unwittingly the supplier of the Vietnam People's Army with Frenchm even U.S. arms.

As for the organization of resistance, Giap notes that it was primarily POLITICAL and only secondarily military:

"Our party advocated that, to oaunch the people's war, it was necessary to have 3 kinds of armed forces. It attached great importance to the building and development of self-defense units and guerrilla units. Militia was set up everywhere. Thanks to the founding of (the) people's administration everywhere in the countryside, and the existence of Party branches in every place, the militia spread far and wide and the people rose to fight. In the enemy's rear, guerrilla units, in coordination with the regular army, scattered and wore out the enemy, mailed them to their bases, so that our regular army could launch mobile fighting to annihilate them. They turned the enemy rear into our front line and built guerrilla bases as starting points for our regular army's offensive, right in the heart of the enemy. They protected the people and their property, fought the enemy and kept up production, and frustrated the enemy's schemes to use war to feed war and Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese. In the free zones, guerrilla units effectively [illegible] administration and local Party; at the same time, they were the shock force in production, transport, and supply. Through combat and work, the guerrilla units became an inexhaustible and precious source of replenishment for the regular army, supplying it with men and officers who were politically well educated and rich in fighting experience."

Both sides made serious mistakes in the early phase of the 8-year struggle. The French for their part, devoted a full 5 mos. of 1947 to the fruitless task of attempting to capture Ho Chi Minh and his staff, thinking in this way to cut short the war. The effort was wasted. Even if they had captured Ho, it probably would not have affected the course of a war, the outcome of which depended not on individual military genius but on a strategy that any Communist leader, aware of the lesson of China, would have applied.

Here it may be well to observe that, to a very great extent, guerrillas fight as they do because they must. Their situation determines their course of action. Lacking the heavy weapons and disciplined divisions with which to fight conventional military campaigns, they are confined to mibbling at the edges of the opposing army and fighting in the enemy's rear areas. Materially unable to face a military decision, they must of necessity await a political decision. In a revolutionary situation, political decisions will tend to favor their side, since these will come in the course of a protracted war which the enemy is neither politically nor psychologically able to stand, whatever the condition of his military forces.

* * * * * * * *

VIETNAM : ONE EXAMPLE OF THE FLEA

The silence that follows the fall of Dien Bien Phu is but a moment in the span of history, an all too brief breathing spell. Scarcely 5 years separate the First Indochina War from the start of the Second. Since then, events have made Viet Nam again the focal point of global concern, the storm center around which swirls a vast political conflict, a clash of ideologies and empires

yet from a certain vie... little seems to have chang[ed] in the essential situation. To the South Vietnamese peasant looking up from his rice paddies, the war-planes that whine overhead on their way to distant targets in the North, the helicopters clattering toward some battle rendezvous, are indistinguishable from the planes and helicopters that carried French troops into battle against the Vietmenh a decade ago. To a Communist guerrilla in the brush or in the villages, today's battle is like that of yesterday and last year and the year before that; the war is all of a piece, and many young men cannot remember when there was no war.

American uniforms have replaced French uniforms in Saigon; directives come from Washington instead of Paris. The Vietminh are now called the Viet Cong; and the new invaders, for a long while given the courtesy title of "military advisers" but now finally acknowledged to be combatants, are called Americans.

It makes little difference: French or Americans, Vietminh or Viet Cong, the war goes on, both sides pursuing the same objectives as before, by the same familiar methods. It is the struggle of dog and flea; and the flea continues, slowly but inevitably, to multiply and to win.

A UPI news analysis of Mar. 24, 1965, disclosing in a few telling paragraphs the dilemma of the American forces in Viet Nam, could almost have been written a decade earlier, with respect to the French situation of that time:

"The U.S. is now deep into the 4th year of an increasingly bloody battle for this land of mountains, jungles, rice paddies, and Communist guerrillas.

"Since May 1961, when the U.S. first commited itself to support the anti-Communist Saigon government, ** it has poured in vast quantities of men and machines.

United ... has moved in billions of ... worth of t[he mo]st sophisticated weapons in its arsena[l].

"It has given freely of its brains, its blood, and its lives. All has been to no avail. The world's mightiest nation has be[en] unable to find the key to success in Southeast Asia.

"From the day it set foot in this land, [the] United States ' course in the fight agains[t] the Communists has been downhill."

Despite political statements about aid from "aggressors in the North," the simple fact is that probably 90% of Viet Cong arms consist of American weapons captured from the government troops.

Most Vietcong weapons are new U.S. milit[ary] weapons, captured in ambushes on Governme[nt] units and attacks on outposts. Often a Viet Cong unit is organized initially with no weapons. The political organizer tells his me[n] and women they must fight at first with handmade arms -spears, daggers, sword[s] and drude shotguns. To get better weapons, the unit must capture them from the enemy.

* * * *

The rebel casts himself in the role of David, and makes it his business to force the enemy into the role of Goliath in the public mind. His every act and announceme[nt] play on the sympathies and sense of justi[ce] of the global witnesses of the struggle, [by] creating the picture of a courageous peop[le] fighting for independence against the monstrous forces of tyranny and oppression.

FAILURES IN THE WAR OF THE FLEA

Mao's analogy of the *guerrilla*, swimmin[g] like a fish in the sea of the population, contains an essential truth: It expresses *the fundamental* principle of guerrilla wa[r]. But what happens when the fish is removed or REMOVES ITSELF from the water?

The answer explains the reason for the failure of the few guerrilla movements th[at] have been successfully suppressed.

**But this is to overlook the fact that the U.S. was supplying the French with war material even before Dien Bien Phu, footing the cost of the Indochina war to the extent of $1.25 billion dollars.

Huk insurrection in Philippines, perhaps, a third.

All three show what happens when guerrillas are cut off, or deliberately cut themselves off from popular contact and support. Each of these histories is too lengthy to go into in this handbook but suffice it to say that in the case of the Huks one of their signal weaknesses seems to have been their failure to establish anything like a popular front during a period when urban support, the participation of students, industrial workers, and the poorer white collar class, was clearly required. The insurrection was a peasant movement and remained confined to the rural areas. (DANGERS OF BECOMING ISOLATED)

In postwar Malaya, the guerrillas also allowed themselves to become isolated. What is more important in this case is the tremendous cost in lives and arms of putting down this rebellion.

Nine months of continuous effort by an entire battalion, backed by artillery and aircraft, with the expenditure of more artillery and mortar shells and aerial bombs than exist in the arsenals of some Latin American republics - to eliminate "35" guerrillas.

At such cost, the defeat of the Chinese Communists in Malaya can be nothing less than inspirational to potential guerrillas of other, less sternly guarded countries. How many of the shaky Latin American regimes could meet the expense, let alone the political risks, of such a campaign, if it involved not 35 but a thousand determined guerrillas? For how long?

We come to Greece - a case history of another sort. The 3-year Greek revolution, successfully put down b y a Rightest government with the help of Britain and the U.S., offers instruction to those interested in knowing how NOT to conduct a guerrilla war.

In Greece (1946-49) virtually all of the lessons of experience were ignored, all of the rules laid down by the theoreticians of revolutionary warfare were broken.

It is not unfair to say that to a very great extent, it was destroyed (the revolution- the terrorism practiced against civilians, their dependence on foreign bases and supplies, and their premature decision in 1948 to hold ground and to expose large formations to a numerically, technologically, logistically, and organizationally superior army cost them a series of defeats from which there was no recovery.

Their loss was twofold. They were defeated militarily. And the Greek army's success spelled defeat for the revolutionary movement politically, as well.

Again, at the risk of being repetitive: ...

The object of the guerrilla is not to win battles, but to avoid defeat: not to end the war, but to prolong it, until political victory, more important than any battlefield has been won.

Revolution is by definition a mass phenomenon. Greece, Malaya, the Philippines all illustrate the axiom that without mass participation, or at least popular support, there can be no revolution. The Huks lost it, the Chinese in Malaya never had it, the Greek Communists threw it away.

BEWARE !!!!!!!

THE ART OF WAR

All warfare is based on deception. Therefore, when capable, feign incapacity; when active, inactivity.

When near, make it appear that you are far away; when far away, that you are near.

Offer the enemy a bait to lure him; feign disorder and strike him.

When he concentrates, prepare against him; where he is strong, avoid him.

Anger his general and confuse him. Pretend inferiority and encourage his arrogance.
Keep him under a strain and wear him down.
When he is united, divide him.
Attack where he is unprepared: sally out when he does not expect you.
These are the strategists keys to victory.

ives formidably multiply the striking power of the arrow; tanks are better than shields; trucks and helicopters offer (but not always) swifter and more dependable transportation than mules and camels. The problems of generalship remain the same. The variable factors of terrain, weather, space, time, population, and, above all, of morale and strategy still determine the outcome of battles and campaigns.

The guerrilla is a political insurgent, the conscious agent of revolution; his military role, while vital, is only incidental to his political mission. His insurgency is dedicated to a single purpose: the overthrow of the government and the destruction of the existing political or social or, it may be, economic system.

Each battle will be a lesson, designed to demonstrate the impotence of the army and so [illegible] the government that employs it. Each camapign will be a text, intended to raise the level of revolutionary awareness and anticipation of the popular majority whose attitude will determine the outcome of the struggle.

Guerrilla actions will have certain obvious military objectives: to obtain weapons, ammunition, and supplies, to inflict casualties, to force the enemy to overextend his lines so that his communications may be disrupted and small units picked off, one at a time, by locally superior rebel forces.

But psychological and political objectives will be paramount. Local military success will serve no purpose if the guerrilla campaign does not also weaken the morale of the government and its soldiers, strain the financial resources of the regime, and increase political pressure on it by creating widespread apprehension and dissatisfaction with [illegible] of a war in which there is no [illegible] and no end in sight.

In the potentially revolutionary situation, spontaneous insurrections may be expected: they are likely to arise out of almost any [illegible] of social conflict -a strike, a dispute over land or wages or prices or rents or schools or any one of a score of other social "problems." Often they will come in reaction

authorities [illegible] for example, when the effort of the police [illegible] curb a popular demonstration turn into a riot.

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In other circumstances, disorder may be deliberately created. In Cuba, Algeria, Cyprus, as examples that come readily to mind, the war of the flea was initiated by the deliberate acts of the revolutionary nucleus, proclaiming its defiance of authority and banking on popular support in an open declaration of revolutionary war.

The means are not important. The important element is the leadership itself. Bandits are not revolutionaries, looters are not guerrillas. In order to attract a following, the revolutionary leaders must stand on firm moral ground; they must have some greater purpose than the furtherance of personal ambition. This in turn implies an ideology or a clear "cause" to explain their decisions and the reasons of their insurgency. THEY CANNOT BE MERE OPPORTUNISTS.

When conflict occurs, whether spontaneous or induced, the revolutionary leaders must be capable of explaining and rationalizing its confused and often apparently accidental character. Isolated acts of defiance must be given coherency within a revolutionary frame of reference. (Ex. Fred Ahmed Evans, H. Rap Brown, Huey P. Newton, etc.) (Detroit, Watts, Newark...)

The leadership must be prepared to make the most of every opportunity to accelerate the process of social ferment and political disruption. The first task of the revolutionary cadres must be to relate each incident and each phase of the conflict to a great "cause," so that revolutionary violence is seen as the natural and moral mean to a desired end, and the masses of the people are increasingly involved. The struggle cannot be allowed to seem meaningless or chaotic. It must be given a progressive character in all its phases; it must arouse great expectations and appear crucial at every stage, so that no one can stand outside of it.

How is it possible for a relative handful of armed men to oppose a vastly superior army? The secrets are (1) superior intelligence, and (2) terrain.

entire population. The popu[illegible]tion hides them, and at the same time it re[illegible]ls, from day to day and hour to hour, the disposition and strength of the enemy.

"We always know where the soldiers are, but they never know where we are. We can come and go as we like, moving through their lines, but they can never find us unless we wish them to, and then it is only on our terms." (Fidel Castro)

Where a choice of ground is possible, the terrain for guerrilla operations should be carefully selected. The ideal will found in a country that is more rural than urban, mountainous rather than flat, thickly forested rather than bare, with extensive railway lines, bad roads, and an economy that is preponderantly agricultural rather than industrial. The relative dispersion or concentration of the population is also of great importance: A region with a widely scattered rural population, living in small hamlets and isolated farm dwellings is much more vulnerable than one of tightly knit, large country towns separated by wide areas of open farmland.

The terrain should afford both natural concealment and obstacles to hinder the movement of military transport -mountains and swamps where tanks and trucks cannot go, woods and thick brush that provide cover from aerial observation and attack, forests from which to strike quickly and safely at enemy rail and highway communications and in which to ambush small military units.

There should be sufficient space to maneuver freely, without the danger of being caught in a closing spiral of encirclement. The greater the area of operations, the more difficult it will be for the army to locate the guerrillas and the more the government will have to disperse its troops and extend its lines of supply and communication.

Yet the guerrillas cannot choose the remotest and most rugged areas in which they would be safest. They must remain constantly in contact with a rural population from which to recruit, to draw supplies, and to obtain reliable couriers who will carry messages and

This necess[illegible] indicates the choice of a[illegible] area with a [illegible]ersed rather than concentra[illegible]ted rural population. Such an area will us[illegible]ally afford the natural concealment and na[illegible]tural obstacles to army operations found in desolate areas, and will provide a further advantage: It will not be economic for the government garrison.

Large rural towns can be garrisoned; tiny hamlets cannot. Where there are many of th[illegible] only a few soldiers can be assigned to each and to create such rural outposts is worse than useless, since each individual ~~post~~ c[illegible] easily be overwhelmed, its soldiers captur[illegible] or killed, their arms and ammunition seize[illegible] and another propaganda victory thus scored by the insurgents.

Since there will be no great government stake in any given hamlet, form, or villag[illegible] in economic or strategic terms, the natura[illegible] decision of the army will be to withdraw t[illegible] safer ground. Yet each such withdrawal will widen the area of guerrilla control and fe[illegible] the insurgency, providing it with more sup[illegible]plies, more recruits, more room in which t[illegible] maneuver.

There is another consideration: The poss[illegible]sion of populated areas will usually pr[illegible] almost as much safety for the insurgents [illegible] would the remote areas in which they cann[illegible] be located or attacked. Political conside[illegible]tions, if not those of humanity, will usu[illegible] offer some safeguard against bombing or ar[illegible]tillery attacks, since the government can[illegible] afford to kill civilians indiscriminately. (This does not always apply in later stag[illegible] of insurgency, E.G. consider Vietnam)

The danger of being isolated far from p[illegible]ulated areas has been demonstrated by th[illegible] experience of guerrillas in Malaya and th[illegible] Philippines. In both instances, the mili[illegible] succeeded in isolating the insurgents, cu[illegible]ting them off from the source of their st[illegible]gth, with results fatal to the insurgency[illegible] the other hand, the possibility of fighti[illegible] a successful guerrilla war on a small is[illegible] with little room to maneuver and no real [illegible]erness sanctuary has been proven by the [illegible]ot. fighters of EOKA. When pressed, the [illegible] guerrilla bands commanded by Grivas in th[illegible]

alked above their heads without discovering them. Others sallied forth on night forays from hiding places under the floors of homes where they had lain all day, their presence unsuspected. They were, in the most literal sense, "underground."

In well policed, large cities, a sympathetic population can protect active insurgents. The draconian methods used by the French in Algiers virtually stamped out the FLN underground there, but only because the Moslems of the Casbah were already separated, racially and physically from the French population. Soldiers, especially foreigners, can suppress urban rebellion by treating the entire metropolis as a city under wartime siege, controlling all movements, and ruthlessly killing the inhabitants of any quarter where resistance is offered. Gradually an urban population can be starved and terrorized into submission. But such methods scarcely apply to the civil war situation in which there is no sure way of knowing friend from foe.

Terrain and local conditions ultimately decide the size and organization of the guerrilla band. Guerrillas will not give battle until the terrain favors them. When fighting begins, it will be on ground of the guerrillas' own choosing - preferably from commanding heights with dense cover and limited visibility, where a few determined men can hold up an army.

Ambushes will be prepared in such a manner that a small portion of the advancing military column -its vanguard - will be separated from the rest when firing commences. The fire of the main body of the guerrillas will be concentrated on this vanguard. The object of the ambush must be the complete destruction of the advance group and seizure of its arms and ammunication, the latter task being accomplished while a small guerrilla rear guard delays the rest of the military column.

Che Guevara writes:

"When the force of the guerrillas band is small and it is desired above all to detain and slow down the advance of an invading column, groups of snipers, from 2 to 10 in number should be distributed all around the column ... will begin at one moment from the left flank, at another moment from the rear guard or from the vanguard, and so forth."

"With a very small expenditure of ammunition it is possible to hold the enemy in check indefinitely."

While the column is delayed, the main body of the guerrilla force quickly gathers its military booty and moves on toward the next prepared position, or circles around and steps out in a new direction. The snipers withdraw and rejoin the main force before the troops have recovered sufficiently to launch a counter attack, all of this occurring within a matter of a few minutes.

The process is repeated again and again. When it has been determined that a military column is sufficiently isolated that the arrival of reinforcements can be delayed for some hours or days, the guerrillas may even attempt an encirclement, or may create the appearance of an encirclement by stationing squads of snipers on commanding ground in such a way as to bring the troops under fire in whichever direction they attempt to move. If the troops launch a determined assault, the guerrillas have only to give way, circle around, regroup, and again withdraw.

The superior mobility and small size of the guerrilla force are its main assets. The danger that they themselves may be encircled is usually more apparent than real.

Night, as Che has noted, is the best ally of the guerrilla fighter. Che's prescription: Take adequate measures to impede the advance of the enemy until nightfall and then exfiltrate -a relatively simple matter for a small group of men in country well known to them, where the cover is good.

In the first months of the insurgency, when the army is on the offensive, the tactics of ambush and evasion are standard and sufficient. The activities of the army itself are enough to advertise the rebel cause. Mounting military casualties cannot be kept secret. The high cost of the anti-guerrilla campaign will be an embarrassment to the government which will be hard put to explain what it is

ng the morale of their mil[illegible]ry opponents.

CHE: "The guerrilla soldier ought always o have in mind that his source of supply of rms is the enemy and that, except in special ircumstances, he ought not to engage in a attle that will not lead to the capture of uch equipment."

The enemy vanguard is made a special target f guerrilla fire for a sound psychological eason: to induce the fear, or at any rate he excessive caution, that will paralyze he will and retard the free movement of the nemy. When the soldiers in the first rank nvariably are killed, few will wish to be in he vanguard, and without a vanguard there is o movement. (Such reasoning may not always pply to professional troops. Professional fficers are trained to accept casualties as he price of battle. Nevertheless it has been constant complaint of American military dvisers in South Vietnam that the Vietnamese ield commanders commonly refuse to advance gainst strong guerrilla positions without rtillery support and preparatory air strikes hat give the Viet Cong guerrillas time to etire from the field.)

The insurgency continuing, the military ay be expected sooner or later to give up he futile pursuit of the guerrilla force nd leave it to its wilderness canctuary, if or no other reason than the political. As as been remarked before, few governments an long sustain the political embarrassment f an expensive and well-publicized campaign n which there is no progress to report. ithin a matter of weeks or months, the government will be forced to announce a victory, aving failed to produce one. The public outide of the war zone will be informed that he insurrection has been suppressed, the odies of a few civilian casualties may even e kisplayed by way of evidence, and the roops will be withdrawn to posts and garrions in more settled territory, falling back n a strategy of containment of the insurrection.

If the insurgency is to succeed, the guerillas must, of course, refuse to be contained. They will now assume the offensive, aking advantage of their new freedom to rganize night raids on the small military [illegible] using the att[illegible]s on such outposts as bait to lure milit[illegible] reinforcements into ambush on the road.

As successful action provides more arms, new guerrilla units are organized, and new zones of operations opened. Guerrillas filtering through the army lines attack isolated military and police units in the villages on the periphery of their free zone, forcing the army to pull back to reinforce these points. With still more room in which to maneuver, rebels occupy the outlying farms, move into small hamlets what cannot be defended economically. Efforts will now be made to discourage, although not absolutely to prevent, military convoys from enterin certain zones. The roads will be mined, tank traps dug, defenses in depth constructed so that the troops will have to fight their way into rebel territory through a series of ambushes, the guerrillas at each stage offering light resistance and then falling back on the next position.

As rebel strength grows, the army is confronted with a difficult dilemma. Having superior numbers and heavier arms, it will still be able to enter the rebel zones in strength, but only at the cost of some casualties, and with no advantage, since the ground gained will have no strategic or economic value commensurate with the cost of occupying it. If the troops should remain in force, the guerrillas would simply transfer their operations to another zone: The army cannot be everywhere. Yet if the teoops do not remain, the territory is, in effect, ceded to the insurgents, who procee[illegible] to turn its agricultural economy and its rural population to their own purpose. This is the dilemma of the military commander.

It is, of course, sharpened by political problems. Large chunks of the agricultural economy cannot be surrendered to the insurgents without political consequences. Those whose fortunes are affected -traders, absent[illegible] landowners, and the like -will be certain to put pressure on the government to DO something. They may seek political alternatives. The general public will be excited and divided by the deterioration of the government's position, as it becomes more apparent. The more radical elements of urban society will be emboldened: revolution-

the government will grow progressively more fearful and repressive.

In such circumstances, and considering that no army can occupy ALL of the national territory, the logical and natural course of the regime will be the gradual withdrawal of troops from the countryside to the larger centers of population. The rural areas thus will be slowly and reluctantly surrendered to the insurgents. With expanded resources of manpower and material, the insurgency will continue to grow. As it gains strength, guerrilla bands will become guerrilla armies. The larger villages will be captured. The railway gridges will be blown and the highways cut. One by one the towns and then the cities will be isolated, their vital supplies restricted, civilian transport reduced to a trickle. Military convoys may still come and go, but not without peril, and not with any important effect, in a country most of which will already be in the hands of the revolution.

When the enemy concentrates on the rural areas we strike in the cities.

Small bands can damage the 8 major dams that supply most of the electricity. Electricity means mass communications.

Gasoline can be poured into the sewer systems in major urban areas and then ignited. This would burn out communications lines in an entire city.

The guerrilla succeeds because he survives. He flourishes because his methods are progressive. With a pistol, a machete, or, for that matter, a bow and arrow, he can capture a rifle. With 20 rifles he can capture a machine gun, and with 20 rifles and a machine gun he can capture a military patrol or destroy a convoy that carries 5 machine guns & 10,000 rounds of ammunition. With a dozen shovels and a few gallons of gasoline he can destroy a tank, and with its weapons he can shoot down an airplane or a helicopter that also carries weapons.

Artillery is useless against him because it never catches up with him. A 500 lb. aerial bomb will dig a crater 10 ft. deep and 15 ft. wide, but it will not disturb a guerrilla in

... dropping napalm can splash liquid fire over a 100 acres of woodland, but it will have no effect unless the guerrillas happen to be in that 100 acres, out of the thousands through which they roam.

Once the war of the flea has reached settled rural regions, even these limited means become ineffective, because aircraft cannot attack guerrillas without killing the civilians whose support the government must win and they all look alike from the air. Great faith was placed in helicopters; they were of service in the Sahara but have failed to come up to expectations in the jungles of Vietnam, where the Viet Cong has learned to set successful traps for them and crew casualties are heavy.

U.S. military handbooks on irregular warfare techniques discuss various biological and chemical weapons that can be employed against guerrillas. These are recommended especially for situations in which guerrillas have mingled with an innocent civilian population that cannot -or not ought - to be killed.

The object of the so-called biologicals is to induce temporarily incapacitating viral diseases that will reduce the ability of guerrillas to resist attack, so that infantry can rush into a target area and quickly kill or capture them without harming non combatants - a device, so to speak, for separating the sheep from the goats.

Various nonlethal gases -carried like the biologicals, in artillery shells or aerial bombs, or sprayed by low-flying planes or helicopters - have been designed for the same purpose, to sicken all within a given target area and so reduce resistance to infantrymen on their arrival, without unnecessary bloodshed.

On the 3 occasions in which nonlethal gas (a mixture of vomiting gas and tear gas, of the type used to control rioters) was used in South Vietnam during early 1965, the practical results were nil. Twice, the gas simply blew away, without any effect. On the third occasion, it sickened a few residents of the target area, but the infantrymen who soon arrived found no guerrillas in the area.

HANDBOOK

#4

STREET FIGHTING:

In the military sense of the word (or term) what after all is a street? A street is a defile in a city. A defile is a narrow pass through which troops can only pass and move through which considerably narrows their front, and therefore make themselves a good target for the enemy. A defile is a difficult place for soldiers to maneuver in, especially if the flanks of the defile are held by the guerillas. A mountain pass is a defile the sides of which are constituted by the natural slopes of the mountain sides, as at the scalp. A bridge over a river is a defile, the sides of which are constituted by the river. A street is a defile, the sides of which are constituted by the houses in the street.

To traverse a mountain pass with any degree of safety the sides of the mountain must be cleared by flanking parties ahead of the main body; to pass over a bridge the banks of the river on each side must be raked with machine gun or rifle fire while the bridge is being rushed; to take a street properly barricaded and held on both sides by forces in the houses (guerillas), these houses must be taken by hand-to-hand fighting. A street barricade placed in a position where artillery cannot operate from a distance is impregnable to frontal attack. To bring artillery within a couple of hundred yards-the length of the average street-would mean the loss of the artillery if confronted by even imperfectly drilled troops armed with rifles.

The Moscow revolution, where only 80 rifles were in the possession of the insurgents, would have ended in the annihilation of the artillery had the number of insurgent rifles been 800.

The insurrection of Paris in June 1848 reveals how districts of towns, or villages, should be held. The streets were barricaded at tactical points, not on the main streets but commanding them. The houses were broken through so that passages were made inside the houses along the whole length of the streets. The side walls were loopholed, as were also front walls, the windows were blocked by sandbags, boxes filled with stones and dirt, bricks, chests, and other pieces of furniture with all sorts of odds and ends piled up against them.

Behind such defenses the insurgents poured their fire upon the troops through loopholes left for the purpose.

In the attack upon Paris by the allies fighting against Napolean, a village held in this manner repulsed several assaults by the Prussian allies of England. When these Prussians were relieved by the English these latter did not dare attempt a frontal attack, but instead broke into an end house on one side of the village street, and commenced to take the houses one by

one. Thus all the fighting was inside the houses, and musket fire played but a small part. On one side of the street they captured all the houses, on the other they failed, and when a truce was declared the English were in possession of one side of the village, and their French enemies of the other.

The truce led to a peace. When peace was finally proclaimed the two sides of the village street were still held by opposing forces.

The defense of a building in a city, town, or village is governed by the same rules. Such a building left unconquered is a serious matter even if it supports are all defeated. If it had been flanked by barricades, and these barricades were destroyed, no troops could afford to push on and leave the building in the hands of the enemy. If they did so they would be running the danger of perhaps meeting a check further on, which check would be disastrous if they had left a hostile building manned by an unconquered force in their rear. Therefore, the fortifying of a strong building, as a pivot upon which the defense of a town or village should hinge, forms a principle object of the preparations of any defending force, whether regular army or insurrectionary.

In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the chateau, or castle, of Geissberg formed such a position in the French lines on August 4. The Germans drove in all the supports of the French party occupying this country houses, and stormed the outer courts, but were driven bakc by the fire from the windows and loopholed walls. Four batteries of artillery were brought up to within 900 yards of the house and battered away at its walls, and batallion after batallion was hurled against it. The advance of the whole German army was delayed until this one house was taken. To take it caused a loss of 23 officers and 329 men, yet it had only a garrison of 200.

In the same campaign the village of Bazielles offered a similar lesson of the tactical strength of a well defended line of houses. The German army drove the French off the field and entered without a struggle. But it took a whole army corps seven hours to fight its way through to the other end of the village.

A mountainous country has always been held to be difficult for military operations owing to its passes or glens. A city is ahuge maze of passes or glens formed by streets and lanes. Every difficulty that exists for the operation of regular troops in mountains is multiplied by a hundredfold in a city. And the difficulty of the commissariat which is likely to be insuperable to an irregular or popular force taking to the mountains, is solved for them by the sympathies of the populace when they take to the streets.

The general principle to be deducted from a study of the example we have been dealing with is that the defense is of almost overwhelming importance insuch warfare as a popular force like the People's Army might be called upon to participate in. Not a mere passive defense of a position whose location threatens the supremacy or existence of the enemy. The genius of the commander must find such a position, the skill of his subordinates must prepare and fortify it, the courage of all must defend it. Out of this combination of genius, skill and courage alone can grow the flower of military success.

URBAN WARFARE

Consider, on the one hand, the military importance of towns. All governments reside in towns, all vital industries are concentrated in towns. All military dumps and depots lie in towns. All good landing places around shores are, because they are good landing places, built over; the navy depends for its command of the oceans upon ports and naval bases, one and all of them cities. Overlooking these, remember this one fact, namely, that all road and rail communications pass through towns. Think for a moment of the system of supply to an army; all road and rail communications pass through towns.

Consider the advantages of the defence in towns. Notice how in the recent wars towns have held out long after the country around them has been overrun. Consider how the enemy official doctrineteaches that towns shall be by-passed and attacked later by troops specially detached for the purpose. They recognize that a town is a strong point, and they follow their doctrine of by-passing the strong point. But note that they also recognize the necessity of attacking the town. The reason is this: that both their armoured divisions and their infantry divisions depend for supplies upon wheeled vehicles: those vehicles run on roads and rails; and all road and railway communications pass through towns.

The primary task of any guerilla is not to try and defend a city! for more reasons than one; towns are vulnerable to air and artillery bombardment. Experience shows that there is a tremendous need for air superiority. If an overwhelming concentration of air and artillery force hasz to be collected each time a town is encountered, lightning advances will be a thing of the past.

Possession of a town maintains a grip upon the life line that can strangle an offensive. Towns are the ready-made answer to the BLITZKRIEG. Properly held they must slow an advance.

Note: PLEASE READ THIS DOCUMENT WITH AN ALERT AND CHALLENGING MIND. FOR IF WE, THE ASSIMILATORS OF THIS DOCUMENT ARE WRONG, IT IS YOU WHO WILL DIE, NOT US!

CONDITIONS DICTATE METHODS: The fittest survive, because they best understand and adapt themselves to the conditions in which they live. Street fighting is carried on in unique, unnatural conditions; only the fittest survive. It is above all necessary to analyse and understand the peculiar features of ground which go to make street fighting such a highly skilled form of warfare.

It is difficult in thinking of cities to discard the many familiar details and to focus upon the simple features which alone are of military significance.

(1) The ground upon which most towns are built upon are ordinary, slightly rolling land, inter-sected by rivers, streams and hedgerows, and patched with woods. The woods and hedges have for the most part been cut to make way for masses of human habitations, but every town retains small areas of park and woodland.

(2) Vast human effort has gone to the perfection of communications in urban areas. Today towns may, generally speaking, of communication to them, here and there cut by railroads, canals and other lines of communications.

(3) In the masses of homes that have been built, wealth has drawn distinctions.

The rich, though they may work in towns and cities, generally choose to live in the country. Where, owing to the size of a city, they cannot easily escape, they occupy a central position. They build their houses strong and big, either detached and standing in their own grounds, or in rows surrounding a railed square of lawns and gardens.

The houses of the poor are usually situated near a great factory or industrial center. Normally they consist of lines of small, two or three story houses, ill-built, on either side of wide, straight streets, backed by little yards and the rear of another row of houses. These yards are usually a conglomeration of fences, sheds, shelters, bins, and other forms of obstacles and cover from view.

From the early nineteenth century onwards, unprecedented growth of population and industry demanded masses of hastily built houses for the new middle and lower middle classes. The advent of town planning and the fact that whole areas were built over by one firm gave us the modern suburbs which have grown round the outside of nearly every town. They consist of rows of small "semi-detached" or detached, lightly built, two story houses, standing between front and back gardens, fitting in a large design of criss-crossing streets, An enormous number of hedges and fences have been built to enclose these properties, so that back gardens offer both good cover from view and, cumulatively, great obstacles to an advance.

Spaced throughout the cities are shopping and commercial centers, usually consisting of very tall, strongly built houses, flanking main arterial streets. In many cities building has followed the haphazard lay-out of old centers of commerce, and we find the same buildings facing each other across narrow, winding streets, flanked by alleyways and passages.

Whatever the class of house or area, three generalizations can be made which are of the most vital importance, giving rise as they do to the basic principles of street warfare. It is these three which must be understood and digested:

1. No other type of country is either so open or so close. In every street are coverless stretches, ideal fields of fire, death traps to the unwary attackers. Bordering every street are a hundred protected firing positions, a hundred hiding-places, a hundred ambush positions.
2. It is possible to climb 30, 50, perhaps 100 feet in as many seconds. Street fighting thus possesses a third dimension, not often present in field warfare.
3. Cities present exceptionally blind and disjointing conditions. In no other form of warfare are there such narrow horizons, or such ruthless divisions between units of the same force.

It is not intended to discuss the rules of good street fighting. One such may, however, be given pride of place, for upon its unvarying observance depends not merely the life of any particular soldier but the attainment of the object he is ordered to achieve.

It has been said above "No other country is either so open or so close." It is well nigh impossible to be more than five yards from cover.

In the first few paragraph of the urban community the military features of built up areas were analyzed. In this and the following, conclusions are drawn from them, which form, so to speak, rules of conduct: and suggested methods of obedience to them are laid down. How many of these methods are put into practice must depend upon the precise nature of the attack and the time allowed for defence.

In this country two conditions of attack seem likely to present themselves. For the first, the regular land advance, the defender will probably have ample time to prepare a formidable reception.

The second type of attack allows no time for preparation. A company of enemy parachutists can land on a green space three hundred yards square and be ready to move or fight in under fifteen minutes. This will allow no time for elaborate booby traps, barricades of wiring.

In placing the members of any unit, the following points should be borne in mind:

A. The system of defence must pivot around the automatic weapon. In built up areas fields of fire tend to be very narrow. The high rate of fire of the automatic ewapon makes it a weapon of inestimable value.

b. The 360° field around any house is normally split into several naroow fields of fire. Riflemen should be used to cover all of the most important approaches.

C. "Interior lines" abound in built up areas. The distance between the defence of the next is often the width of a house. Full advantage should be taken of this.

D. It is easier to fire to one's left than to one's right. For this reason Brothers should be instructed to use weapons left and right handed. When firing to the left, the rifle comes out of a window before the body: when firing to the right, the body must be exposed before the rifle can be brought to bear.

E, In every street there are hiding places in which men may lie low until the enemy has passed, and open fire from behind. If these men wish to fire to their left they must be on the side opposite to those prepared to fire on an approaching enemy. These two parties can therefore have the additional task of covering each other's doorways.

F. Two men are far more than twice as strong as one, both for psychological reasons and because there are four sides to a house and at least two lines of approach.

On the other hand, a whole section placed in one house will find themselves surrounded without having been able to fire, unless sections are very plentiful.

It can be taken as a guide, therefore, that a house should be held by never less than two men and rarely more than five.

G. The autom[illegible] machine gun should be sited i[illegible] house selected for its dominant field of fire, its strength of construction and its unobtrusive postion. Normally the house which is selected is at the end of a street, looking down the street, satisfying the first condition at the expense of the third. From a corner house it is possible to fire in three directions. Although often desirable, such a selection does not avoid the obvious: the position must be made very strong, and alternative positions prepared. The enemy will look for these positions also. A house lying farther back from the road than its neighbors will often have the priceless advantage of being shielded by them from enemy covering fire. German street fighting tactics are based on an attack from the rear. It is essential, therefore, to have a well rounded defense.

PREPARATION FOR HOUSE DEFENSE:

Given time, there is practically no limit to the number of improvements which can be made to a defensive position in a house. Below is a long list of possible improvements. It is obvious that in every case or nearly every case time will not allow for all of them to be carried out. It should be equally obvious that it will be equally criminal on that account to ignore them.

FIRE POSITIONS SHOULD BE SELECTED:

(1) For their good field of fire.
(2) For Strength
(3) For unobtrusiveness

These three characteristics of a good defensive position should be exaggerated in every conceivable way.

(1) GOOD FIELD OF FIRE:

(a) the best field of fire is obtained from the lowest possible firing position. Many houses have basements whose windows that just clear the surface of the ground: these should be used if possible. In other cases a ventilator may be used by enlarging a hole in the wall.

(b) the farther forward the belt-fed automatic weapon is placed the wider will be the field of fire: onthe other hand, the more vulnerable will be to enemy fire. If it is necessary to have a wider field of fire, loopholes may be made in the side walls for riflemen.

(2) STRENGTH—every fire position can, given time, be made proof against the collapse of the house in which it is sited:

(a) remove breakables and inflamables, e.g. window galss, ornaments, curtains, rugs, etc.

(b) send a man around the neighborhood "liberating" extinguishers, water buckets, etc.

(c) Shore-up the fire position.
(d) Build an emplacement.

(1) These can be made of sandbags or rubble between boards, in chests of drawers, etc. The emplacement should be roofed over with timber: joists taken from another room are suitable.
(2) The emplacement must have a solid foundation. It will generally be necessary to remove part of the floor.
(3) A man fires over the following heights:
Rifle or machine gun (automatic or belt-fed)
standing................4 ft. 6 in.
kneeling or sitting.....30 in.
lying...................12 in.
sitting.................24 in.
Inside dimensions:
6 ft. long
3 ft. 6 in. wide
5 ft. high

LOOPHOLES: Build them with narrow exits, widening towards the inside to allow for traverse. Duplicate them freely as they are impossible.
(e) All entrances must be barricaded or, where it is impossible to hide a barricade, mined. This applies to all doors and windows. Booby traps should be laid in the hall and on the staircase.
(f) A line of withdrawal must be left. In the case of attached houses, go next door, find a cupboard on the pantry wall and knock a hole in the back into the defended house; then close the cupboard. With detached houses knock a hole into a lean-t0-shed or bush: or lean a wheelbarrow, bin or other article against the hole. If necessary place a dummy booby trap over the hole.
(g) Knock loopholes in walls to cover every approach to the house: a loophole from the occupied room to cover the front hall is also useful.
(h) Use some fine wire-mesh and wire over all the windows to prevent grenades being thrown in. Cut a slit in the wire to allow the dropping out of grenades.
(i) Make a dummy position. A bolster hung on a wire at the back of a room three doors away can be connected by a wire run through the intervening walls. A jerk will deceive, and will certainly distract enemy observers.
(j) Prepare an alternate position. The Germans used tracked guns to blow a house to pieces; no amount of strengthening will withstand a direct hit.
(k) Make a gas-proof room and stock it with candles (the electric light is bound to fail), torches, water, medical and food supplies, and ammunition.

UNOBTRUSIVENESS: When all improvements to the field of fire and strengthening of the house are complete, it is essential to remove any clues which may betray your position to the emeny.

There are two principal methods:

(a) CONCEALMENT

Be sure there is no external sign of a barricade. Remove the trail of sand and rubble which almost certainly leads up to the door.

Put muslim curtains over the windows. They are opaque from the outside and transparent from the inside—besides being the very symbol of respectability.

(b) DUPLICATION

Work which cannot be hidden must be duplicated. If yours is the only door in a damaged street which is tight shut (to conceal a barricade), shut others in the street. Clear of glass the windows in half a dozen houses, and wire them over. Make dummy loopholes in your own house and in the houses whose doors you have closed and windows you have cleared of glass. If the field of fire has had to be cleared so much as to become obvious, treat the other houses in the same way.

POSITIONS OTHER THAN HOUSES:

Having considered the defense of a house at such lenght, one is apt to forget that there are in built-up areas other excellent positions. Slit trenches offer better cover against air and artillery bombardment than any house: they are not, however, useful against a land attack, as the can be commanded from the upper floors of neighboring houses. In street fighting one expects the enemy to take refuge in houses. A thick hedge, the branches of a tree, a heap of refuse, a pile of rubble may all provide excellent surprise positions. It must be quite clear, however, that most of these positions depend upon concealment: Discovery will render one as vulnerable as if one were standing motionless in the middle of a street.

ANTI-TANK DEFENSES:

Tanks suffer from serious handicaps in built-up areas, for the following reasons:

(a) The guerillas can erect road blocks which cannot be seen from a distance.

(b) The guerillas can remain concealed until a tank is directly beneath his position.

(c) Tanks cannot fire more than, at an average, 30 degrees above the horizontal.

(d) Visual contact between tank units is lost, and direction is very hard to keep.

It is clear, however, that they suffer from these handicaps only as long as the enemy is prepared to take advantage of them. The most suitable positions for an ambush are:

(1) On the upper floors of a strongly built house:

(2) Above road blocks or a point where the enemy is likely to stop at first sight of a road block.

The same weapons may be used against tanks in streets as in the fields. The anti-tank gun or a bazooka is an excellent weapon for destructing tanks, (also the molotov cocktail which is equally as effective, but one must be within a 30 yard range for best effectiveness). The third dimension in street fighting and the fixed nature of the defense are ideal for the use of the heavier.

STREET OBSTACLES:

(1) Trenches, or barricades, of wagons, cars, furniture, etc. may be very useful in holding up enemy troops or vehicles, especially if placed just around a corner to effect surprise. They are not, however, effective as fire positions because they can be commanded from tops of buildings.

(2) Wire is the best possible obstacle to advancing troops. A street properly wired and covered by a tri-pod 50 caliber machine gun or its equivalent (preferably an automatic weapon no less than a .30 [illegible] is a death-trap to the attackers. It forces the attacker to commit the great, and invariably the last, sin of street fighting—HANGING ABOUT IN THE OPEN. Wire should be placed far enough away from the defended house to prevent the enemy from throwing grenades and should not be so laid as to give away the position of the house to the enemy. Tins with pebbles inside should be hung on the wire to raise the alarm should the emeny try to remove it under cover of darkness.

KNOW THE ENEMY--------THE ATTACK BY THE ENEMY

(1) FORMS OF ATTACK:

Broadly, attacks in built-up areas have one or both of two (2) main objectives:

(a) To penetrate to a certain area.

(b) To clear a certain area of the"enemy."

It is impossible to say what precise forms attacks in cities or towns will or should take. They will vary with the object, the ground, and other particular circumstances. The following is a general impression of the lines which a modern attack may follow, and is intended more to stimalate thought rather than to prophesize events. The process may be one of neutralization and infiltration.

(1) The town is subjected to heavy bombardment by aircraft af artillery, or is sprayed with napalm, or other lethal gases. The mail enemy body may by-pass the town, leaving its capture to special troops detailed for the purpose. The latter will probably attack the town as soon as the bombardment,

or shock forces cease, from a direction they deem to be favorable. Therefore, all existing entry routes should be scrutinized for invasion and plans should be developed to frustrate the imperialist aggression.

(2) As a result of reconnaisance and careful study of the town plan, certain few buildings or localities well inside the twon may be selected as first objectives. At first small and then large parties of troops will force their way to these objectives to form a strong point or points from which the core of the town may be "eaten" out and any perimeter defenses attacked from the rear. The objectives will be selected so as to be co-operative, i.e., success in training objective "A" will aid those troops who are trying to gain objective "B".

(2) METHODS OF ATTACK:

The scheme of attack tabulated below has been laid down not in order to dictate hard-and-fast rules to an attacking force but in order that a clear idea may be obtained of the problems facing an attacker and of a reasonable solution to them. It will almost always be impossible to the attacker to keep completely to the ideal. The chaos attending street fighting, and the haste imposed upon all guerillas will, in time of a racist attack from either the police or civilians, demand a compromise: If this compromise is to be successful, initiative and a hgih degree of training are required of all guerillas. Failure to realize the inevitability of disorganization and chaos would be dangerous. It must be accepted that guerillas will, at times lose contact with their "units," that members of the same "unit" will lose contact with each other at times.

UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES:

(1) A simple plan is essential. Each unit must be given a clear limited objective, and complcated manoevres such as a change of direction should generally be avoided. Isolated thrusts apart from the main attack are not usually successful and will not divert as many defenders from the main attack as might be achieved in field warfare, since the bulk of the defense will probably be on fixed system(s) giving all-around defense.
(2) Success or failure will largely depend upon the initiative of subordinate commanders. Lacking clear orders as to their next actions, section and platoon commanders must on no account merely send back each time to be told what to do, but must act swiftly and with enterprise in the spirit of their previous orders. Speed in attack must not be allowed to flag for an instant. The need for a clear limit of exploitation, however, referred to in sub-paragraph will now be even more clearly seen.
(3) Accurate, early information is vital. A plan with insufficient information will fail; a plan made with incorrect information will fail. A sub-unit commander has not done his duty of his superior commander does not know everything about the enemy that he knows, and all that is required about his position, intention, casualties and state of exhaustion.

(4) Tremendous thrust is required. In this difficult terrain, the attackers are forced to move in the open against defenders (guierillas) who, given time to choose and perfect their fire positions, can make them (the attackers) feel like rabbits in a hunting field, continaully surprised and shot at from unexpected directions. The attackers can upset the scales only by giving their opponents no time to prepare (if we choose to defend a positions which at first will not be the primary task of any guerilla), no rest in retreat, no chance to re-organize or reassure themselves. Speed is of the essence, and speed can be produced only by intelligent anticipation, efficient orders, dashing execution, and energy, more energy, and even more energy.

Attacks must be laid out very carefully—the only way the enemy can rout us from our position (temporary holding positions) is that the attack us before operations are put into effect (ambush).

THE ADVANCE OF THE ENEMY:

It is impossible absolutely to safeguard the main body against attack from guerillas. An active advance guard will, however, use some of the many good points of observations that abound in cities, cover with fire the more important junctions, and question inhabitants. Note: ATTACKS SHOULD BE MADE ON TWO POINTS PRINCIPALLY, FIRST, THE VANGUARD (FRONTAL ASSAULT TROOPS), AND THE SECOND, THE MAIN BODY OR CENTERGUARD, WHICH IS USUALLY THE POSITION THE COMMANDERS AND PETTY OFFICERS WILL OCCUPY.

IN CASES OF AMBUSH:

The main body should be well deployed. It may often be best to keep all sections on one side of the road, for two reasons:
(1) they can keep to the shadows
(2) in the event of a sudden attack, they will all take cover on the same side of the street, and will not therefore, be divided from each other by coverless, bullet-swept areas.

PROTECTION (the enemy):

From the start to the end of operations there must be no moment during which the main body can be surprised undeployed. On arrival at the assembly positions, whether on foot or in armoured personnel carriers, and sentries will be posted covering every approach. Two A.A. sentries per company should be posted in opposite arcs of 180°. The main body should take immediate cover and be slightly dispersed. Note: The ELEMENT OF SURPRISE MUST BE EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED AND EXPLOITED TO THE FULLEST TO STYMY OR RETARD, OR FRUSTRATE THE ENEMY ADVANCE.

RECONNAISSANCE:

Horizons of brick and mortar make reconnaissance dfffficult. The ideal of an airplane view being usually denied, second best is a view from a high building. Other useful aides to the attacking enemy are street maps, airplane photographs, and the accounts of trooops on the spot, and local inhabitants.

Enemy officers commanding troops likely to be used in built-up areas may find it useful to obtain airplane photographs of their area for use instead of maps.

THE PLAN:

In forming his plan, the commander (in this case, the enemy) must bear in mind the following points:

A. A complicated plan depending for its success upon co-ordination between troops attacking up widely separated streets, or upon changes of direction, is liable to fail.

B. Streets provide easier and quicker lines of approach and attack. Back gardens may sometimes offer more cover; but it should be remembered that it will often be necessary climb over obstacles, and at these moments exposure is un-avoidable.

C. A single attack should be maintained. This does not mean that only one street or one house is to be attacked at a time. It does mean that if two or three or six streets are attacked at a time the effort should be co-operative, i.e., success in street 5 helps the troops attacking street 1.

HEADQUARTERS:

Headquarters should be chosen for the following features:

1. Well up: much closer to the forward troops than infield warfare.

2. Easy to find.

3. A strongly built house or shelter.

4. Entrance and exit defiled from enemy view and fire.

No concentration of troops or vehicles must be allowed near it, by day or night. During an attack it may frequently be necessary for the headquarters to be moved. Chalk and other marks may be drawn as a guide to the new headquarters. For safety, it can be arranged beforehand that, e.g., arrows face the opposite to the true direction.

CORDONS:

The object of cordoning is to prevent enemy lateral movements, whether of re-inforcement, counter-attack or escape. When the object of attack is clear an area of enemy, the procedure; should be to cordon a sub-area, clear it, and keep it cordoned from the uncleared area.

When the object of an attack is to penetrate to an area, it may frequently

be advisable to co. .n the line of advance.

Cordoning should be carried out by fire, not by men. The firing position should be selected so as to give the best field of fire, and will therefore normally be as low as possible.

COVERING FIRE:

It should be an absolute rule that no troops move across the open until three measures have been taken:

1. A rifle or machine gun must be sited-in to cover the street in which they are moving. In choosing the firing position, bear in mind:

(a) that if the enemy sees you getting into position or if your position is the obvious one to choose, you will never fire from it;

(b) that M-16 fire penetrates up to 13 inches and .55-inch anti-tank rifle fire up to 27 or more inches of brickwork, and that prolonged bursts will achieve greater penetration.

(c) that the lower you are the longer will be the beaten zone of your weapon.

(d) that if you are going to cover the advance of your own troops from the rear you must get high enough up to fire over their heads until the last possible moment (preferably rooftops).

(e) that there are many good firing positions other than houses (in and outsides of houses).

(f) that fire from a position rather above a room occupied by the enemy will search the position best and is the most telling.

2. One machine gun per company should be sited-in on one of the highest buildings in the area to cover as far as possible all rooftops. It is very hard for troops in streets to deal with attackers above them. No street should be attacked without domination of the rooftops (all rooftops must be secured before any operations).

3. There is usually a house whose windows dominate a whole street. It may be placed at the end of the street, or on rising ground farther away. If there is such a house, make preparations before attacking the street to destroy or blind it if the enemy should open fire from it.

THE POINT SECTION:

The first troops to break cover are the point section. This consists of:

1. SCOUTS—The duty of the scouts is to find out where the enemy is. They move, one or two on each side of the street, by short bounds, stopping under the cover of doorways, buttresses, gateposts, alleyways, etc., to observe the opposite side of the street. When moving, they should keep as close to the side wall as possible, and must go at the highest possible speed. During their pauses for observations they must on no account keep their heads poking round a corner; if possible they should be equipped with periscopes. If fired on, the scouts should take cover and try to work into position to give covering fire to assault troops.

be spared, for th[illegible] may be many streets, and men [illegible]d weapons will be a premium.

ASSUALT:

1. FORMS OF ATTACK—When the enemy is encountered he must be dealt with. There are many forms of attack. He may be attacked with bombs from the air; though this form is not practical is close fighting, and is more useful against an area than against an individual target. He may be attacked with shells from a gun man-handled into position; with weapons capable of riddeling his protective cover; with incendiary devices or weapons fired or thrown; with gas; with any effective weapon from a gun to a hosepipe. Often, however, it will not be possible to oust or destroy the enemy without an infantry assault, and it is the infantry assault, whether combined with other forms of attack or not, with which we are concerned.

2. LINES OF ASSAULT—In the same way, there are many lines of assault. An assault may be made up main streets; up side streets, through back gardens; over rooftops; through neighboring houses; through a house opposite and across a road; possibly even through sewers or contaigous cellars. Gliders were used by the Germans to land (in Belgium) on a wide, flat roof at fort Eban Emaal. We may leave out of account these more exotic forms of attack while remembering that if they are possible to do, they will be a surprise, a new idea, and therefore successful. In deciding upon a line or lines of assault, the following points should be borne in mind:

(a) An enemy position is a strong point. Before it is attacked, it should be as nearly encircled as possible. Occupy the houses on either side or behind it.

(b) Gain the houses on one side of a street before you enter the street, example: A and F are occupied by our own troops. Enemy in B will find it hard to cover the B side of the street and will have to lean right, out of the windows, doors, etc., to do so, where they themselves will be exposed from A2, 3, and 4. Thus, the street can only be effectively covered by the enemy from C, and this narrows the opposition almost to a single house, which can be neutralized.

(c) Attack the enemy most threatened by your own position. Example (see diagram opposite): A and F are held by our troops. Which street should be made good first, X or Y?

ANALYSIS: One side of each street is held. One end and one side of each street is held by the enemy. Of the enemy houses holding X, D2 and D3 are covered by fire on four sides, and D1 is covered on two sides. Of the enemy houses holding Y, four sides of all the houses D3 and B1, 2, 3, and 4 are covered by fire. Moreover, the street joining X from the enemy side is not properly covered, whereas the entrances to Y are well covered. Conclusion: Street "[illegible]" should be attacked first. You figure it out, as your life may depend on it in the near future. (see page #25 for drawings and analysis of this equation).

Note: The enemy will try to locate, attack, and destroy the strong point(s) of the Guerillas first. Caution should be excercised when encountering the enemy so as not to give away strong points by over eagerness, or agressiveness in attack whenever the Guerillas do not wish to make their strong points or strategy known.

(d) More than one line of attack will be found difficult to co-ordinate but will have an excellent psychological effect upon the enemy.

(e) If you can attack along a line which does not hinder your covering fire the latter will be more effective.

(f) Back gardens may offer good cover: advancing troops will, however, find it difficult to avoid exposing themselves when surmounting obstacles.

(g) It is hard to deal with attackers from above; rooftops are safe from below and being built as a rule in the shape of an inverted V, they usually have a side defiled from fire.

(h) In the case of an attack through houses, back doors a little distance from the enemy house are usually covered from view by high wooden fencing, sheds, etc., moreover, in ghetto houses it does not take more than a minute or two to knock a hole in the wall.

(i) The most suicidal occupation in war is to delay in the open. When fired on, in all circumstances; FALL TO THE GROUND (or the nearest cover, as low as possible).

(j) The enemy are unlikely to occupy a single house unsupported by any other posiition. Normally they may occupy houses on each side of the road and site their automatic weapons in a house whose windows dominate the whole street.

THE ASSAULT—Experience in Madrid, Spain showed that a very high proportion of the total casualties was incurred in assault, and o f these, 75% were caused by delay in the open, or more specifically: by delay outside the barricaded house of the enemy. The whole assault must be carried through at the hgihest possible speed by the shortest exposed route, with the heaviest possible covering fire until the last possible moment.

The following points should be considered:

(a) The enemy will prefer firing to his left. Firing off the right shoulder, he has to expose his body less when firing to the left than when firing to the right. Incidentally, the greater the angle to his position, both lateral and verticle, at which he has to fire, the more he must expose his body.

(b) The enemy will undoubtedly have barricaded or mined all entrances to his house. Preparations must be made to force an entrance to the house with

the shortest possible delay outside. The best form or method is for a single man to run forward under covering fire, place an explosive against the house, and dodge under cover. He should avoid doors and windows in placing his explosive; possibly a point in the side wall is best. If explosives are not obtainable, second-best are a heavy axe and a crowbar. Their employment means delay inthe open and should be avoided whenever possible. Then men who are using them should always be accompanied by a man watching for bombs and grenades thrown from windows or a roof, ready to weize and throw them over a wall or down the street, or if the opportunity affords itself, throwing them back into the enemy position.

If explosives are used to force an entrance, the remainder of the assault party must be under cover well up, ready to dash in before the enemy has recovered from the shock of the explosion. Whatever the method employed of forcing an entrance, the assault party must attempt all methods of getting in. They need not necessarilly confine themselves to going in through the gap they have made; the enemy will be concentrating their attention on it, and a man going in over the roof of a lean-to shed, up a drainpipe or down the skylight may escape notice.

(c)CLEARING HOUSE--Having made an entrance, the assault party still has half its task before it. Before leaving cover to assault the house, officer in charge must allot tasks to each member of his party to ensure that there is no hanging about inside the house and that no room cellar or attic is unsearched.

THE FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND:

(1) The house should be searched systematically, floor by floor, remembering the cellars and roof. It is better if possible to search a house from the top downwards, as this makes an ally of gravity for grenades, etc. It does, however, involve entrance from the roof.

(2) The front hall and the staircase are the two most dangerous points. Try any method of getting up and down from floor to floor but the main stair case. If it is not barricaded, it will certainly be mined. The fire escape may help. If the staircase must be used, feel in front of you with a long pole or throw a grenade at it, to set off any booby traps.

(3) The officer must stay in the hall or passage to direct operations, but he must make use of any cover there may be, e.g. a thick sofa.

(4) If the enemy are known to be upstairs, a few fursts of automatic weapons fire (ex: B.A.R.) through the floor from underneath will be a prudent action.

(5) Smoke grenades inside a house are quite overwhelming. Incendiary bottles or bombs are very intimidating.

(6) Prisoners can used to clear the house by se 'ng off or revealing booby traps.

(7) Enter a room crouching as low as possible. The enemy will be prepared to# fire about three or four feet above the floor.

It is essential that all attackers are familar with methods of defense outlined in the chapters on defense and booby traps.

THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES:

1. General:
The use of high explosives can save many of the problems that arise during street fighting with an ease that astounds those who have never seen this weapon in action. It is essential, however, that only those who are trained in the preparation and application of #high explosives are permitted to handle it.

The training itself is a simple matter and requires only marginal intelligence and determination on the part of the student. Methodical habits combined with reasonable enthusiasm are preferable to headstrong and suicidal dash, as, both in preparation and handling, explosives call for care and a steady head less they become a source of danger to the user and his comrades. Arrangements are made for every man, woman, and child to learn the proper use of high explosives.

2. Defense:
As explained earlier, it is unlikelythat enemy tank formations will venture into built-up areas: it is more probable that infantry will be called upon to capture a town.
All houses which are adapted for defense should be fitted with a booby trap system, operated electrically. The whole system can be controlled by a master switch which is situated so that the last defender can make the system live as he leaves. Booby traps will not be duspected in a house which has been used for defense, and the ensuing casualties will cause the attackers to reduce their spped of advance—even if it does not force them out into the open. Alternatively, each house can be ## mined either by buried charges or by explosives concealed in the basement or ground floor. These charges can be fired from the neighboring houses, and a single house blown up in this way will deter attackers from entering any other house near by with any feeling of confidence.

EXPLOSIVES IN ATTACK:

When clearing the enemy from occupied houses the advantages of explosives are very evidents The approach to an occupied house can be made on a blind side, i.e., the side where there are no downstairs windows. The house can be entered by a hole blown in this blind side, the charge required in most cases being surprissingly small.

If an entrance is made immediately after the explosion it will be found that the defenders in the immediate vacinity of the breach will be either casualties or in no condition to put up any resistance. Once inside the house, similar methods can be adopted to break into any room that offers resistance. Further, if a charge of 1 lb. of High Explosive on a 5-second or 7-second fuse be thrown into a room occupied by the enemy, the mopping-up operation becomes extremely simple and safe.

German troops were trained in the use of pole charges, i.e. charges of 10lbs. or more of high explosive on the end of a long pole, fired by an ordinary time fuse. These pole charges were intended to be placed in the loopholes of pill-boxes and were carried forward under cover of smoke or darkness. An adaptation of these charges can be made with advantage, and men should be trained to apply such charges to street fighting when clearing points strongly held by the enemy. With an elementary knowledge of explosives it is a comparatively simple matter to clear buildings which can block a field of fire.

ANTI-TANK MEASURES

Though the unsiutability of tanks in built-up areas has been stressed, it must on no account be taken that tanks will not be used by the enemy. Tanks are only unsuitable as long as every precaution has been taken against them. Every peeparation should be made for their reception, and in this , explosives play a very large part.

Charges should be buried across all approach roads at a depth of 9 inches or a foot.

The quantity of this should 4 lbs. per foot of length. The charge must be fired electrically and provision can be made to fire this from the cover of a neighboring house. This charge will wreck lorries, but will only smash the track of a tank and bring it ot a stand-still. Though badly shaken, the crew will still be in a condition to fight and their guns will still be in action. To finish off the tank it is necessary to get a charge of explosive on the hull of the tank itself. "if operating from above, this can best be carried out by attaching a charge to a string and then to a pole and lowering it onto the tank from above)).

This can be done under cover of smoke or the charge can be lowered from upper floors of houses near by also. Arrangements can be made (if you suspect an invasion)to have charges suspended above the road at suitable points or they may be lowered with the aid of long pole THE CHARGES SHOULD, IF POSSIBLE, BE PLACED ON THE REAR DECK OF THE TANK BEHIND THE TURRET: THOUGH THE THICKNESS OF THE ARMOUR PLATING IN THIS POSITION VARIES, A CHARGE OF 10 lbs SHOULD SMASH A HOLE IN THE HULL AND DISABLE OR KILL THE CREW. It is desirable to have some knowledge of the weakest parts of a tank(see"demolition manual of the guerillas " for instructions into the weakest points of a tank)plating, and this knowledge will enable us to place the charges in the most advantageous positions. As an alternative to the continuous road charge, seperate charges of 4 lbs. can be laid in the same manner as anti-tank mines at close spacing, though they must be buried sufficiently deep to prevent their being damaged by traffic. The separate charges should be connected up by instataneous fuse so that they can be fired simultaneously by a low-powered battery exploder.

In addition to these road-block charges, a number of 10-foot planks should be prepared with the appropriate quantity of explosive strapped to them. These portable road charges can be rushed to any threatned point and laid by the roadside suitably concealed. On the approach of tanks or armoured fighting vehicles these planks can be dragged accross the road, and exploded under the vehicle as required.

DEMOLITION:

Small bridges can be destroyed with ease and certainty, and craters blown in the road to form tank barriers. These and many other simple demolitions can be carried out after a sho but careful course of training. It must be repeated, however, that High Explosive must be handled only by trained men and that men should be trained without further delay in this important field. The possibilities of this weapon in trained hands are limited, but in the hands of untrained personnel it use is usually disastrous.

To sum up generally: a knowledge of the use of explosives placed in the hands of single individual the most powerful weapon in existence, a weapon which, handled with reasonable care and skill, is practically safe and adaptable to very high degree. In using explosives it is not necessary to hold large stocks and kinds and sizes of grenades, each grenade being suitable for only one job. A single store of high explosives can be held and by varying the quantity used, this item of store can be adapted to a variety of purposes.
The final, and in fact ruling, point of handling of high explosives is that personnel be traine carefully and MUST AT ALL TIMES CONTINUE TO OBSERVE THE PRECAUTIONS TAUGHT IN THIS TRAINING. Accidents will only create a loss of confidence in the weapon, whereas the loss of confidence should be in the operator. Provided this is borne in mind, the unit commander will find a solution to the majority of street-fighting problems in the use of high explosives.

ARMS AND EQUIPMENT:

GENERAL:

The choice of arms and equipment should be governed by (1) certain features of warfare, (2) and the type the enemy use:

1. Street fighting imposes great physical strain upon all ranks.

2. Many obstacles are encountered in built-up areas.

3. Nearly all surfaces are hard and smooth: water drains off quickly.

4. Fighting usually takes place at close quarters.

5. There are usually many firing positions giving good cover from fire: most of these have overhead cover which can quickly be strenghtened.

THE ABOVE POINTS SUGGEST DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS:

1. Arms,equipment should be kept as light as possible.

2. Weapons should correspond to one of the following types:

   I. GIVING A GREAT VOLUME OF FIRE IN PROPORTION TO WEIGHT AND SIZE .e.g. A SUB-MACHINE GUN.

   II. BEING ABLE EITHER TO GET ROUND OR TO PENETRATE COVER FROM AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRE, .e.g. A GRENADE OR RIFLE...

note: In all cases, weapons used should be that of the same caliber as that of the enemy, as that becomes our source of ammunition and weapons.

ARMS:

I. Rifle and Bayonet--The 360' field around ant defensive position is likely to be split, in built-up areas, into several seperate, narrow fields of fire. The bayonet is the principal close-quarter weapon for the ordinary rifle, and can be used with great effect in clearing houses, or in street battles.

II. Discharger--- The present issue of one discharger per platoon is intended for the the use of the use of the grenade.

III. M16, B.A.R.,&M1---These two weapons will be dealt with together, as in street fighting the greater range and endurance of B.A.R. will rarely be utilized.

Both types are excellent in defence and can make a street impassable. The Automatic weapon is very suitable in attack to give covering fire, but both are too heavy and cumbersome for such close-range fighting, such as would be the case in gardens and houses. At a pinch an Automatic weapon can be fired from the hip, and may be useful where sub-machine guns are not obtainable.

THE SUB-MACHINE GUN--This is the ideal assult and close--range fighting weapon. It enables targets appearing from different directions and at short ranges to be engaged quickly, and has a high rate of fire combined with great stopping power. The sub-machine gun can be fired from the hip or shoulder with accuracy up to 50 yards. It has been found that the best method of firing from the shoulder is to align the foresight in the V formed by the cocking-handle rather than the backsight.

ANTI-TANK RIFLE--This has good penetrative qualities,and, although primarily for use against medium sized tanks, can usefully be used against enemy behind cover proff against automatic weapons fire. The hole blown by the bullet will not be large enough to provide entry to a house. The rifle is rather heavy and awkward to carry great distances.

TWO-INCH MORTAR --This weapon is difficult to use and rather ineffective in built-up areas for the following reasons:

A. Mortar bombs have little penetration.

B. The enemy will, in defence, be roofed over; and, in attack, will either be roofed over or better engaged by small-arms fire or automatic weapons fire.

There are, however, occasions when it is useful to attack an enemy in gardens, ruined houses, etc., while it may sometimes be possible to use smoke, in cases where a smoke bomb can be found.

PISTOL--In the hands of an untrained shot, the pistol will not prove an effective weapon. With constant practice, it will be found that the short barrel and the speed with which single rounds can be fired enable the firer to engage targets rapidly in different directions and render it a very useful weapon for close-quaretr fighting.

GRENADES--When thrown is a most valuable weapon. It will normally be used in clearing a house and in surprise encounters with enemy at close quarter. It has a 4-second fuse and a 7second fuse-can be thrown up to 35 yards. The thrower must take cover before the explosion.(see handbook on improvised demolition)

Grenades are <u>not</u> suitable as explosives to blow a gap in barricades, doorways, wals, etc.

Smoke will almost certainly play a most important part. In defence it may be used to blind the enemy covering fire and mystify the attacking troops, incidentally making them good silhouette targets. In attack it may similarly be used to blind enemy fire, but better surprise is often achieved if a side is attacked different from that which has been blinded. In the assult,

smoke inside a house can be overwhelming.

EQUIPMENT:

SHOES--When obtainable, rubber-soled shoes are in every way preferable to Army boots, combining the advantages of silence and a good grip.

RESPIRATORS AND GAS-CAPES--Respirators may be needed against smoke and tear_gas grenades, dust, etc., and should always be carried. If orders permit, gas-capes may be discarded in built-up areas, where there is so much cover from spray attack.

KNAPSACKS--There are, in street fighting, features which make the wearing of the knapsack by advancing or attacking troops not only unnecessary but undesirable. The contents of the pack are:

(a) Knife, fork, spoon, and mess-tin.

(b) Spare pair of socks.

(c) Groundsheet.

(d) Food.

Periscopes--periscopes are invaluable for commandante' and Lt's and for the point section of each attacking platoon. The present issue should be supplemented by home-made productions.

GENERAL:

Training should follow the sequence:

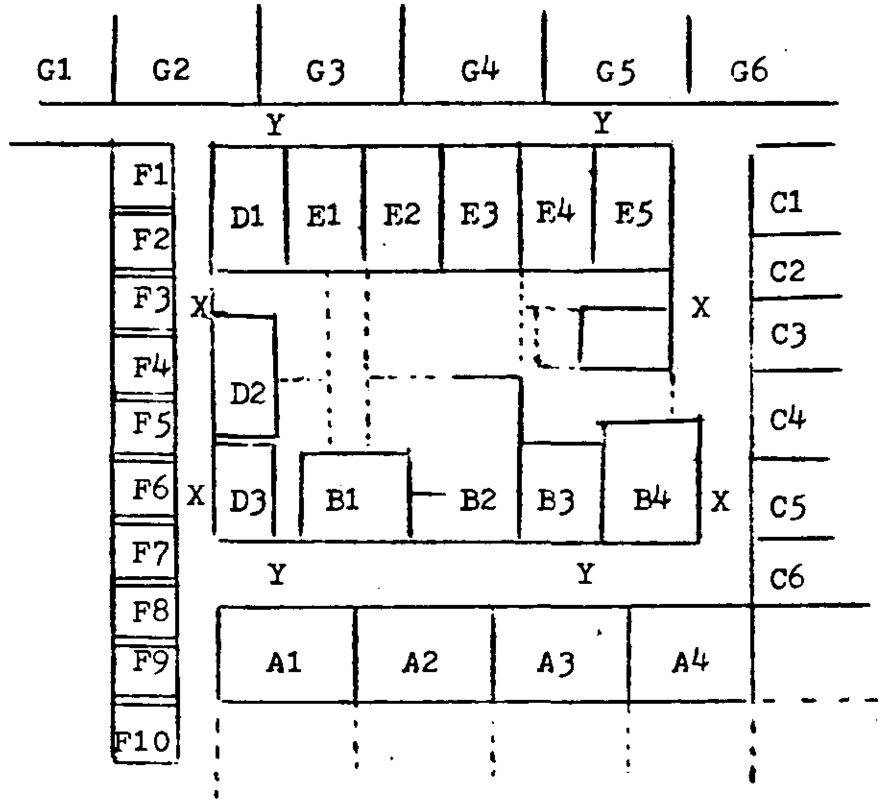
(1) lecture.

(2) Demonstration.

(3) Sand Table.

(4) Practice.

URBAN WARFARE



WALLS ARE MARKED THUS--

FENCES- - - -

HOUSES- - - - -A1, B4, E3, etc.

STREETS - - - -X, Y.

ANALYSIS: One side of each street is held. One end and one side of each street is held by the enemy. Of the enemy houses holding X, D2 and D3 are covered by fire on four sides, and D1 is covered on two sides. Of the ene houses holding Y, four sides of all the houses D3 and B1, 2, 3, and 4 are covered by fire. Moreover, the street joining X from the enemy side is not properly covered, whereas the entrances to Y are well covered.
CONCLUSION: Street ? should be attacked first. You figure it out, as your life may depend on it in the near future.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

January 21, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. Bureau 100-439100
New York 100-147963

Title: Student National Coordinating Committee

Character: Racial Matters

Reference: is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

100-439190-34-199

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-272

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	MAY 26 1970	1/16/70 - 5/20/70

Title of Case	Report made by	Typed By:
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE	[redacted]	kbm
	Character of Case: RM	

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted] at New York, 1/21/70. B7C

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "[redacted]" since it contains information from [redacted] the [redacted] disclosure of whose identity might have an adverse effect upon the national security interest of the US.

The following individuals comprise the basic SNCC officers in the NYC area:

H. RAP BROWN	MONROE HEAD
IRVING DAVIS	BRUCE ALLISON
WILLIAM HART	RON JACKSON
[illegible] NEAL	TERRY AUDLEY (recently transferred to Atlanta)

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Do not write in spaces below

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3 - New York (100-147965)

100-439190-2184

REC 25

ST-117

MAY 27 1970

RACIAL/INT. SECT.

EX-PROC.

Notations: AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU ACSI, SECSER OSI, IRS - Mr. Wright
DATE FORW: 6/10/70
HOW FORW: R/S
BY: PEN/WSB

JUL 27 1970

~~70 JUN 30 1970~~

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

Information copies have been designated for Atlanta and Cincinnati since they are the only other divisions with any apparent SNCC activities.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	100-147963-4091, 4086, 4113, 4091, 4140, 4113
[redacted]	Instant Report 100-147963-3920, 4110, 4086, 4047, 4040, 4086, 4124
[redacted]	Instant Report 100-147963-4124, 4086, 4113, 4040, 3957 Instant Report, 4110
[redacted]	100-147963-4047, 4047, 4047
[redacted]	100-147963-4049
[redacted]	100-147963-3992
[redacted]	100-147963-4047
[redacted]	100-147963-4157

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report SNCC activity in 90 days.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
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Report of: [redacted] Office: New York, New York
Date: MAY 25 1970

Field Office File #: 100-147963 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC occupies space in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, NYC, which serves as national headquarters for SNCC. There are SNCC chapters currently functioning in Cincinnati, Ohio, Atlanta, Georgia, and NYC. Chairman H. RAP BROWN is currently a fugitive from justice and is being sought on a federal warrant charging Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution. SNCC has announced various projects including a Liberation School in Atlanta, the National Black Referendum Against the War in Vietnam, the Augusta CoffeeHouse, the Newsletter and the Agrarian Reform Program, but none have come to fruition as a result of a lack of funds. [redacted] Various SNCC releases concerning structure, aims and purpose of organization set out within.

-P-

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) may be found in the Appendix section of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

I. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE

The SNCC headquarters will be returned to Atlanta, Georgia, effective on or about April 17, 1970. New York SNCC leader TERRY AUDREY is scheduled to move to that city to serve in the leadership of the organization with STANLEY WISE and WILLIE RICKS, both presently operating in the Atlanta, Georgia area.

[redacted] April 18, 1970

The transfer of SNCC functionary TERRY AUDREY to Atlanta, Georgia, is being held in abeyance as the organization is without funds to pay the cost of his transportation and the fact that they no longer have office space since the takeover of the SNCC Office by the National Black Economic Development Conference. NBEDC is an organization in which JAMES FORMAN formerly served as spokesman.

[redacted] April 16, 1970

The SNCC National Headquarters remain at 336 West 20th Street, New York City, as of May 21, 1970, although there has been some discussion in the past concerning the removal of National SNCC Headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia.

[redacted] May 21, 1970

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

SNCC has three chapters currently active throughout the United States. They are in New York City, Atlanta, Georgia, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted] May 21, 1970

NY 100-147963

PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS, former National Program Secretary of SNCC, has ceased his activities with such organization and is now actively involved in recruiting for the Venceremos Brigade. Source described the Venceremos Brigade as a volunteer organization whose purpose is to travel to Cuba to aid in the harvest of sugar cane.

January 30, 1970

H. RAP BROWN is the National Chairman of SNCC. IRVING B. DAVIS remains as Director of the International Affairs Section and WILLIAM HUNT is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council of SNCC.

May 21, 1970

A federal warrant was issued May 4, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC, with Unlawful Interstate Flight to Avoid Prosecution, for Arson, Inciting to Riot and Failure to Appear (Title 18 United States Code, Section 1073).

The Cincinnati SNCC chapter is composed currently of eleven members. The office of SNCC in Cincinnati is located at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

May 21, 1970

The SNCC office in Atlanta, Georgia, is located at 360 Nelson Street South West. There are three individuals who are currently active in SNCC in Atlanta. There has been some attempt by JAMES FORMAN, a former SNCC officer, to gain control of the Atlanta SNCC [illegible]

May 4, 1970

V. FOREIGN CONTACTS

SNCC sponsored a party February 18, 1970, honoring the Tanzanian Ambassador to the United Nations. The party was held at 7 East 14th Street and was arranged by IRVING DAVIS.

February 18, 1970

NY 100-147963

March 24, 1970

Three representatives of SNCC attended a social affair at the residence of the Tanzanian Ambassador to the United Nations in Mt. Vernon, New York, April 26, 1970.

April 29, 1970

VII. SNCC PROJECTS

1. National Black Referendum
Against the War in Vietnam

The so-called "Black Referendum on Vietnam" being organized by IRVING DAVIS is actually a front organization of SNCC. The purpose of the referendum is to conduct a polling of the Black Community to show the dissent existing therein towards the involvement of the United States in Vietnam. This polling was to be accomplished through mailing and the establishment of booths within the Black Communities and churches in Atlanta, Georgia; Augusta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio, Cleveland, Ohio; Boston, Massachusetts; Detroit, Michigan; Newark, New Jersey; New York, New York, and Washington, D.C. It was originally scheduled to take place between March 22, and March 27, 1970; however, it was rescheduled to commence on April 30, 1970, as a result of the postal strike, which interrupted mail service.

March 11, 1970

This project has been given the endorsement and support of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, 110 East 125th Street, New York City, a ministerial organization of black clergymen, who have granted DAVIS the use of their office space. DAVIS has contacted ABE WEISBURD, official of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, a New York City based anti-war group, and secured some financial assistance from him for the project. The amount DAVIS received is unknown and he is the only individual who has access to the records.

DAVIS has stated that he is using the office space of the National Committee of Black Churchmen for the Referendum because he feels that if the Black Community realized it was a SNCC undertaking, it would receive little or no support.

March 11, 1970

The SNCC program entitled "National Black Referendum on Vietnam" scheduled to commence on April 30, 1970, has been completely dormant and no one from SNCC previously active in promoting this program has been observed at its office space, 110 East 125th Street, New York City, in the previous weeks.

April 14, 1970

The National Black Referendum against the War in Vietnam, initiated by IRVING DAVIS, appears to have accomplished nothing and is regarded by many as a complete flop. The program was afforded very little publicity and it is believed, at this point, to have been abandoned by DAVIS.

May 21, 1970

April 27, 1970

3. Coffee House

Various SNCC officials have been in the Augusta, Georgia area seeking to secure rental space, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffee house" in Augusta, Georgia. Atlanta attorney, HOWARD MOORE, Jr., is acting as lawyer in behalf of SNCC in these negotiations.

March 2, 3, and 4, 1970

March 25, 1970

The "coffee house" being established by SNCC in Augusta, Georgia, has run into serious financial problems and its future is very questionable because of the lack of money needed to open and operate it. It was anticipated the coffee house would open May 29, 1970; however, it is unknown whether the opening can be effected on this date.

May 11, 1970

4. Agrarian Reform

SNCC's agrarian reform program, under the direction of WILLIAM HUNT, is currently dormant. The land involved was originally scheduled to be purchased during early January, 1970, and has not yet been secured as a result of a lack of funds.

May 21, 1970

5. Liberation School

IRVING DAVIS intends to reactivate the "Liberation School" that was formerly operated in Atlanta, Georgia, by SNCC official, ROBERT SMITH, who reportedly has left the country.

May 25, 1970

May 1, 1970

TERRY AUDREY, SNCC functionary is believed to have authorized a report outlining the present situation and conditions of the SNCC operated Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia. The report on the Liberation School is directed to the RPC, which is the Revoltuionary Political Council of SNCC, a semi-secret policy making body within the organization composed of MOHAMMED HUNT, IRVING DAVIS, H. RAP BROWN and possibly RON JACKSON, all New York City based officials.

May 11, 1970

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

Subsequent to funeral services for RALPH FEATHERSTONE in Washington, D.C., who was killed along with another SNCC functionary when the car in which they were driving exploded outside Bel Air, Maryland, on March 9, 1970, as a result of a bomb explosion, JAMES FORMAN called a meeting of all former SNCC officials who were present at the funeral.

March 17, 1970

SNCC issued a press release concerning the whereabouts of H. RAP BROWN, National Director of the organization, on March 16, 1970.

March 25, 1970

A copy of this release, as provided by on March 25, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report page 29.

The following statement was issued by SNCC concerning the disappearance of H. RAP BROWN following the explosion in Bel Air, Maryland, on March 9, 1970, which killed two of BROWN's associates:

"March 15, 1970

"STATEMENT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

"AMERICA IF IT TAKES MY DEATH TO ORGANIZE MY PEOPLE TO REVOLT AGAINST YOU AND TO ORGANIZE YOUR TROOPS TO REVOLT AGAINST YOU AND TO ORGANIZE YOUR CHILDREN, YOUR GOD, YOUR POOR, YOUR COUNTRY, AND TO ORGANIZE MANKIND TO

REJOICE IN YOUR DESTRUCTION AND RUIN,
THEN HERE IS MY LIFE. BUT MY SOUL BELONGS
TO MY PEOPLE. WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT
A DOUBT'

"'Note to America'

H. Rap Brown, Parrish Prison, La.

February 21, 1968

"The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) calls for massive retribution and revenge for the vicious murders of Ralph Featherstone and Brother Che.

"In executing revenge and retribution we urge all Black people to keep in mind the very real possibility that the body of H. Rap Brown was removed from the scene of the murder by the racist white power structure in order to avoid massive reprisals in the United States. Black people must not forget that the body of Patrice Lumumba was not found until some time after his assassination so that the Congolese population wouldn't rise up in vengence at the death of their leader.

"Ralph Featherstone and Brother Che have rendered heroic service to the Black liberation struggle and their murderers and assassins must be punished. Aggressive warfare against the U.S. must be further intensified. We know that the killing of these brothers is only a small part of the systematic extermination of Black people that is the basis of the call for law and order. By planting a bomb in the brother's car the racist white in the U.S. have escalated their tactics of violence against Black people. We must, therefore, begin to escalate our efforts and tactics in trying to destroy the racist, capitalist and imperialist government of the United Statex.

"We are firmly convinced that the murder of our brothers must be charged to the dirty bloody hands of Richard M. Nixon and especially Spiro Agnew. All Black people must also understand that Ralph Featherstone was viciously hated by zionists and he became the symbol of SNCC's opposition to Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

"It must be made crystal clear that H. Rap Brown IS NOT at home -- and that his wisdom and ideas must be spread throughout the Black community: 'No slave should die a natural death; there is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Brothers and sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically for the major confrontation is yet to come.'

"WE MUST NOT BETRAY THE CONFIDENCE OF H. RAP BROWN, RALPH FEATHERSTONE AND BROTHER CHE!"

[redacted]
March 16, 1970

FRANCIS BEAL, National Staff member of SNCC, is presently distributing a pamphlet attacking the Federal Government and several of its agencies, attributing to the Federal Government much of the violence that has transpired in the country.

[redacted]
March 25, 1970

The above statement, as furnished by [redacted] on March 20, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report pages 30, 31, and 32.

WILLIAM HUNT has authored various outlines describing the current SNCC organization, its aims, structure and programs.

[redacted]
May 11, 1970

Copies of such report, as provided by [redacted] on May 11, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report pages 33, 34, 35, and 36.

SNCC has mailed various functionaries within the organization a document captioned "Guidelines and Amendments".

May 11, 1970

A copy of the above document, as provided by [redacted] on May 11, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report pages 37, 38, 39, and 40.

APPENDIX

NY 100-147963

1.

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

A second source advised that H. RAP BROWN succeeded CARMICHAEL as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

REPORT TO R.P.C.
Terry

Have been here two weeks - inwhich time bulk of energy spent in cleaning office.

Met with John O'neal of OCSP last week. Three instructions:

1- change name of group
2- cut original proposal and submit for emergency funding for school
3- start school for another field appraisal.

The name of the group was catching flack here from someone. Original proposal also seemed as a smoke screen for something else. He (and Herb Callender) felt the school would fall if it was submitted with the other components of the program. In order for emergency funding, the field appraiser must see something tangible. This is in progress now. anticipating his visit.

rewrote proposal - enclosed is copy of original and rewrite. Please send back copies of both for own files.

As for the school - Naomi and I have been greatly hampered by lack of transportation until last week. We have been doing leg work attempting to raise money for bills. Checked with Summit Conference here- they instructed I should see Abbott Moorcat Danny Brown's Monastery. Also I am attempting to find a Father Austin Ford - a radical churchman in the Episcopalian church who has fought the Bishop and has enough influence to try to get the programs through.

Received a history of why SNCC is catching hell from the bishop. He was one of the liberals in Atlanta who Carmichael turned off in '66 and has resented it ever since.

Office in need of the following sum:

light $192
water $ 15
gas $118

am trying to raise it through those above mentioned folks and others.

Things are slow - but we'll get it together.

Due to internal difficulties of administration and the group dynamics of the working staff of the organization formerly known as the AfroAmerican Society of Greater Atlanta, we find emerging a group of individuals, comprising a working team, who intend to live up to the committments to the Black people of Atlanta in the form of programs previously adppted by the presently defunct organization.

However after two many months of inactivity, we find that it is impossible to fulfill all of the obligations we have incurred, and have set policy to the effect that the programs (three of them) will be implimented when feasible to do so. Our most important and most successful program shall be our primary concern. Until we are thoroughly convinced we shall be able to invest time and energy in other endeavors, our liberation school shall be our major program in and for the Black communities of the city of Atlanta.

This school, with the exception of the past two months, has been successfully operating for almost a year.

*In the beginning of our liberation school program we set forth a purpose answerable to some of the problems facing the present public educational system, therefore outlining our alternative. We realized that the present educational system was grossly inadequate because Black children are fed specifically indoctrinatory and often irrelevent data, while being denied those exercises necessary to stimulate the thought process. The methods used to teach basic subjects vital to any form of education have not been successful, and where they have been, only in minimal forms, not reaching the broad masses of Black children. This means a disabling of Black children's ability to read, write, reason, create (especially create), challenge and dispute. This system's effects are apparent in the average Black youth after completing the so-called "educational cycle". He has no knowledge of self; he has an aquired desire to break ties with the Black community, and can function in no capacity for he cannot relate to his own,

while the system which created his dilema will not accept him on equal terms, even thought he has been programed to accept and partake in the values, rituals mores and trends of that society, right or wrong.

Realizing these inadequacies we designed our liberation school to reach the Black child at an early age (3-6) in order to offset the present situation, as well as to prepare him to enter wider envoironmental situations, ie making the transition from home and family to the broader society. Using our philosophy "Black pre-school education is one that essentially prepares the child to with-stand and cope with obstacles he will be faced with the first years of formal public school," for we realize it is during the first years of schooling is the Black child molded and shaped for whatever future education they receives, as well as the foundation laid for"success or failure"in this system.

We see our liberation school program as:

a- improving the child's capacity and ability to think and rationalize, preparing him for the type of thinking processes he will encounter in a very short time under the system of educattion known to us today.

b- instill an understanding of the meaning of relationship and responsibility to himself, his parents, people around him and his own Black community.

c- show him the importance of questioning and seeking knowledge, which can be used and applied to his own situation, so that he may create uses for the knowledge that he aquires, whether in the sterile laboratories of a classroom, or in intercourse with society at large.

We feel that this canand will be accomplsihed by our curriculum, which is outlined below:

READING

In the first year children learned alphabet and letter writing. This is the prerequisite to reading. This year we have moved into phonetics, spelling and reading skills.

MATHEMATICS

The first year we learned numbers (recognition, writing and numerical concepts), shapes and simple operations. This year we are trying to use a relatively new approach in purpose, if not in technique. With our empasis placed upon building a new value system and a humanity, we are trying to instill new values, new concepts and new alternatives to existing systems, we find the student too young to comprehend any detail in mathematical principles, but are being taught the basic concepts of the numerical system, groups, and sets, through their (the nmbers) relationship with each other and the relationship of numbers to things directly associated with the children.

SCIENCE

This shall entail a study of the human body (external and internal) on the level of hygiene for youngsters and other body functions. We are dealing primarily with less complicated systems and organs. We also study other aspects of nature, i.e. plant life and some forms of animal life, This course provides for puzzling execises and experiments which allows the children to learn the analytical process, satisfy their basic inquisitive nature, and also allow them an understanding of themselves. (This is so because children are so much like animals.)

GEOGRAPHY

Geography is taught in conjunction with Black history. Geographic work shall be both theoretical (map study etc., of foreign lands, as well as practical, in the form of exploration of his own community, and the city of Atlanta itself. Here children will be prepared to venture out from their immediate envoironment of the backyard (if fortunate to have some facimile) or their street, into the areas which affect them. This will help break the ice so to speak when the child is prepared to venture into the educational system of Atlanta. In addition, since we find that the intelligence quotient is based on a test which deals with the middle class envoironment and experience, we intend to prepare the child for such

BLACK HISTORY

This is a presentation of the African and AfroAmerican experience to young Black minds. It shall be told in story form, using animation and personification to maintain the interesES of the students. This course shall concern itself with the visible and significant achievement and struggles of Black people, things that a young Black child can relate to his own experience.

SPEECH

This course is designed to give the children exercises in self-expression and vocabulary building. It will give the child the opportunity to develop speech habits and confidence in speech, two primary factors in communication. It will not be a grammar course, we will not discuss nouns and adjectives, and all of the other things that are done in the system's schools, but allow the student to relate, verbally, his own ideas and concepts of the other things taught. We find that in primary grades in public school systems, young Black children become afraid and lack confidence when speaking and learning to speak because they are afraid of being put down by the teacher. Given a little freedom and a little correction now and then, as well as encouragement without fear of a bad grade, etc., the child can (and invariably has) learn to speak and express his thoughts.

To augment all of this the children will have excecises in Observation and Concentration. They are exposed to music, creatitivity, arts and crafts and the other aspects of their envoironment which are conuusive to a good educational experi nce. Learning situations of this type (we feel) enables a child to develop physically, socially, emotionally, politically as well as academically.

In the past the school has been able to provide free medical checkups for the students with the aid of a few Black physicians. This has been broadened so that free dental examinations shall also be given.

The childs education shall not stop once he leaves the confines of our physical plant. We are and have been in the process of makingxxandxmany designing and manufacturing our own textbooks and materials, as well as using whatever we deem appropriate. Many of these articles find their way into the parents hands who are counselled as to use and application so that home is also a part of the childs educational process.

After the child has left us, and is entered into a public elementary school we feel that either of two things will happen. Either he will be looked upon as an intelligent, well reared child, or as an "uppitty nigger brat"- which indicate that we have done our job well, according to the type of teacher the student receives. But in the long run we know that the child has and will have gained a lot from his experience.

The need has made itself apparent to expand our school. Since our program is a community based project working directly with local persons. We have been asked to expand our school to thirty children. This we intend to do.

Our school is housed in space rented (a whole building) at 36o Nelson St. SW former home office of our landlords, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization of many years ago. We have aquired this building for $2oo a month. Presently we have paid two months rent in advance, which was raised among those individuals working with the school (which presently is unnamed). Meals are provided for the students, free of charge. Food coming from various sources, but basically again coming out of the pockets of individuals.

Our intention is to continue the program as long as there is a need.But for

5-

these funds are desperately needed. We intend for this school to become community operated in the future, self sufficient as well as completely controled by the community. This, however we forsee in the next 18-24 months.

Until this time it is necessary for us to seek funding from various places. This is quite apparent when we find that we were able to raise for operations in the past two weeks only a little over $450, with $200 coming from one individual with the program.

We are asking for a refunding from your organization. Presently we see our budget for the school as pretty much the same. for the next12 months

Director & head teacher	$400/mon	4,800
2 teachers	400/mon	4,800
rent	200/mon	2,400
utilities incl tele	110/mon	1,320
paper & supplies		10,000
		23,320.00

Presently , due to lack of funds, and in order to restablish complete operation of the school, as well as expansion as planned, we seek an emergency grant, as advised by your field appraiser, Mr. O'Neill for a period of 3 months. This comes to a total of

director & head teacher	$400/mon	1,200
2 teachers	$400/mon	1,200
rent (two months)	$200/mont	4,00
utilities	$110/mon	330
supplies		2,500
		$5,630

Not all of the Afro American Society has been scrapped, for we have kept the board of directors in tact because they are representative of all segments of the communitiy in the city of Atlanta. these people and their respective functions are:

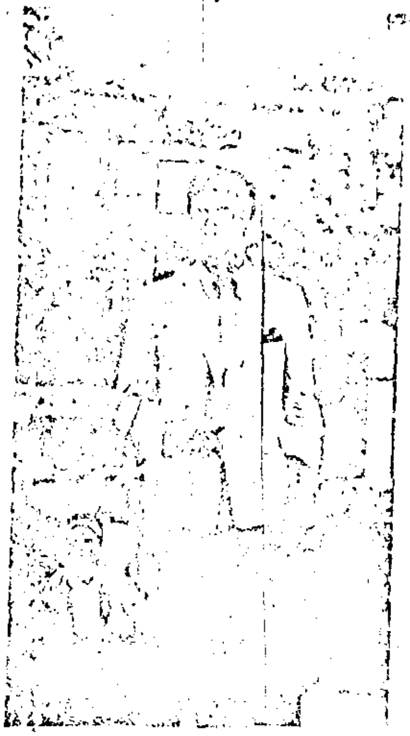
William Coleman	Chairman	1214 Eastridge Rd SW
Connie Beadles	vice Chairman	917 parson st SW
Essie Thompson	recording secy	217 Buena Vista Ave
Mozelle Daniels	corr secy	217 Buena Vista Ave
Betty Foster	Committee coordinator	718 Parson st
Carrie Mathis	treadurer	980 Peoples St
sen Julian Bond		132 Eurlee St
Rev Robert Hunter		po box 3141
howard moore esq	atty & legal advisor	859½ Hunter St

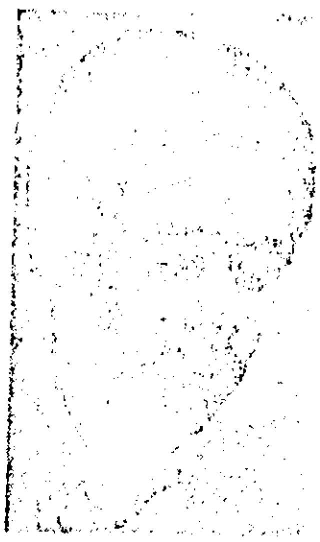
Robert Smith has been replaced as director by Terry Ardrey. His fuction is to carry out all of the responsibilities delegated him by the board, and to make sure the school is running at all cost. As director of the school, he is an ex-officio member of the board of directors. They only salaried person on this body.

NOTES

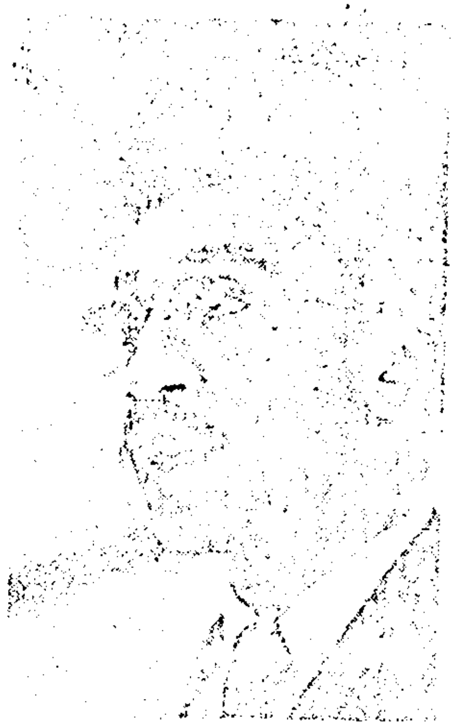
* - most of the text of this proposal has been plagerized from the original. This is not due to lack of originality, but because we feel that this program is a worthwhile endeavor.

** The school shall be known as





RALPH FEATHERSTONE



For Immediate Release

Official Statement by the Student National Coordinating Committee
March 16th 1970

We, the Student National Coordinating Committee, hereby denounce all reports that Chairman H. Rap Brown is at home. These stories are total speculation and rumor.

We further denounce the stories of the Amsterdam News claiming " H. Rap BRown is alive and well at home" as a deliberate attempt of the establishment to sew confusion in the Black community and movement.

These totally unfounded stories are dangerous to the morale of Brother Rap's family and friends.

Chairman H. Rap Brown's whereabouts are not known. It is a grave possibility that Rap's body was pulled from the wreckage, or that he was kidnapped.

With the given racial tension in Bel Air Maryland, known as a habitat for the Minutemen and KKK, there is no doubt in our minds that the bomb that claimed the lives of RAlph Featherstone and William (Che) Payne was meant for Chairman Rap.

We call for a dismissal of the trial because the charges are unfounded and that no Black man can get a fair trial under this judicial system.

We request the cooperation of all above and underground media in not reiterating these ficticious reports of H. Rap Browns whereabouts. Any statement made by any individual who is not a spokesman of, or affiliated with, SNCC should not be regarded as fact. Unless authori ed by the said organization.

Other press conferences and statements will occur in the near future
Political Council,
Student National Coordinating Committee.

We charge the federal government with the crime of wantonly murdering our two brothers, Ralph Featherstone and apparently William Che Paine. We suspect, although we may never be able to prove it, that agents of the federal government were directly involved, probably because they thought that Brother Rap Brown was in the car.

This is the way that the CIA has operated all over the Third World from the Congo to Laos, from Ghana to Vietnam. If they are in the way, people of color and their leaders are mysteriously blown to bits, with even less thought than if they were boulders blocking a road or trees blocking a view. But directly involved or not, the Federal Government is responsible for initiating the chain of events that has now resulted in this heinous crime against black people.

Just as the Mayor of Memphis, Tennessee created the political climate of violence and hysteria which led to the wanton murder of Dr. King in 1968, the Federal Government today with its repressive legislation against movement activists such as the Stokely Carmichael Anti-Riot act, and the Anti-Conspiracy Act and its bringing to trial of movement activists on the basis of this repressive legislation has now created the political climate of violence and hysteria which has led to the wanton murder of these two dedicated hard-working, unsung fighters of human freedom.

For many years it is the Federal Government itself which has been responsible for the growing chaos and disorder in and around the courts. By its deliberate effort to muddy up the fundamental distinction between political activity and crime, it has fostered disrespect for the judicial process, and cited to riot and murder, and unleashed the most reactionary forces in the nation.

By sending in agents-provocateurs to movement organizations, as in the notorious alleged plot by RAM to blow up the Statue of Liberty, it has deliberately instigated and sought to provoke freedom fighters to acts of terrorism which can only end in their imprisonment or death.

THE TIME HAS COME TO [illegible]KE SOME SIGNIFICANT STEPS TO [illegible]RING A HALT TO THIS VIOLENCE AND UNENDING INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE BY THE GOVERNMENT. To this end, we demand:

(1) that the Federal government itself take the initiative immediately to move for the dismissal of all charges against H. Rap Brown, as well as against all other political defendants, black and white, who have been charged under the Anti-Riot, Anti-Conspiracy Act and similar repressive legislation;

(2) That steps be taken immediately to repeal the Anti-Riot and Anti-Conspiracy Act;

(3) That the FBI, the CIA, and Police Departments across the country immediately destroy their dossiers on movement activists and that the permanent Subcommittee on Investigation of the Committee on Government Operation of the U.S. Senate (whose extensive extensive and public hearings have revealed only a small part of what is contained in these dossiers) be immediately disbanded;

(4) That wherever agents-provocateurs have been, or are disclosed to be involved in, acts of terrorism against movement activists; that the charges against the movement people be dismissed and charges be brought instead against these agents and the official agencies employing them for conspiring to violate the civil rights of citizens.

WE CALL UPON THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND ALL DECENT CITIZENS ACROSS THE NATION TO SUPPORT THESE DEMANDS WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO CLEAR UP THE CALCULATED CONFUSION BETWEEN POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND CRIME WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS SEEKING TO DESTROY THE MOVEMENT.

At the same time we call upon black organizations to appoint their own investigative committee to determine the guilty parties to these murders and we demand that the Justice Department and all officials on every level cooperate with this committee giving it the right to subpeona persons and documents and granting it access to all files and information related to this and similar crimes. In particular, we urge movement people to reflect upon the need for new forms of organization which will minimize future opportunities for the enemy to waste our Brothers and Sisters.

We cannot continue to [illegible]

ENDORSERS CAN SEND THEIR NAMES, ORGANIZATIONS, ETC. TO THE FOLLOWING:

P.O. BOX 3346
Jefferson Station
Detroit, Michigan 48214

SIGNED BY:

Dan Aldrich

James Boggs

Bob Lucas

William Strickland

Frances Beal

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
346 West 20th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

I. DEVELOPMENT OF POSITION PAPERS ON:

A. The Role of Black Women
B. Revolutionary Morality and Leadership
C. Revolutionary Nationalism: A New Direction

II. AMENDMENTS TO ORGANIZATIONAL GUIDELINES: (see attached)

III. CONCEPT OF POLITICAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZING: "Working within the framowork of community programs and structuros"

A. Participation - understand true nature of community in which we intend to organize. We must therefore participate in already established organizations and perform one or more of the following tasks:

1. Gathering data on personel, finances, income, supporters' effectiveness of program, usefulness.

B. Influencing programs with SNCC ideology

C. Neutralizing programs that are dangerous or detrimental to the liberation of black people.

D. The following issues concern the black community and organizing should be carried out wherever possible around them:

1. Education - community control, busing of pupils, etc.
2. Nationalism
3. The Welfare issue
4. Indonesian Wars (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand!!!)

IV. BASIC STRUCTURE AND BASIC PROGRAMS: (see attached sheet)

V. ORGANIZATION PROJECTS:

A. Augusta Project - Coffee House - Hughes, Lytle
B. Skills Project - Davis, Douglas
C. Atlanta Project (organizers training school, pre-school, audio visual center. - Terry Audrey
   1. Library
   2. Student Organizing
   3. Draft Counseling
   4. Printing Operation
D. National Newspaper - R. Jackson
E. Agrarian Reform Project - Hunt
F. Genocide, Human Rights - Crook, Sandy
G. Pittsburgh-Midwest Project (factory workers base) Screoge, Danny Brown
H. New Jersey auto workers - M. Head, Bruce A.
I. Black women's Alliance - F.Beal

VI. REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM: (An in depth position paper is presently being prepared)

Our political ideology must be that of revolutionary nationalism which means that all our efforts must be channeled towards liberating our people here, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our objective is the building of a strong political force which will eventually lead to a strong Revolutionary Nationalist scientific socialist state.

We must begin to instill in ourselves and in our people that we comprise a nation of African people and that therefore, we must strive to build a strong, viable, nation based on the needs and aspirations of African people in the U.S. and around the world. for self determination and self reliance.

VII. TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF PERSONNEL:

A program is presently being developed for recruitment, training and assigning new SNCC personnel. Lesson plans will be forwarded to SNCC chapters and contacts.

VIII. FORMATION OF SNCC SECRETARIAT: Chairman - Frances Beal

Functions:

A. Is responsible for coordinating all programmatic aspects of SNCC.

B. Is responsible for keeping members informed of progress of projects, programs as well as a liaison with the RPC on matters concerning programs.

C. Is responsible for distributing funds to those progaams under its administration and is responsible to the RPC for accounting of financial status of each project.

D. Is responsible for the recruitment and training of new members and appointing them to work on various committees and projects.

E. Is responsible for creating and developing internal political education curriculum for approval by the RPC.

NOTE: All programmatic aspects of the organization are to be coordinated with the Chairman of the Secretariat. All heads of chapters, projects, programs, etc. MUST submit a bi-monthly report to the Chairman at 346 West 20th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. A form will be prepared and distributed to facilitate this responsibility.

IX. DISCIPLINARY ACTION BY WORKERS AND RPC:

A. Discussion of disciplinary action to be taken against Irving Davis, present Director of International Affairs project for violation of code of behavior, gross political indiscretion.

B. See letter forwarded to Comrade Davis attached herewith. The final decision after extensive debate is to (1) Take disciplinary action based on violation of Guidelines adopted Nov. 10, 1969 (See #s 1,2,6,10,&15. Also #1&2 under revolutionary morality.) (2) Write a letter to Davis detailing reasons for disciplinary action and (3) Mandate RPC to decide form of action to be take. All communication to Com. Davis should discontinue except on the skills project and the black referendum on Vietnam

3

SNCC STRUCTURE AND BASIC PROGRAMS

I. SNCC STRUCTURE:

A. National Chairman

B. Revolutionary Political Council

C. Secretariat

1. Newspaper
2. Communications
3. Training & Recruitment
4. International Affairs
5. Internal Political Education

II. BASIC PROGRAMS:

A. Ideological propagation - revolutionary nationalism

B. Organizing workers

To begin to go into factories where our people are and organize them (both male and female) around their oppression, the power they hold as workers and producers, and the development of Political Consciousness and the necessity for struggle and sacrifice, etc. This area is crucial.

C. Southern Organizing

Organizing our people in the South; farmers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers students, industrial workers around self defense, survival, the oppression that is felt day to day, hunger, starvation, radical unions, developing skills in agriculture, the agricultural sciences, the SNCC concept of Agrarian Reform, marketing of goods that are produced in a communal effort.

D. Welfare Organizations - working in or assisting welfare groups to achieve a high level of sophistication in organizing and political consciousness.

E. Student Organizing - most student orgs. across the country at this point in our struggle have no concept of "where to go from here, or what to do". Due to the mistakes we have made in the past, some student orgs. are very mistrustful of SNCC. Whereas they are susceptible to our ideology they have conflicting interests when it comes to actual work or physical contact with us. We must proceed to dispel these mistaken ideas. We are all aware of the importance of students and must create a viable aparatus that allows the student an opportunity to interact with the community. One such method or project would be to have them organize a free school to train our people in the field of agriculture. (In south)

OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION

1. The destruction of (a) capitalism, (b) feudalism, (c) imperialism, (d) racism, (e) the present "western society and its vestiges".

2. The establishment of a democratically centralized, scientific socialist state based on the needs of an oppressed African people.

METHODS TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES INCLUDE:

1. Armed struggle
2. organizing black workers
3. organizing black students
4. organizing welfare mothers
5. organizing tenant farmers and sharecroppers
6. Propagation of our ideology - revolutionary nationalism.

GUIDELINES & AMENDMENTS

I. Political

1. All persons, volunteers, and organizers engaging in SNCC activities a functions shall be subject to the rules and regulations established the decision making body of the organization (Revolutionary Politica Council)

2. All persons willfully engaged in activities politically detrimental t the organization shall be expelled from the organization after revie by staff members and the Revolutionary Political Council. Such acti ties shall be determined by the staff of SNCC and the RPC.

3. Those persons who are late for organizational appointments 4 times within a month shall be brought before the local staff for disciplin

4. Members who willfully disobey orders from people delegated responsibi by the RPC will be brought before the RPC for disciplinary action an dismissal from the organization.

5. All internal dissension and discussion shall be carried out by these parties involved and at no time shall arguments be tolerated in the presence of the public.

6. Members who participate in or contribute to misinformation and untrut concerning the organization in public or elsewhere shall be repriman on the first account and given political education on the position organization. Upon the second offense, they will be expelled.

7. No member involved in the organization shall sanction the use of his/ name by any indigenous groups, organization, etc. without the permis of the RPC.

8. No SNCC person, chapter, etc. shall make alliances with local, nation or international groups or individuals without informing and/or the approval of the RPC.

9. All SNCC personnel including office workers and full time staff shal spend at least 15 days per month in the community on one or more political projects.

10. Any member convicted of victimizing any other member of the organizat or member of the community shall be expelled after the first warning

11. Those persons assigned special tasks by office staff and who do not function properly shall be replaced if the RPC finds them working below his/her fullest capacity.

12. All officers heading any of the 7 or more networks shall be subordin to the RPC. Each member or head shall, after review, be placed on Council or committee according to his/her work record, dedication, tical ability, etc.

13. All officers of the aforementioned networks shall present an outline of past activities and one for his proposed future activities to be reviewed by the RPC upon the request of the RPC.

14. National and international verbal and written contracts, documents, and contacts shall be approved by the decision of the RPC.

15. Any member of the organization found guilty one or more times of being discourteous, arrogant, or egotistical toward people in the community shall:

    (1) Be given political education on the correct nature of dealing with people;

    (2) Be reprimanded and/or transferred or expelled from the project and/or organization.

16. The Chairman of the RPC shall be elected by the said Council and the National Chairman. (In cases of emergency where the Council cannot all meet, the National Chairman and those members of the Council present shall elect a Chairman of the RPC.

17. All SNCC Chapters are required to have (1) Work Study Classes; and (2) Cadre meetings at lease once a month. (Last Sun. of each Month)

POLITICAL AMENDMENTS (As of April 11, 1970)

17. No one other than the Chairman of the RPC or/and the Chairman of the Secretariat will authorize statements to the public.

18. All mass based programs requiring use of SNCC personnel and resources will require the authorization of the Chairman of the RPC.

19. Anyone making accusations against anyone or anything either within the organization or in public based on emtional outbursts, rumor and hearsay will be warned on the first account and dismissed from the organization on the second offense.

20. All negative attitudes toward women both within and without the organization must be done away with. Those individuals who continually exhibit degrading behavior toward women will be asked to:

    (1) Change their attitude through furthering their political education by reading up to date materials on the woman question;

    (2) After reading the required data and their basic attitude and behavior has not changed, will be asked to resign from the organization upon review by the workers and politcal Council.

21. No one in SNCC assigned a project or program will dictate or make policy for or try to influence any other project. All projects will come up for review by the Secretariat and the RPC and suggestions and/or criticisms shall be directed to these bodies, for consideration.

22. Anyone who does or attempts to factionalize the organization in any manner will be dealt with in the most complete and effective manner.

23. All ideas, propositions, position papers, etc, must be presented before the general body and must be put up for criticism and discussion by the body.

II. ECONOMIC

1. Those persons actively engaged in full time work for the organization shall receive a subsistence allowance according to (a) need and (b) circumstance.

2. Except in cases of extreme emergency, all monies will be distributed equally to SNCC personnel. (When there is sufficient amount.) Need will be the determining factor in cases of conflict.

3. Those persons who participate willfully in embezzlement, hide or conceal information concerning financial matters of the organization will be upon conviction punished by:

   (a) Mandated to solicit a job within the system 2 weeks following conviction and mandated to contribute 2/3 of their net salary to the organization for a period of 3 months.

   (b) Mandated to organize a political function twice a month for a 4 month period with gross proceeds going the the organization.

   (c) Other punishment to be determined by the RPC including expulsion.

4. All cadres will be required to sell the National SNCC newspaper.

5. All economic matters, implementation of organization programs, etc. shall take precedent over all other matters. Monies shall be used to implement programs of the organization first, subsistence pay will have to take second place.

IIA. ECONOMIC AMENDMENTS (As of April 11, 1970)

6. No one should use the name of SNCC to acquire contacts for funds, personal assistence, etc. and keep these contacts the personal hegemony or use of the individual. All funds received shall be turned over to the RPC who will decide their distribution.

III. REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY

1. A high degree of respect between members of the organization & others must be maintained at all times.

2. Anyone who knowingly exploits either economic, military or political situations for personal gain will be brought before the RPC and following conviction shall be immediately expelled or otherwise punished. Opportun in any form shall be immediately dealt with by appropriate action of the RPC and/or staff/or committee head.

3. Meetings should be conducted with the utmost feelings of comradeship, deep feelings of love for each other, sophistication, calmness and especially honesty.

4. Morality and leadership qualities in all members must take the form of being that which allows all personnel to avoid all excesses in personal habits. This is the sacrifice that leadership entails. It is not a part time responsibility; leadership requires the person who would exercise it to be available to serve at anytime, twenty-four hours a day. Leadership requires readiness to give up personal freedom, life family and friends to promote the cause of the black liberation struggle. (Position Paper to be Developed)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

MAY 25 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-439190
NYfile 100-147963

Title: Student National Coordinating Committee

Character: Racial Matters

Reference: is made to report of Special Agent [redacted], dated and captioned as above, at New York, New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-12-60)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	5/10/71	4/29/70-4/16/71

CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]

TYPED BY: cf

CHARACTER OF CASE: RM

General

REFERENCE

NYreport of SA [redacted] 5/25/70.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a report relating to the activities of the captioned group.

The SNCC organization continues to share space with other groups at 346 West 20th Street.

The organization held its last national staff meeting in June of 1970, and has not since such time held a subsequent national staff meeting, although it had tentatively scheduled such a meeting for December, 1970.

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

11 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Cincinnati (100-14158) (INFO) (RM)
3 - New York (100-147963)

100-439190-2237

REC-23

EX-100

10 MAY 12 1971

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF classification DATE 7/10/78

1cc 1014

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: [redacted] SEC. SERV., IRS., CIA, STATE DEPT. ISD [redacted]
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW:
How Fwd.	DATE FORW:
By	BY:

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

55 JUL 1 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

As disclosed within, the SNCC organization is engaged in various projects at the present time; however, for the most part, these projects are in the planning stage and/or have actually ceased operation at the present time. The Third World Womens Alliance, which is the successor organization to the Black Womens Alliance, which was initially instituted as a SNCC project, now operates autonomously under the direction of FRAN BEAL, a NY area SNCC functionary. Since the referenced report, the organization has expelled a number of ranking SNCC functionaries as a result of internal conflict including TERRY ARDRY, JAMES LYTLE, and IRVING DAVIS.

As a practical matter, Atlanta and NY are the only cities where there is even a facade of SNCC activity.

During the period covered by this report, SNCC has not staged or participated in any demonstration or disruptive activity, and it is believed incapable of accomplishing same in view of the limited membership, lack of funds, and internal dissension.

SNCC has recently indicated that the national headquarters of the organization will be transferred to Atlanta, Georgia, within the next month or two. The organization previously maintained its national headquarters there and has indicated on various occasions during the past year that headquarters would be returned to Atlanta, Georgia.

Although the SNCC organization has indicated that it continues to publish a monthly known as the "National SNCC", copies are not known to have been distributed in the NY area since the summer of 1970. Information recently developed indicates that the newspaper may be published in the NYC area by a Chinese

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

printer. It is believed that such printer may be FRANK CHAN, owner of the Sun Publishing Company, who has in the past done extensive business with political groups in the NYC area. NY will contact Sun Publishing Company to determine the possibility of the SNCC newspaper being published there.

The informants referred to within as having been contacted during February and March, 1971, concerning SNCC proposed guerrilla training program are identified as follows:

The pretext referred to within, conducted by SA [redacted] under the Womens Liberation subcaption was a telephone call to St. Peters Episcopal Church [redacted]

The interview of [redacted] as set out within under the Third I. Lounge subcaption, was conducted by SAS [redacted], and [redacted]. on the date noted.

The interview of [redacted] as set out within under the Third I. Lounge subcaption was conducted by SAS [redacted] and [redacted] on the date noted.

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ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

SA [redacted] conducted the review of [redacted], as set out within on the dates noted.

The various confidential sources contacted as set out under the SNCC Chapters caption within are identified as follows:

The address set out within of 300 9th Ave., NY, NY, as being maintained on the mailing list of the "Daily World" is a former national headquarters office of SNCC.

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	100-147963-4495, 4204, 4273, 4176, 4496, 4464, 4278
[redacted]	100-147963-4198
[redacted]	100-147963-4203, 4253, 4254
[redacted]	100-147963-4188, 4306, 4179, 4390, 4448, 4256, 4339, 4275, 4262, 4417, 4390
[redacted]	100-147963-4188, 4467, 4467
[redacted]	100-147963-4373, 4185, 4277, 4326, 4427, 4289, 4310, 4443, 4464, 4371, 4142, 4277, 4289, 4310, 4388, 4430, 4492, 4439, 4430, 4470, 4443, 4371, 4181, 4181, 4337, 4344, 4165, 4389, 4466, 4305
[redacted]	100-147963-4489, 4472

INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

NY 100-147963

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION

The enclosed report is classified "Confidential" since it contains information from NY T-1 through NY T-20 disclosure of whose identity might have an adverse effect upon the national security interests of the U.S.

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report on the activities of the SNCC organization in 90 days.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-304 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: New York, New York
Date: MAY 10 1971

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC currently occupies office space at St. Peters Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th St., NY, NY, which serves as the National Headquarters for SNCC. SNCC has announced various projects including the SNCC newspaper, guerrilla training, Womens Liberation, organizing black workers, and the Third Eye Lounge all of which are in various stages of development and/or discontinuation [redacted] Continuing factionalism within the SNCC organization has inhibited the development of some SNCC projects and continues to date. The organization has been generally unsuccessful in securing funds from church groups and private interests, however, they did secure funds for the operation of the Third Eye Loungefrom the U.S. Servicemen's Fund.. SNCC currently maintains quasi-active chapters in NY and Atlanta, Georgia. Various SNCC documents concerning aspects of SNCC activity in the NYC area and on a national basis are set out within. The legal status of SNCC as an organization recognized by the State of NY has been cancelled and the matter has been referred to the office of the Attorney General for the State of NY for appropriate action.

- P -

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF DATE 7/10/78

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
7/7/78 LS/SM

CONFIDENTIAL
~~GROUP~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.~~

100-147963

I. THE LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A characterization of SNCC is attached to this report.

The offices of National SNCC are located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th Street, New York City.

[redacted]

[redacted] March 26, 1971

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT is the director of the New York State operation of SNCC and chairman of the RPC.

JIMMY LAZARE is a field member of SNCC and a member of the RPC.

FRANCES BEAL is the national secretary of SNCC and a member of the RPC.

JAMES FORMAN is the political analyst of SNCC and coordinates international affairs for the organization.

RONALD JACKSON is editor of the SNCC newspaper "National SNCC" and is a member of the RPC.

[redacted] March 26, 1971

all NY

100-147963

III. SNCC NATIONAL STAFF MEETING

N.Y.

The organization is currently experiencing financial difficulties in connection with the Augusta Coffee House known as the Third Eye Lounge. An additional $13,000.00 is needed to pay for air-conditioning equipment which has been installed at the lounge.

e

June 26, 1970

n

SNCC presently has pending an application for a grant with the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing (IFCO), 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

> The IFCO is an organization created in 1966, by 10 Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish agencies to obtain financial support and strategies for community development and indigenous economic development efforts across the nation.

HUNT indicated that the National Office of SNCC would be returned to Atlanta, Georgia in the near future

June 24, 1970

The following projects are currently being developed by SNCC:

Atlanta Freedom School
TERRY ARDREY

Augusta Coffee House
(Third Eye Lounge)
WILLIAM COLEMAN

Women's Liberation
FRANCES BEAL

SNCC Newspaper
RONALD JACKSON

Organizing a Political Party
WILLIAM HUNT

Agrarian Reform
WILLIAM HUNT

IRVING DAVIS resigned from the SNCC organization and is no longer Director of International Affairs. [redacted] DAVIS is persona non grata with the organization. PHIL HUTCHINGS is being considered as a replacement for DAVIS but is unable at the present time to assume such a position since he is occupied at present with organizing for the Third Venceremos Brigade.

NY

A characterization of the Venceremos Brigade is attached to this report.

BARBARA HUNT, AKA: MRS the wife of WILLIAM HUNT, has been recruited for such brigade and will leave for Cuba August 1, 1970.

N.Y.

Ga.

The SNCC coffee house in Augusta, Georgia is scheduled to open July 4, 1970.

[redacted]

[redacted] June 29, 1970

The National Office of SNCC recently mailed copies of the "Minutes of the National SNCC Workers Meeting, June, 1970", to various SNCC workers throughout the country.

[redacted] August 24, 1970

A copy of the above-described minutes as furnished by NY T-1 on August 24, 1970, is attached to this report.

IV. FACTIONALISM WITHIN SNCC

The SNCC Office in Atlanta, Georgia has been unoccupied and unused for more than a month. During recent months, there has been considerable conflict between IRVING DAVIS and JAMES FORMAN, SNCC functionaries in the New York City area. DAVIS, FORMAN and WILLIAM HUNT of New York have each been attempting to gain control of the Atlanta Office. HUNT recently issued instructions that FORMAN was not to utilize the Atlanta Office. FORMAN had intended to use the premises in connection with a venture he has been trying to establish concerning a new black nationalist organization.

SNCC's efforts to establish itself in Atlanta, Georgia have been ineffective to date.

June 12, 1970

JAMES FORMAN and HOWARD MOORE, an Atlanta, Georgia attorney, who has represented SNCC officials in the past, have instituted action to obtain title and possession of the SNCC building located at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

NY

August 18, 1970

Friction has recently developed between WILLIAM HUNT and JAMES FORMAN resulting from FORMAN's insistence that SNCC adopt the "Marxist-Leninist Ideology". SNCC is not receptive to FORMAN's ideology and desires to change its "cultural label" and get involved in organizing black workers .

March 26, 1971

V. FOREIGN TRAVEL

May 6, 1970

June 15, 1970

BARBARA HUNT, wife of National SNCC leader WILLIAM HUNT, traveled to Cuba during the latter part of August, 1970, and is scheduled to remain there for approximately three months.

September 9, 1970

October 28, 1970

N.Y.

100-147963

December 22, 1970

VI. SNCC PROJECTS

A. SNCC Newspaper

SNCC recently published Volume One, Issue One, of the SNCC newspaper known as "National SNCC". This issue, dated May-June, 1970, related to the affairs of the SNCC organization.

May 22, 1970

SNCC has issued the June-July edition of the monthly "National SNCC" Volume One, Number Two.

August 12, 1970

March 26, 1971

B. Guerrilla Training

May 1, 1970
May 28, 1970

A characterization of the BPP is attached to this report.

June 24, 1970

September 25, 1970

100-147963

October 4, 1970

During January and February, 1971, and Virginia, all advised that they had no information concerning any activities by SNCC in such areas concerning the purchase of land or, in fact, any other activities.

NY

October 10-11, 1970

October 11, 1970

February 15, 1971

There is no known activity by SNCC at present concerning any guerrilla training and/or recruiting of personnel for such a project.

March 8, 1971

During February and March, 1971, various confidential sources, familiar with black nationalist and/or Latin nationalist activities in the New York City area, were contacted but were unable to provide any information concerning SNCC's proposed guerrilla training program.

C. Women's Liberation

FRANCES BEAL, a SNCC functionary, heads the Black Women's Alliance (BWA), a SNCC project which has, as its long range objective, the formation of a national black woman's organization.

July 1, 1970

The BWA, which was formerly a SNCC project under the direction of FRANCES BEAL, is now known as the Third World Women's Alliance. (TWWA).

August 28, 1970

The address of the TWWA is 346 West 20th Street, In Care Of St. Peter's Church, New York City.

January 18, 1971

On March 12, 1971, through the use of a suitable pretext, it was confirmed that TWWA has access and utilizes the parish hall of St. Peter's Church, 346 West 20th Street, New York City. The SNCC organization also has access to the office space utilized by TWWA at the church.

February 23, 1971

D. Third Eye Lounge

An agreement between Mr. C. A. REID JR. of Richmond County, Virginia and Home in the South, Incorporated, has been drawn up for the leasing of property owned by REID in Augusta, Georgia. The property to be leased is currently known as the Paramount Benevolent Country Club with the lease running from May 1, 1970, to April 30, 1972, with a monthly rental of $500.00. The Home in the South intends to operate the club under such name as they see fit at the present site of the Paramount Country Club.

Home in the South, Incorporated was formed by SNCC functionaries in Fulton County, Georgia for the purpose of securing financing and obtaining property in Augusta, Georgia for the operation of a coffee house or night club.

April 29, 1970

SNCC representatives have been in Augusta, Georgia recently making arrangements to open a so-called "coffee house" in that city to be operated by SNCC as a business venture. SNCC hopes to develop this project into a money making operation. The organization intends to remodel the proposed premises in Augusta, Georgia to the extent that food and entertainment would be available there.

May 8, 1970
May 16, 1970
May 21, 1970

The SNCC coffee house at the Paramount Country Club in August, Georgia, is scheduled to open July 4, 1970.

June 15, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge in Augusta, Georgia has opened but is attracting very few customers. It is in very bad financial condition. The lounge is in arrears with the landlord and with the air-conditioning firm which installed equipment at the lounge. Unless the Third Eye Lounge can secure $15,000.00 to $20,000.00 within the next two months, it will probably close.

August 20, 1970

On August 20, 1970, [redacted] was interviewed by Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). During the interview, [redacted] discussed his participation in an enterprise known as the Third Eye Lounge. The lounge was originally opened in Augusta, Georgia to provide a meeting place for black soldiers from Fort Gordon. However, it is experiencing financial difficulties, owing a total of approximately $27,000.00 to various creditors. Various banking institutes in the Augusta, Georgia area have declined requests for loans to rescue the operation of the lounge.

The SNCC sponsored coffee house in Augusta, Georgia, opened July 31, 1970, and has been a failure to date. The general public in the Augusta area, has exhibited very little interest in such operation.

August 11, 1970

Ga.

September 9, 1970

September 22, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge has been closed since September 8, 1970, but will tentatively reopened September 30, 1970.

September 25, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge reopened October 9, 1970, and held a fairly successful show with attendance of approximately 300 persons. WILLIAM HUNT stated that the next entertainment at the club will be scheduled for October 23, 1970.

October 11, 1970

On December 8, 1970, CHARLES REID, owner of the premises wherein the Third Eye Lounge is situated, secured an eviction notice against the lounge charging rent delinquency of between $1,000.00 and $1,500.00. The premises will be closed if the management does not respond to such notice with payment of the balance owing on the rent.

[redacted]
December 10, 1970

On December 11, 1970, SAS of the FBI interviewed [redacted] advised that he had [redacted] the operations of the Third Eye Lounge [redacted]. The lounge is now encountering financial difficulties and he is unaware of what the future will be for the lounge. [redacted] stated he knew of no political or propagandist activities conducted in the past, or planned for the future at the lounge and stated he knew of no meetings at the lounge except those dealing with the business operations. [redacted] further stated that he knew of no affiliations between the lounge and SNCC.

Ohio

[redacted]

[redacted]
December 21 - 22, 1970

WILLIAM HUNT has retained an Augusta, Georgia attorney to take the necessary legal action for breach of contract against CHARLES REID who has instituted eviction proceedings against the management of the Third Eye Lounge.

[redacted]
December 22, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge and its employees have been evicted from the premises at 34 Gwinnett Street Extension, Augusta, Georgia, and the building is now in the control of the owner, CHARLES REID.

January 12, 1971 Ga.

January 22, 1971

April 15, 1971

E. Organizing Black Industrial Workers

JAMES FORMAN is devoting full time to working on plans for a new group called the "Southern Workers Coalition".

January 8, 1971
January 22, 1971

SNCC is presently engaged in recruiting and organizing black industrial workers in the Atlanta, Georgia area in a project known as the "Southern Workers Coalition".

February 4, 1971

A black workers conference is scheduled for August 21-22, 1971, in Detroit, Michigan. The organizing efforts are to continue and culminate in a nation-wide work stoppage by black industrial employees in 1972, for the purpose of testing the strength of SNCC created workers coalitions and to make appropriate demands at that time.

February 15, 1971

JAMES FORMAN is formulating a new project called the "International Black Workers Congress" (IBWC).

February 16, 1971

On January 26, 1971,

NY

and copies of an "International Black Workers Congress" newspaper in the car. The newspaper revealed it was from the Georgia Organizing Committee, Post Office Box 27116, Atlanta, Georgia, subscribed to by WILLIAM LA TRANE.

The IBWC is described as an organization of black workers and students who have joined together to further the revolutionary struggle in the United States and other parts of the world to consolidate the existing organizations and to build unity among the revolutionary third world forces. The IBWC is the creation of JAMES FORMAN and WILLIAM HUNT. WILLIAM LA TRANE and RICKY REED, both Atlanta SNCC functionaries recently underwent training in New York City, concerning this project.

Ga.

March 8, 1971

The address of the IBWC is 179 Cortland Avenue, Island Park, Michigan. Such address is the headquarters of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW).

March 19, 1971

A characterization of the LRBW is attached to this report.

VII. SNCC FINANCES

A request for an emergency grant of $5,680.00 from the Episcopal Church by SNCC for the purpose of establishing a liberation school in Atlanta, Georgia, has been denied. An application requesting a grant of $23,000.00 has yet to be acted upon.

August 11, 1970

August 6, 1970

Ga

N.Y.

May 8, 1970
May 16, 1970
May 21, 1970

The USSF is a fund which claims to support anti-military projects such as GI coffee houses and anti-military GI newspapers throughout the country. Its function is supportive.

September 16, 1970

Ga.

VIII. SNCC COMMUNICATIONS

The SNCC organization in New York, recently distributed three separate flyers relating to:

1. The publication of a SNCC newspaper.

2. The announced SNCC National Staff Meeting to be held in New York, during June, 1970.

3. A discussion of the disciplinary to be taken against IRVING DAVIS, a SNCC member, for violation of certain SNCC regulations and guidelines.

[redacted]
June 4, 1970

Copies of the above three documents as furnished by [redacted] on June 4, 1970, are attached to this report.

WILLIAM HUNT is the author of certain SNCC communications relative to action he took concerning two SNCC members, TERRY ARDREY and JAMES LYTLE.

FRANCES BEAL, New York Coordinator of the SNCC office, is the author of a communication to all SNCC workers concerning the lack of communications between SNCC Headquarters and the field offices.

[redacted]
October 23, 1970

Copies of the above documents as furnished by [redacted] on October 23, 1970, are attached to this report.

WILLIAM HUNT recently distributed a memorandum captioned "Evaluation of National Offices and Atlanta Project" by WILLIAM HUNT, Acting Head, Political Council, July 12, 1970.

[redacted]
August 28, 1970

A copy of such document as furnished by [redacted] on August 28, 1970, is attached to this report.

[redacted] August 27, 1970

Copies of the above documents as furnished by [redacted] on August 27, 1970, are attached to this report.

IX. SNCC CHAPTERS

The SNCC offices at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, have been inactive recently and SNCC functionary TERRY ARDREY has been unable to reorganize a functioning operation. For all intents and purposes, SNCC is now a defunct organization especially with regard to any activities in the Atlanta, Georgia area. The reason for SNCC inactivity is that old SNCC members no longer concerned themselves with the organization, but are "all taking their own thing".

[redacted] August 20, 1970

No SNCC officials or associates are currently using the SNCC offices in Atlanta, in any capacity. There has been no SNCC activity in Atlanta, Georgia, since the early part of November, 1970.

[redacted] January 16, 1971

SNCC has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated on a group basis in Cincinnati, Ohio, since about June 1, 1969. Cincinnati's SNCC activities have been

limited at the present time to participation in national SNCC projects on an individual basis by a few of the local SNCC leaders.

[redacted] December 10 - 14, 1970

SNCC has ceased operations within the Augusta, Georgia area, with the closing of the Third Eye Lounge there.

WILLIAM HUNT revealed that SNCC would make efforts in the immediate future to re-establish a new SNCC chapter in Chicago, Illinois, in the near future.

[redacted] March 23, 1971

The New York Chapter of SNCC functions out of the national headquarters of SNCC at 346 West 20th Street, New York, New York, and its members are synonymous with the national SNCC leadership.

[redacted] April 26, 1971

During 1970 and 1971, various confidential sources in assorted cities across the United States, have been contacted by representatives of the FBI in such areas and have been unable to furnish any information concerning any possible SNCC activities in their respective areas.

X. SNCC LEGAL STATUS

[redacted] Charities Registration Bureau, State of New York, Albany, New York, advised in early March, 1971, that SNCC is not currently registered with such Bureau. The organization, however, was formerly registered with such agency until the registration was cancelled in 1967. At that time, SNCC Headquarters were located at 100 Fifth Avenue, Room 803, New York, New York.

NY 100-147963

The organization has not reregistered since 1967, although several inquiries have been made regarding such registration since 1967.

SNCC, prior to 1966, filed annual reports with the Charities Registration Bureau. In 1966, there was an apparent reorganization and the reports ceased.

According to [redacted], the legal status of the SNCC organization is cancelled and the matter has been referred to the office of the Attorney General for the State of New York for appropriate action.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

[redacted]

[redacted]
June 16, 1970

The name and address, SNCC, 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City 10001, is maintained on the current mailing list of the "Daily World".

[redacted]
June 26 - 27, 1970

The "Daily World" is an east coast communist newspaper.

[redacted]

No Locality

[redacted]
October 6, 1970

December 21, 1970

The BPP has recently made inquiries in the Atlanta, Georgia area, concerning the availability of SNCC offices there seeking to determine if they could be used by the BPP and if the printing processes situated in the SNCC building are still operative.

January 21, 1971

FROM: NATIONAL OFFICE-----STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
360 NELSON ST. SW. ATLANTA, Ga. 30311

TO: ALL SNCC WORKERS AND PROGRAMS

RE: MINUTES OF NATIONAL SNCC WORKERS MEETING /June '70

The following are minutes of the SNCC workers meeting held in Croton, N.Y. the weekend of June 19, 1970. For security reasons, some of the agenda that were discussed are deleted. Muhammad Hunt, presiding;

1. AGRARIAN REFORM

A. 200 acres of property in our hands.

B. option open to take this property or to disband ideas of use.

C. can get funds for program, however program in evaluation stage by organization and funding agency. Analysis and evaluation by funding along lines of production instead of political importance.

D. Suggestion made that any property we engage be in predominantly Black area. (as opposed to hostile white area).

E. It is understood that the program will become self substaining.

F. Program is seen to be a stepping stone for recruiting organizers for SNCC.

2. ATLANTA PROGRAM / NATIONAL OFFICE

A. PRE-LIBERATION SCHOOL

1. set for opening soon
2. problems with bus major setback in program
3. Episcopalian bishop shows aversion to SNCC and SNCC people and blocks funding
4. Program can & will function without funding if necessary

B. ATLANTA'S POLITICAL CLIMATE

Atlanta is somewhat of a problem area because of conflicts in political

views with so-called "Pan Africanists" Carmichael followers and those who follow the king wat of life. This hampers recruiting of new workers and full support from movement people of program.

C. NATIONAL OFFICE
As of this workers meeting every attempt shall be made to re-establish Atlanta as the National Headquarters for SNCC.

3. AUGUSTA PROJECT
A. Duscussion of the history of the project
B. Discussion & clairification of project
1. GI coffee house/propaganda and fund raising
2. two year lease on the bldg. with an additional 2 year option, and an opportunity to build a political base.
3. Entertainment provided twice monthly for fund raising as well as workshops for organizing of GI's.

4. BLACK WOMENS ALLIANCE
A. Discussion of the history of the organization
B. Discussion of objectives:
1. (long range) establish a national organization of radical Black Women.
2. To use The BWA as a recruitment vehucle for SNCC
3. work to end the oppression of Black Women
C. Discussed structure of organization (various committees)
1. Political Education & communications Committee to develop ideology around oppression of Black Women.
2. Women in the labor force: formed to organize Black in labor such as hospital workers, garmet industry, etc.
3. Oppression as women committee: formed to relate to birth control, abortic oppression of women by men and others.
4. Health Committee: formed to relate to health needs of women and drug oppression of women.
5. Family defense fund: formed to raise bail and strike funds for women in need of such.
6. Welfare Committee: formed to deal with welfare rights of women. Note: no approach has been reached as to method of oppression of this committee. No basic ideological stance has been taken on the overall view of welfare as an institution in this country.
D. Chairmen of committee discussed what they felt were the positive aspects of womens program:
1. Women dealing with their own oppression
2. Membership taking an anti-capitalist position
3. Membership on increase, and having regular meetings
4. As projected Black Men and Women should share a one to one relationship in the struggle against the oppression of capatalism, racism, & imperialism.

Note: An extensive discussion was held on the particular aspects of Black Womens oppression in general, and the role of women in SNCC and male supremacy within SNCC itself.

5. THE NATIONAL SNCC NEWSPAPER

A. COMMUNICATIONS

Discussed was the necessities for some forms of communications of ideas and activities with communities, as well as inter organizational.

1. implementation of SNCC newspaper as one means of doing so.
2. paper to increase size to 24 pages in subsequent issues.
3. no pictures of workers in the organization are to be used and printed in the paper.
4. All workers in organization to submit articles of interest to paper from local programs, as well as other news and articles from their communities.
5. Our timetable calls for an independent method of composing newspaper in the next two months.
6. Rules and guidelines established for sale, distribution as well as printing of newspaper. Rules and guidelines to be forwarded by editor.
7. The need for other types of communications apparatus was discussed and extensive discussion insued concerning sale and distribution of newspaper, as well as incentives, profits, etc.

B. PROPOSALS:

Certain concepts and ideas were proposed to be carried out in this endeavor:

1. It was voted upon by a majority that SNCC chapters receive five cents for the selling of each paper on the streets, but none for sales attributed to merchants and bookstores. This will go into effect immediately.
2. Communications should be more discreet by telephone. No discussion by telephone of ideological struggle or other relevant personal or political matters shall be discussed from chapter via the telephone.

6. INTER-NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. The following was discussed and decided:

1. Irving Davis has resigned as head of International affairs. Comrade Davis' status as a worker in the organization shall be decided by the Revolutionary Political Council.
2. International concerns should not be the only task of the director
3. certain criteria and guidelines were called for by the workers in the organization.
4. Historical study shall become the prerequisite for the direction of international affairs.
5. The findings and records of the former director should be turned over to the incoming director and the organization.
6. An analysis of the workings of the United Nations be made and a list of progressive nations be made by the director. Those nations should be symphathetic to our cause of liberation.
7. It was suggested that national affairs (domestic) not be made subordinate to international affairs as had been the practice previousl
8. The Revolutionary Political Council along with the director will decide those details which will dictate autotomy and action. The workers in SNCC will be kept abreast of these decisions.
9. Phil Hutchings was nominated director, pending his leave of absence from the organization at the end of the year. (to date, there has

been no confirmation)

10. Irving Davis, in his travels, has been asked to dis-associate himself with the name of SNCC.

7. PRINTING OPERATION

A. The following was discussed and decided:
1. The printing operation will be moved to another location in the near future because of new and numerous resources opening to us.
2. Stock and supplies will have to be accumulated before the operation can become a free operation (for SNCC to do its printing).

8. REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COUNCIL:

Discussion around the purpose and functions of the R.P.C.
It was decided and stated that:

A.
1. It would make political and ideological decisions
2. carry out ideologically orientated activities and set policy
3. it is to work closely with the Secretariat.

B. MEMBERSHIP
1. The Chairman of the R.P.C. would be elected by the R.P.C.
2. Certain members were to be added as the need arose.
3. Membership would never exceed 1/5 of the membership of the organization as a whole.
4. It was proposed that two members from each chapter be elected to the R.P.C.
5. Ultimately it was decided that the R.P.C., as well as the organization' workers make nominations to the R.P.C. The workers of the organization and the R.P.C. have the right of recall should an individual be deemed detrimental to the R.P.C.

9. RECRUITMENT OF NEW MEMBERS

A. New Workers:
1. requirements shall be developed for membership in the organization
2. New members or candidates for membership should be in accord with SNCC ideology.
3. It was decided that prospective recruits be required to undergo extensive political education.
4. recruits are to be assigned to a local project (on the job training) as a second step
5. Organization of cells be implemented in the development of recruits.
6. Recruiting should not begin until 3 weeks after receiving this workers report.

B. RELATIONSHIP TO PAST MEMBERS:
1. a friendly relationship should be retained whenever and wherever possible.
2. If they intend to return to the organization they must agree and abide by present SNCC policies and guidelines

C. ORGANIZING OF SNCC CADRES AND SNCC CHAPTERS:
1. SNCC cadres shall meet with those groups interested in forming or joining SNCC chapters where there are none.
2. They must judge the feasibility of a SNCC chapter in that area.

3. A SNCC member or cadre will report back to the organization, and stay in the area until the organization is off the ground.

10. FUND RAISING:
   A. Mailing List
      1. selling of materials (posters, etc.)
      2. solicitations
   B. Funding agencies (secondary means)
   C. Speakers Bureau
   D. Distribution of SNCC materials and showing of SNCC and other related films.

11. DISTRIBUTION OF SNCC FUNDS TO LOCAL CHAPTERS:
   A. It was decided that 1/3 of all funds raised would be sent to the National Office, and 2/3 retained by the chapters.

12. FORMATION OF A BLACK POLITICAL PARTY:
   A. SNCC will organize a political party, which will function as;
      1. a mass base for the organization
      2. a buffer insuring SNCC's survival against repression.

13. A LENGTHY DISCUSSION INSUED CONCERNING THE ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE ORGANIZATION
      1. Double Jeapordy, written by the cahirman of the Black Womens Alliance was read and discussed.
      2. An extensive discussion was proposed around the oppression of Black Women at the next national meeting.

14. ASSASSINATION OF CHE AND FEATHERSTONE
      1. A phamplet on Che & Feat herstone and their beliefs, and works be made up by the organization and distributed.
      2. Prospect of future projects named after them was discussed.
      3. The prospects of a book written about SNCC was proposed as well as adopted at this meeting.

15. A REPORT ON BROTHER RAP
   A statement of policy concerning the whereabouts of Bro. Rap was read and is to be published in the newspaper.

16. SNCC's RELATIONSHIP TO THIRD WORLD WORKERS:
   A. The head of the workers program promised to promote the participation of their wives in the Black Womens Alliance.
   B. It was suggested that workers only organize workers
   C. It was suggested that SNCC organize in Newark since there is a visable and viable attempt to organize on a revolutionary basis there.

17. SNCC RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:
   A. Relationship with other organizations was to be decided upon by the R.P.C.
   B. SNCC chapters have autonomy on a local level

18. GUIDELINES AND MORAL CODES OF SNCC:
   A. The R.P.C. will draw up the guidelines of moral conduct in the form of a revolutionary morality.

19. NEW PROGRAMS:
   A. The institution of a SNCC research Dept. was proposed and passed.
   B. Discussion was made concerning the organization of high school and college students. The conclusion arrived at was that it was more feasible to organize high school students through those already existing high school organizations.
   C. SNCC's objective is to develop a base in the south. Agrarian Reform, student organizing, work with industrial workers as well as other programs shall be oriented towards this end.

20. ELECTION OF OFFICERS:
   A. It was established that the present membership of the R.P.C. and the Secretariat would be retained, but that other members of the organization would be added to their roles.
   B. The chairman of the Secretariat was designated as Terry Ardrey, for the coming Year. This was voted upon by the members of the Secretariat.
   C. Two members were added to the role of the R.P.C.; Fran Beal, & Bruce Allison.
   D. Scrooge is directed to initiate a base and chapter in his native Houston, Texas.

AGENDA OF THE NATIONAL SNCC WORKERS MEETING COMPLETED: AND ADJOURNED

STUDENT NA[illegible]ONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
3[illegible] [illegible]est 20th Street
Ne[illegible] York, New York

May 25, 1970

Dear SNCC Worker

We are very pleased to inform you of the establishment (by the SNCC Propaganda Network), of our National SNCC Newspaper, which will be published monthly out of New York. Included in this package is a copy of the newspaper. Improvements will be made with each edition. This edition we published 3,000 copies of an 8 pager; the next edition to be published in June-July will be a 12 pager, and 4,000 copies. Other improvements will be made including widening the field of reporting, having various individuals or organizations write a particular article consistant with our ideology, national news and issues etc. After the newspaper came out we held a critique of it with the workers in New York.

This is another step forward in our struggle to re-organize and re-juvinate ourselves for the inevitable siezing of state power. In conjunction with informing you of establishment of our official ideological news organ, we would also like to request the following: 1) If you have news you feel is relevant and beneficial to the masses of our People, please send it to R. Jackson, 346 W. 20th St. New York, N.Y. 10011. Articles should be in by the first of every month. 2) the number of National SNCC newspapers you feel you will be able to sell. Please return all monies to the Newspaper workers to facilitate putting out the next edition. Monies should be strictly accounted for in order to allow us to build an efficient apparatus, and the necessary revenue, so that in the future we can make certain concessions to you, in your area. 3) If you have any criticism concerning improvement of our Ideological-News Organ, please inform us. Only through constructive criticism can we destroy the old and improve the new.

We Will Move Forward Together!

Revolution!

Muhammad Hunt
Muhammad Hunt
Chairman R.P.C.

Ron Jackson
Ron Jackson
Editor - Propaganda Head

N.Y.

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
346 West 20th Street, New York, New York 10011

Dear Comrade:

To make sure our annual SNCC workers meeting is productive and streamlines, we are requesting that you submit to the New York office, a list of those items which you feel are most important and must be discussed in your area concerning any aspect of the organization.

The dateline set for June 1, 1970, is in order for us to prepare a forum for you in which to air your opinions, suggestions, etc. If your agenda is not in by this date, you may have little opportunity in which to present position papers, opinions, etc. at the SNCC workers meeting because there is a tremendous amount of work and discussion, decisions to be made, etc. and time and space are very limited.

The Meeting will take place June 19 - 21, 1970 in the New York City area and you should start making arrangements to procure money for your trip. At this time we haven't money for this expense.

Please submit your suggestions and agendas to:

M. Hunt
346 West 20th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011
(212) WA 9-2390

Please submit for the agenda only those items which you feel are of UTMOST importance in order not to consume too much time. THANKS!!

Yours in struggle,

Muhammad

Muhammad Hunt
Chairman, R.P.C.

P.S. Please let us know as soon as possible how many people will be attending the meeting from your area so we can arrange accomodations.

[illegible] COMMITTEE

[illegible] West [illegible] Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

Dear Comrades:

During the weeks of April 5th and April [illegible], 1970 of the National [illegible] workers meeting, one of the main things discussed and decided upon at this meeting was disciplinary action to be taken against Comrade [illegible] Irving Davis for violation of amendments and guidelines approved at the [illegible] workers meeting of November 10, 19[illegible].

The following six charges were brought against Comrade Davis:

(1) Violation of amendment #1 Political
--Total disrespect for guidelines presently approved and established by the [illegible] and the workers within the organization. Eg. getting the organization involved in the [illegible] without initially consulting and receiving the approval of the workers and the RPC until the program was initiated.

(2) Violation of amendments #2 (pol) and #2 (Rev. Morality)
--Attempting to take over the organization and disbanding its present structure during the week of March 9, 1970.

(3) Violation of amendments #6, #10, # 2
-- Deciding against what was originally planned in our conversation with Mr. [illegible], and pursuing your own ambitions, in making accusations that not only endangered Bob Smith, Herb Callender, and [illegible], but also came close to getting Bro. Monroe Head assassinated, not to mention the numberous threats as a result of your unproven accusations.

(4) -- Making accusations openly that Bro. Monroe Head is a police agent.

(5) Violations of amendments #6(political) abd #1 (Rev. Morality)
-- making unproven accussations to the effect that Chairman Rap conspired with others to embeezle over $2000 of the organization's money in an open meeting.

(6) Violation of amendment #1 (Rev. Morality)
Outright disrespect and contempt for certain members of the organization who disagree with your tactics, attitude, etc, including Fran[illegible], Ron Jackson, Terry Ardrey, Chairman Rap, Lynne Brown, Muhammad Hunt, etc.

ALL NY

After charges were brought up against Comrade Davis and witnesses [illegible] substantiated enough evidence necessary to bring charges against him, [illegible] then proceeded to inform him of the charges pending against him and to allow him the right to set up a hearing to decide whether (1) the evidence was substantial, (2) whether the evidence was factual, (3) whether witnesses were available to make testimony at the hearing and (4) to decide whether disciplinary action will be taken if any.

At the hearing, Comrade Davis denied the charges and requested that charges be dropped, (10 because of insufficient evidence, and (2) that he was not guilty of the charges being brought against him.

It was voted at the hearing to temporarily suspend all charges pending against him until the annual SNCC workers meeting in June. Comrade Davis will continue to function as head of International Affairs and the Pittsburgh project until the matter is resolved at the June worker's meeting.

Yours in struggle,

Muhammad Hunt
Muhammad Hunt
Chairman, RPC

Frances Beal
Frances Beal
Chairman, Secretariat

May 8, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All SNCC Workers RE: Communications & Work

FROM: Frances Beal DATE: October 9, 1970
New York Coordinator

We realize that you all must be completely bogged down with your individual activities and working night and day to bring about a new world. This is the only conclusion that we are able to come to NOT HAVING HEARD ONE WORD FROM MOST OF YOU IN THE PAST FOUR MONTHS.

Be that as it may, we would like each of you to stop in the middle of whatever you are doing and take pen in hand and write a short summary of your activities and what is going on in your localities. This report should be sent to Muhammad Hunt in Atlanta immediately.

The New York office has been functioning as the communications headquarters for the organization and has been working towards establishing a network under the leadership of Don Jackson. A record has been made of Rap's last public speech with Leon Thomas doing background music (It's bad, too). Julius Lester is writing the cover notes and the record should be out next month. We have had lots of compliments on the newspaper from various quarters but the distribution apparatus is SHIT. The local chapters have been outrageou lazy and slack about doing anything about contributing articles, suggestions, etc. or putting in the necessary time and energy to see that the paper is distributed in their communities. Those who did receive $$, found other uses for the money (rent, food or whatever). How is the newpaper to operate withou getting back at least what we lay out to get the damned thing printed?? You could recruit some young brothers and sisters who don't have any source of income to sell the paper. They can keep 10¢ for each copy they sell and send 15¢ to the New York office. If they sell 50 copies a day, they can make 25 dollars a week. (You see, we relate to the needs of the people - we create jobs!) Once you set up your corps of workers, all you have to do is keep track of how many papers they take, tally what they sell and voila it's done.

The Third World Women's Alliance is growing every day. We now have 150 active members who are engaged in all sorts of community activities as well as a weekly political education and/or conscious raising meeting. Both SNCC and The Third Wld. Wms All. are very busy organizing a mass march and rally in support of Third World liberation struggles and to show our resistance to the war of aggression that the U.S. is waging in Southeast Asia. This march and rally will take place in Harlem on November 1st and will include Asians-Americ Afro-Americans and Latin-Americans. We have formed an ad hoc group for this purpose (Third World United Front) and we have been busy contacting churches, unions, students, women, community people, etc. for this action.

What's going on in your community? What have you been doing? The Augus project is beginning to really take shape and it looks like we have a winner o our hands for a change. The Atlanta office is beginning to function and Muhar has recruited a cadre to carry out the programs discussed at the last worker's meeting. We need you to make the newspaper a success. We want each local chapter and/or individual to send in at least one news article a month. How about it. Are we for real, or are we still shucking and jiving?

Re: EVALUATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE AND ATLANTA PROJECT BY MUHAMMAD HUNT, ACTING HEAD-REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COUNCIL (JULY 12th 1970)

To date the Atlanta Office which is the National Headquarters, is A-functional in terms of the projects that are earmarked for it. Prior to my visit no one had been in the office on a daily or weekly basis. The office was very basically in the same condition Bob Smith had left it in, which was shambles to say the least. Terry (Ardrey) was unable to make contact with any of the people concerning the school until the week of my arrival (July 5th. '70). The bus (for the school) was in the hands of the "we are an African people" people (Stanly Wise, Wm. Porter, Cynthia W ashington, and the like) until the week of my return to N.Y. Before we are funded we must attempt a hook-up with the Martin Luther King pre-liberation school. If this fails, a particular person will request emergency funding for us, but only after an attempt has been made to hook-up with the MLK pre school.The bus is now in our (SNCC) hands. Mail was stacked up to unbelievable proportions in the office until we finally and throughly examined it (approx. 13 bags). At the time of my visit Terry had not organized a workers cadre in the Nat. office. However, on the day of my departure he informed me he had hooked up with 4 people whom he was going to train to become workers in the office. Some work could have been completed and did not require help to a large degree. This could have been accomplished with some initiative on the part of Terry.(exam: cleaning of the office bldg.) It was reported by two people that Naomi Hudson would often go by the office and pick up contributions sent in by donees & cash them for her self. This has some validity because of her role in attempting to change the account of "home in the south" and

withdrawing funds for her self and others. She has had a history of being dishonest. She was also fired by B ob Smith for the same reasons.

SOMEONE HAS STOLEN THE FOLLOWING FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICE WITHIN THE LAST SIX WEEKS:

1 gestner mimoe machine ($500. 00)

1 electric range (for the kitchen)

1 refrigerator

1 sink

1 verityper or justifier

and other material not accounted for.

Willie Ricks, and the people at the MLK institute are suspects.

I (M.Hunt) will take over implementing the organizers taqining school. A tremeddous amount of resources already exist for the project in the Atlanta office. In summary, the potential for organizing in Atlanta (which will probably be our biggest "problem" in organizing in the South) is tremendous & largely depends on how Terry organizes.

TO: All SNCC Workers

From: Muhammad Hunt
Acting-Chairman
R.P.C.

August 13th. 1970

Brothers & Sisters in the struggle!

In our efforts to further streamline the organization, it is imperative that we destroy ALL vestiges & remnants of certain bourgeois ideas, attitudes, & behavorial patterns of certain individuals within the organization.

Reactionary ideas & attitudes in the past has lead to a steady decline of the tremendous potential of people within the organization. It must be very clearly understood by those workers within the organization that we are in the process of rebuilding the organization, and any acts we interpret as being detrimental to the organization will be dealt with according to the severity of the crime against us. This also applies to old & ex-SNCC personel.

Our record over the past year speaks for itself. We will no longer tolerate any form of behavior that is anti-revolutionary.
....Henceforth, punishment for violation of our ideology, beliefs, & positions is criticism and self criticism....

We will expell (or ask them to resign) only those "old" SNCC workers whom we feel are beyond help after much work and criticism!

....SO, from time to time you will be informed of the disciplinary action taken against certain workers who are in violation of our ideology, those persons whom we ask to "resign", & other actions that will make for a more progressive , grass roots, and vanguard organization!

LOVE & REVOLUTION!

Muhammad Hunt
Acting - Chairman
Revolutionary Political
Council

Muhammad Hunt

Because of extensive duties with the All African Peoples Union (AAPU) and a number of other commitments, Brother Dan Aldridge will devote his full time and energies to these tasks. His resignation becomes effective as of August 5, 1970.

No LOC.

Judy Sullivan is no longer working with the organization.

Henceforth, all organizational communications, etc, should cease to the above. However, we request that a friendly, cooperative attitude be taken towards these former workers.

We are please to announce the addition to our workers staff the following:

BrotherCharles Broadnax - from California now working in New York

Brother Bill Coleman - a school teacher in Atlanta.

Cecil Carter - from New York now working in the national office in Atlanta. Ga.

Father Danny Brown - from Atlanta, now working in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Brother Scrooge has been transferred to Houston and has been mandated to set up a SNCC chapter there.

Jimmy Lytle has been removed from the Augusta Project and been instructed to return to Atlanta to set up an Audio-Visual Apparatus. Ga.

Mae Jackson has been appointed Finance Officer of the New York operation.

Ga.

TO: SNCC workers engaged in any form of activity

FROM: The Revolutionary Political Council August 13, 1970

Re; required reading list

x = priority reading

Dear comrades:

inclosed in the following package you will find the SNCC reading list. The books, phamplets, position papers, etc. with an "x" before them indicates priority reading. This reading material is a requirement in order for us to move ahead on the same level. The list is by no means complete. What we urgently suggest is that you and your cadre devote at least one day per week to a work -study group where by you would read, discuss, analyze, and apply the relevant subject matter in this reading material.

If you have certain reading materials you feel should be placed on the required reading list, please do not hesitate to inform the R.PC. For convience, please enclude a copy of the suggested reading material in your letter.

LOVE & REVOLUTION!

Muhammad Hunt

Muhammad Hunt
Acting - Chairman
Revolutionary Political
Council

SNCC REQUIRED READING LIST *

XX GUERILLA WAREFARE & MARXISM
By Wm. J. Pomeroy

XX VIET NAM WILL WIN
by Wilfred Burchette

X DIE NIGGER DIE
by H.Rap Brown

XX HIGH TIDE OF BLACK RESISSTENCE
by James Forman

X The TANU creed
by Julius Nyrerre

The ARUSHA DECLARATION ------and other documents
by Julius Nyrerre

X SPEECHES, POSITION PAPERS, ETC. ;
Forman
Carmacheal (pre-1967)
Phil Hutchings
H. Rap Brown
John Lewis
James Boggs
Malcolm X
M.L. King
Fran Beal

XX RACISM & CLASS STRUGGLE
by James Boggs

X SOCIALISM AND MAN IN CUBA
by Earnesto Che Guevara

XX HO CHI MINH ON REVOLUTION
by Ho chi Minh

XX REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLUTION
by R. Debray

The LIBERATION OF GUINEA
by Basil Davudson

X SELECTED POLITICAL & MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSE TUNG
by Mao Tse Tung

RED STAR OVER CHINA
by Edgar Snow

X The AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X
by Malcolm X

XX The MILITARY WRITINGS OF SUN TZU (or any other materials)
by Sun Tzu

XX WAR OF THE FLEA
by Robert taber

XX GUERRILLA WARFARE
by Che Guevara

XX Various books on the labo struggle in the early 19th. and 20th. centuries

X MALCOLM X SPEAKS
published by Grove Press

X BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER
by Lerone Bennet jr.

OUR WORLD IN AFRICA
by W.E.B. Dubios

X THE RICH AND THE SUPER R
(author unknown)

XX SEX AND RACE
by James Rodgers

The POLITICAL THOUGHTS O
BEN BARKA
by Ben Barka

XX VIET CONG
by Douglas Pike

HISTORY WILL ABSOLVE ME
by Fidel Castro

XX VARIOUS WORKS BY LENIN

X RIOT CONTROL & MATERIEL
by Applegate

*[illegible] complete

1. APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A confidential source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was National Chairman during the period of 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of the black people in the United States. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

A second confidential source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its National Headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced that the organization was dropping the word "nonviolent" from its title and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for BROWN on May 14, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting to riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (cont'd)

A third confidential source advised that as of May, 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffee house" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate anti-establishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an agrarian reform program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

APPENDIX

1

LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS
Also known as
Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM)

A source advised on April 22, 1970, that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW) is a black extremist labor union, with headquarters at 179 Cortland, Highland Park, Michigan, in the greater Detroit metropolitan area. Source advised that the LRBW is attempting to oust the United Auto Workers (UAW) from their position as bargaining representative for black workers in the Detroit area automotive plants. Source advised that the LRBW has used threats of violence against both black and white supervisory personnel and UAW leaders in an attempt to intimidate them into an agreement with LRBW demands. The LRBW has referred to the automotive industry and the UAW as "racist".

A second source advised that membership in the LRBW is limited to Negroes only, by virtue of the LRBW constitution which states "membership is denied to all honkies due to the fact that said honkey has been the historic enemy, betrayer and exploiter of black people." Membership in the LRBW is less than 25 persons.

The second source also stated that the LRBW had suborganizations operating at Ford Motor Company which was known as the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM) and Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant (ELRUM) as well as other assembling and supplying plants, but that at the present the LRBW is active only at the Dodge Main Assembly Plant in Hamtramck, Michigan. This suborganization is known as Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). The other suborganizations are now defunct.

APPENDIX

2

The official publication of the LRBW is the "Inner City Voice".

1.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

2. APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (cont'd)

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is... by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the United States of America.

FD-263 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
MAY 10 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-439190
NYfile 100-147963

Title Student National Coordinating Committee

Character Racial Matters

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	8/11/71	5/10/71 - 8/10/71	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE		[redacted]		lwt
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		RM		

REFERENCE:

New York report of SA [redacted] dated 5/10/71. 2231

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a report relating to the activities of the captioned group.

The SNCC organization continues to maintain an office, which is shared with other groups, at 346 West 20th Street, New York, New York. Such office is located in the Parish Hall of St. Peter's Episcopal Church.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					☐ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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COPIES CONTINUED COVER PAGE B
3- New York (100-147963)

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100-439190-2249 REC-74

SI-112

AUG 16 1971

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NY 100-147963

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1- Jacksonville (Info) (RM)

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D:

As disclosed within the SNCC organization, is involved in the planning of various activities. Previously reported plans of the SNCC organization to initiate guerrilla warfare training in the South have apparently been cancelled or postponed as a result of SNCC's poor financial position.

As a practical matter, the only cities which maintain even a semblance of organizational activity are Atlanta and New York. Plans, however, call for increasing SNCC activities in other cities in the United States and efforts to effect such plans will be fully reported.

SNCC again reiterated previous plans to move the National Headquarters of the organization from New York City to Atlanta, Georgia.

During June, 1971 Special Agents and of the New York Office contacted

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D:

SNCC newsletter "National SNCC." [redacted] advised he was not publishing such periodical.

Previously New York suggested that a photo surveillance of SNCC Headquarters at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, New York City, might be productive.

However, upon re-examination of such location the photo surveillance was deemed impractical and the estimation of anticipated results not commensurate with the efforts expended. The photo equipment would be approximately one block from the Headquarters due to parking regulations. Additionally, the surveillance would be of limited value and productivity since, according to the church secretary, (contacted under pretext) SNCC functionaries rarely visit the premises except for MUHAMMAD HUNT, who collects the accumulated SNCC mail at the church on an occasional basis. Furthermore, the difficulty of determining legitimate church visitors from SNCC visitors, through subsequent investigation, could result in disclosure of FBI observation of church premises with resultant problems. In view of the above, it would not appear that a photo surveillance of the premises is not warranted at the present time and no efforts are being made in this direction.

Information copies have been designated for various offices insofar as the SNCC organization has alleged that it is organizing or attempting to organize SNCC chapters within such divisions.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	100-147963, 4542, 4543, 4567
[redacted]	100-147963, 4543, 4579
[redacted]	100-147963, 4522, 4547, 4544, 4558

INFORMANTS CONT'D:

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located
[redacted]	100-147963, 4525, 4579
[redacted]	100-147963, 4553
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-147963, 4545

The informants referred to within as having been contacted relative to SNCC activity in the New York City area are identified as follows:

[redacted] [redacted]

The enclosed report is classified confidential as it contains information from NY T-1 through NY T-8, disclosure of whose identity might have an adverse effect upon the national security interest of the United States.

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. 1. Will follow and report on the activities of the SNCC organization in 90 days.

2. Will, through contact with New York informants and through appropriate investigation, attempt to verify the removal of SNCC National Headquarters from New York City to Atlanta during August, 1971.

NY 100-147963

LEADS CONT'D:

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will, through appropriate investigation, verify the removal of SNCC National Headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia from New York City.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1- Secret Service, New York City (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: New York, New York
Date: 8/11/71

Field Office File #: 100-147963 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC occupies office space at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th Street, New York City, which serves as the National Headquarters of SNCC. [redacted]

[redacted] The SNCC organization has allegedly initiated organizing efforts in various cities with a view toward increasing the size of the SNCC organization. [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY 6049
ON 6/18/72
PC/kev

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NY 100-147963

SYNOPSIS CONT'D:

[redacted] Previous plans for establishing bases for guerrilla warfare training have been postponed or cancelled as a result of SNCC's poor financial condition. SNCC's total estimated worth is believed to be less than $1,000. [redacted]

\- P -

NY 100-147963

DETAILS

I. LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization had advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of Government in the United States.

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT of New York SNCC, his wife BARBARA HUNT and their infant daughter are scheduled to depart New York and head the Atlanta, Georgia, SNCC Chapter with the purpose of reestablishing SNCC in that city. HUNT intended to depart New York "pretty soon," but no firm date has been decided upon.

June 2, 1971

July 22, 1971

MUHAMMAD HUNT was designated to be the coordinator of the National Office and was instructed to effect the move of the office from 346 West 20th Street, New York, New York, to Atlanta, Georgia, on or before September 1, 1971.

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

Currently there are only two national officers of SNCC. They are MUHAMMAD HUNT, who is the National Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC), the top governing body of SNCC, and FRANCES BEAL, the National Political Education Officer.

The RPC continues to exist and presumably its members remain the same as in the past, although no official announcement was made to that effect at the National SNCC Meeting.

July 20-22, 1971

GA

G.P.

July 22, 1971

III. SNCC CHAPTERS

WILLIAM HUNT traveled to Chicago on May 16, 1971, with the intention of meeting with individuals from the Chicago area and discussing various aspects of the SNCC organization with such individuals.

May 18, 1971

A new SNCC Chapter in Chicago has been initiated by HUNT and will be devoted to political education and the sale of the "National SNCC" newspaper.

Efforts to establish additional SNCC Chapters are currently underway in Tulsa, Oklahoma; San Antonio, Texas; Trenton, New Jersey; Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D. C.; and Gainsville, Florida.

May 24, 1971

SNCC currently has no active programs presently operating in the Atlanta, Georgia, area, and no attempt to move National Headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia, would be successful inasmuch as SNCC appears to have lost control of its old office in Atlanta at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

May 21, 1971

June 3, 1971

HUNT recently stated that efforts were currently being made to establish new SNCC Chapters in Baltimore, Maryland; Oklahoma; Texas; Florida; Washington, D. C.; and Chicago, Illinois.

June 14, 1971

The Cincinnati SNCC Chapter received shipments of the "National SNCC," a newsletter published by SNCC in New York City in June and July, 1970, and January, 1971. Since such time no additional shipments of the paper have been received for sale in the Cincinnati area. Most of those papers previously delivered to Cincinnati were never sold.

The Cincinnati SNCC Cadre has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated an effective group since June 1, 1969. There is still some interest in the area but participation in SNCC activities has been limited to a few of the local leaders and/or members as a result of personal contact with the National SNCC Organization.

June 14 and 16, 1971

SNCC currently has no Chapter in Detroit, Michigan, and no plans are known at present by the SNCC organization to initiate activity in such area.

June 18, 1971

C. P. MEMBER

July 20, 1971

IV. SNCC PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

A. SNCC NEWSPAPER

The

newspaper was initially published in June, 1970, following six months of intensive efforts working towards such publication. The two-fold purpose of the paper is namely: (1) Communications with other organizations and people to let them know what is happening around the country in terms of black people and (2) To articulate the mass line of the SNCC organization. The mass line is simply the political ideology and the policy of SNCC on a national level.

The paper is published once a month and consists of 16 pages and 4,000 copies per issue. Plans envision the newspaper expanding to 24 pages per issue within the next year and increasing production to between 10,000 and 12,000 copies per issue. The cost of the paper is approximately $365 for each 4,000 copies. The paper sells for $.25 a copy. He noted that National SNCC has encountered financial difficulty because many of the people who sell the papers are not sending the money in or else they send the money in late. Consequently in the future, papers must be paid for prior to their shipment to the various SNCC Chapters.

July 20-22, 1971

SNCC intends to maintain a reserve fund of $500 to insure and secure publication of the monthly "National SNCC." Bimonthly reports from each SNCC Chapter will be mandatory to insure the national scope of the newspaper. All SNCC newspapers sent to the Chapters are to be paid for in advance.

July 22, 1971

B. BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

[redacted] July 20-22, 1971

C. REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZATION (RYO)

The RYO, as envisioned by SNCC, intends to organize high school drop-outs as well as students 22 years of age and under an will function as the youth arm of the SNCC organization. Organizational efforts to initiate the RYO will be concentrated at the present time in New York, New York, and if successful, efforts thereafter will be made to establish similar RYO groups in other parts of the United States. GEORGE LOVE, also known as Fidel, from New York City, has been designated to head the RYO Program.

[redacted] July 20-22, 1971

July 22, 1971

E. STREET DEMONSTRATION

On May 1, 1971, SNCC co-sponsored in cooperation with various other New York City organizations a march in New York City and rally on West 127th Street between 7th and 8th Avenues. The rally was in honor of May Day and representatives of each of the ten participating organizations, including SNCC, spoke to those assembled. The entire affair lasted about five hours concluding at 5:00 PM, May 1, 1971.

May 3 and 4, 1971

V.

July 2, 1971

July 22, 1971

VI. RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER GROUPS

A. THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)

She described the TWWA as an organization of black and third world women dedicated to eradicating sexism, male chauvinism and strengthening the role of the woman in the struggle.

July 22, 1971

B. UNITED BLACK WORKERS (UBW)

The UBW is a group of auto workers at the Ford Plant in a town in New Jersey

MONROE HEAD is organizing the UBW around SNCC philosophy. SNCC is cooperating with the UBW, according to HUNT, since the UBW has a tremendous number of valuable contacts and since UBW is willing to assist SNCC in any project relating to the black community. HUNT hopes to eventually generate the

formation of a political party as a result of this alliance.

July 22, 1971

C. INTERNATIONAL BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

May 24, 1971

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

WILLIAM LA TRAIN, a SNCC leader, met with DANNY BROWN in Gary, Indiana, in May, 1971. BROWN, who has also been associated with the SNCC leadership in New York City, is currently working as a full-time organizer for the IBWC in Gary.

VII. GUERRILLA TRAINING

June 8, 1971

May 24, 1971

VIII.

July 22, 1971

IX. SNCC FINANCES

The original contract for the eventual purchase of 200 acres of land by SNCC in vicinity of Kyles Ford, Tennessee, has fallen through [redacted] Such default appears to be the result of a lack of funds available to SNCC.

The New York City Cadre is currently handling details relative to the sale of a phonograph record containing speeches of former SNCC National Chairman H. RAP BROWN. Considerable difficulty is being met in securing revenue from the record company which produced such album.

[redacted] May 24, 1971

SNCC has secured committments to reproduce additional speeches of H. RAP BROWN for subsequent commercial sale. SNCC is currently attempting to reduce certain of BROWN's tapes and speeches to printed material and publish such in New York. The purpose of such efforts is to raise funds for SNCC and keep BROWN's name alive.

[redacted] June 2, 1971

[redacted] July 20, 1971

X. MISCELLANEOUS

Augusta, Georgia, attorney ISSAC JOLICE, who has filed a law suit on SNCC's behalf against the owner of the premises in which the defunct Third Eye Luncheon was formerly located in Augusta, Georgia, has requested a meeting with SNCC leaders to review details concerning such suit. JOLICE is seeking such a meeting in order to file for a court date regarding the matter.

June 14, 1971

July 22, 1971

A. INFORMANTS

During May, June, and July, 1971, various confidential sources of the New York Office familiar to some extent with black nationalist and/or black militant organizations were contacted but were unable to provide any additional information concerning the SNCC organization.

Dear Brother or Sister:

We are writing this letter to inform you that we feel there are still those individuals around the country who consider themselves a part of SNCC, but who have failed to take part in the re-organization and the new direction we have set. At this national cadre meeting, we must clarify our respective positions so that there is no confusion.

Please read the enclosed letter sent to the national cadres very carefully and let us know if you are willing to work on SNCC program and are willing to commit yourself to developing the organization and the programs that we set for ourselves.

The criteria for membership in SNCC must be based on work. Past involvement in the organization is no longer sufficient. If we did not take this position, then Stokely Carmichael, John Lewis and Theodore Bikel could claim membership because they once belonged to the organization, but are presently not involved.

Please let us know your decision as soon as possible.

I remain,

sincerely yours,

Muhammad

Muhammad Hunt

Chairman: Revolutionary Political Council

FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	11/18/71	8/12/71 - 11/12/71

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	ems
	CHARACTER OF CASE: EM	

REFERENCE:

NY report of SA [redacted] dated 8/11/71. 2249
Cincinnati airtel and LHM to Bureau, 11/11/71. 100-439190-10-186

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Information copies are being furnished to offices so indicated because of their past interest in this matter Since no information has been developed concerning SNCC since referenced report only reports containing positive information will be submitted to aforementioned offices in the future.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						☐ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO
								PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-439190-2255

REC-104

16 NOV 22 1971

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ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

Information concerning SNCC set forth in Cincinnatti airtel and LHM, to Bureau dated 11/11/71 and classified "Secret" is not being included in this report in that it is vague, unsubstantiated [redacted]

New York feels that to report the alleged activities of these individuals as being representatives of the SNCC organization in New York would be a gross distortion of the facts and would in effect give the indication that an organization as such exists when there is no proof of that at NYC at this time. For example to report in one paragraph as stated by [redacted] that."...the 'Black News' is described as a publication with 60,000 circulation", and then in the next paragraph have [redacted] stated on 11/15/71, that "The 'Black News' has never published more than 1,500 copies in any month that has been published would boggle the mind of the reader.

New York will attempt to substantiate other information set forth by [redacted] concerning SNCC activities with New York sources so that apparently contradictory statements do not appear in subsequent reports.

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS:

The "several confidential sources" mentioned in report are:

This report is not classified in any degree inasmuch as information furnished by sources mentioned therein does not in any way tend to reveal their identities.

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will report on future SNCC activities both local and national.

NY 100-147963

NON SYMBOL INFORMANT ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

CAUTION: NOT TO BE DISSEMINATED TO RESIDENCE AGENTS, DETACH.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-US Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: New York, New York
Date: 11/18/71

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:

EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC occupies office space at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th Street, NYC, which serves as the National Headquarters of that organization. Several confidential sources who are familiar with some aspects of extremist activities in the NYC area advised they could furnish no information re SNCC. A representative of [redacted] [redacted] advised there was no information available concerning SNCC activities in NYC.

\- P -

DETAILS:

I. LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of Civil Rights activity in the South. The organization had advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

On November 11, 1971 a confidential source who is in a position to furnish unique information advised that as of that date the National Headquarters of SNCC was located at 346 West 20th Street, New York City. This is space which has been denoted to SNCC by St. Peter's Episcopal Church free of charge as part of community improvement project.

This source advised that the above mentioned space is rarely utilized by SNCC other than as a place to pick up mail.

II. SNCC ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK CITY AND IN AREAS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK CITY

During the period of August 12, 1971 until November 12, 1971 several confidential sources who are familiar with some phases of extremist activities in the New York City area as well as areas outside of New York City advised that there were no known activities of SNCC during that time.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

On November 12, 1971 a representative of [redacted] advised that they could report no instances of any SNCC activities in New York City during the period of August through November, 1971.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
November 18, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 100-439190
NYfile 100-147963

Title Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Character Extremist Matter

Reference is made to New York report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Rev. 1-7-72)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	DEC 29 1972	5/16/72 - 12/5/72	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE		[redacted]		kk
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		EM		

GENERAL

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted] dated 5/25/72.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

Information copies are being furnished to offices so indicated in view of the fact that information set out in attached report indicates that the SNCC organization is active or plans to be active in their division.

The following persons or organizations mentioned in attached report have been subjects of investigation by the NYO:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				☐ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

APPROVED JFM SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

8- Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
1- Secret Service, NYC (RM)
1- Atlanta (100-6488)(INFO)(RM)
1- Cincinnati (157-5346)(INFO)(RM)
1- Houston (INFO)(RM)
1- Oklahoma (INFO)(RM)
3- New York (100-147963)

100-439190-2275 REC-89

EST-117

1 JAN 4 1973

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	2-150	1-SS		
Request Recd.		266		
Date Fwd.	9 JAN 26 1973			
How Fwd.	R/S		1cc	914 AB
By			3cc	dest

Notations

EXT. INT. SEC.

DOC. CLASS.

-A-

COVER PAGE

ADMINISTRATIVE (cont'd)

Third World Women's Alliance
Black Workers Congress

NY

In reference to SNCC activities in the NYC area, it is to be noted that there has been no record of SNCC participating in any type of demonstrations within the NY area since last referenced report submitted.

Numerous attempts have been made by the NYO to contact WILLIAM HUNT at the SNCC Office since May, 1972. HUNT was never located nor was the SNCC Office ever found open.

The NYO has attempted to direct sources into SNCC but has been unable to do so due to the fact that the SNCC Office can never be found open.

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source		File Number Where Located
[redacted]		Verification of SNCC Office 100-147963-4758
[redacted]		100-147963-4741 -4754 -4762 -4754 -4722 -4728 -4735 -4741 -4746
		[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of TWWA	100-147963-4752 -4753 -4714
		[redacted]
		100-147963-4752 -4752 4729
		[redacted]
		100-147963-4729
[redacted]		100-4725 p 19

Negative Informant Checks

The following confidential sources of the Detroit Office, who advised that there are no SNCC activities in the Detroit, Michigan area are:

INFORMANTS (cont'd)

Negative Informant Checks

Confidential sources of the Tampa Office contacted during June and July, 1972 and who could furnish no information on SNCC activities in the Tampa area are:

Confidential sources of the NYO contacted during October and November, 1972 and who could furnish no information on SNCC activities in the NYC area are:

Attached report is classified "Confidential" because of information submitted by NY T-2 through NY T-5, the unauthorized disclosure of this information could identify the sources and thereby prove prejudicial to the national defense interest of the US.

LEADS

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Through sources, will attempt to determine SNCC activities and report same.

2. Will follow and report on SNCC activities for six months.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1- Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: New York, New York
Date: DEC 29 1972

Field Office File #: 100-147963 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis: SNCC National Office, NYC located in basement of 336 West 20th Street, NYC, NY, which property is owned by St. Peter's Episocpal Church with business office at 346 West 20th Street, NYC. WILLIAM HUNT, National SNCC leader currently in dispute with other SNCC leaders. SNCC meeting to be held latter part of December, 1972 attended by SNCC leaders throughout the US for the purpose of re-organizing SNCC and removing WILLIAM HUNT as National SNCC leader.

-P-

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855
ON 12/1/77 DAW/GSK

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Class 12/6/77 DATE 5/20/77 TJS

DETAILS

I. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE AND OTHER OFFICES OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960, during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization has advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States. SNCC National Headquarters is located in New York City.

Classified by 6209
Exempt from GDS, Category II
Date of Declassification Indefinite

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON INDEFINITE

On November 22, 1972 [redacted] advised that the SNCC office continues to be located in the basement of said church with entrance at 336 West 20th Street, New York City, New York. She stated that WILLIAM HUNT is in charge of the office. (Unclassified)(U).

[redacted] stated that the SNCC Office does not have a telephone [redacted] She stated that she has not seen WILLIAM HUNT for a few months and all persons who call for HUNT are told that he is out-of-town and that the office is closed [redacted] stated that the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA) Office uses the SNCC office for meetings. (U)

TWWA

[redacted] She said the TWWA was working out an alliance with SNCC and that the TWWA is actually an organization of black and third world women dedicated to eradicating sexism, male chauvinism and strengthening the role of women in the sturggle.

July 22, 1971

SNCC continues to have an office in the basement of 336 West 20th Street, New York City and WILLIAM HUNT is in charge of the office.

The TWWA, under the leadership of FRANCES BEAL also uses this office for meetings every Saturday morning.

November 30, 1972
(U)

NY 100-147963

SNCC Members at New York City

FRANCES BEAL and BARBARA HUNT both members of SNCC in New York City have resigned from that organization because of disputes with WILLIAM HUNT. (~~Confidential~~)(X) U

October 3, 1972

CHARLES BROADNAX is a current member of SNCC at New York. (C)

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

November 10, 1972

RON JACKSON is a SNCC member at New York City. (X) U

November 20, 1972

WILLIAM HUNT apparently has made everyone in New York resign from SNCC except RON JACKSON and FIDEL (GEORGE LOVE). HUNT has made himself unavailable for any personal comments concerning his actions during the past six months. (X) U

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

October 11, 1972

SNCC Members Outside New York City Area

The following are known to be SNCC members as of November 10, 1972:

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

JOHN PAYNE
Tulsa, Oklahoma John Franklin Payne

MARIA SALAS
San Antonio, Texas

GEORGE HUGHES
Cincinnati, Ohio

WILLIAM COLEMAN
Atlanta, Georgia (X) U

November 16, 1972

NY 100-147963

The following persons are known to be SNCC members as of October 11, 1972:

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

WANDA PRICE
Tulsa, Oklahoma

JOHN PAYNE
Tulsa, Oklahoma

RALPH CONLEY
Tulsa, Oklahoma

GEORGE HUGHES
Cincinnati, Ohio

JIMMY LAZARE
Houston, Texas (X) U

[REDACTED] October 11, 1972

SNCC Bookstore, New York City

On August 22, 1972 [REDACTED] stated that CHERYL HILL no longer is living in the back room of SNCC Bookstore at the above address.

He said he has not seen her for several months and no one is now living in the rear of the bookstore. He further stated that the bookstore appears to be in disarray and is not open for business. (U)

October 24, 1972

Affiliation with the Black Workers Council (BWC)

JOHN PAYNE, SNCC leader from Tulsa, Oklahoma has been in frequent contact with JAMES FORMAN of the BWC at Detroit, Michigan

October 11, 1972

The BWC organized in late 1969, was a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) front group until September, 1970, when the PLP lost interest in it, and it became controlled by Black moderates. WILLIAM EPTON, leader of the BWC, claimed during a recent visit to the People's Republic of China, that the BWC was attempting to form a Marxist-Leninist black labor union movement.

The PLP founded in 1965 by former members of the Communist Party, USA, who assertedly followed a Chinese Communist line, is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization dedicated to a dictatorship of the working class.

II. CINCINNATI DIVISION

On July 17, 1972 HUNT was residing at the residence of known SNCC members in Cincinnati for the purpose of general SNCC activities and the desire to get away from the New York City area. (S) (U)

[redacted]
July 17, 1972

During WILLIAM HUNT's stay in Cincinnati, Ohio he spent most of his time relaxing and sightseeing with local SNCC members. [redacted]

[redacted]
July 25, 1972

III. DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Confidential sources of the Detroit, Michigan area were contacted in May and June, 1972 and all advised they could furnish no information regarding any activity of SNCC within the Detroit, Michigan area. (U)

IV. HOUSTON, TEXAS

As of May 31, 1972 there was no known chapter of SNCC in Houston, Texas. (U)

[redacted]
May 31, 1972

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

July 20, 1972

V. LOS ANGELES DIVISION

SNCC has no active chapter within the Los Angeles area, as of September, 1971.(U)

NY 100-147963

VI. OKLAHOMA DIVISION

The only known persons affiliated with SNCC in the Oklahoma City area are JOHN FRANKLIN PAYNE, WANDA PRICE (his girl friend) and RALPH CONLEY. (S)(U)

[redacted] October 11, 1972

VII. SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

Many attempts to contact the SNCC Office at 2426 Nebraska Street, San Antonio, Texas were made during the past several weeks, but no one could be observed at the office. The telephone number to this SNCC Office is disconnected. (U)

[redacted] July 12, 1972

The San Antonio Chapter of SNCC is in the process of moving from their present headquarters located on Houston Avenue, San Antonio. SNCC members are working out of MARIO SALAS' home and the office on the campus of San Houston College until such time as they can find suitable headquarters. (S)(U)

[redacted] July 27, 1972

[redacted] July 20, 1972

The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

VIII. TAMPA DIVISION

Confidential sources of the Tampa Office, familiar with the Black Nationalist activities in the Tampa area were contacted in June and July, 1972 and all advised they could furnish no information on SNCC activities in the Tampa, Florida area.

October 11, 1972

National SNCC leader WILLIAM HUNT, as of September 20, 197[illegible] was in North Carolina, possibly at the residence of his mother.

September 20, 1972

NY 100-147963

November 28 and 29, 1972

X. MISCELLANEOUS

Confidential sources of the New York Office, familiar with Black Nationalist activities in the New York City area were contacted from October and November, 1972 and all advised they could furnish no information on activities of SNCC in New York.

The National Association of Black Students (NABS) in its constitution, states that its purpose is to exist as a service and information center which would provide a communications network for black students at American colleges and universities.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
December 29, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-439190
NYfile 100-147963

Title Student National Coordinating Committee

Character Extremist Matter

Reference is made to New York report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 1-7-72)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	DEC 11 1973	11/30/72 - 11/29/73	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		[redacted]		gak
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		EM		

REFERENCE:

New York report of SA [redacted] 12/37/73.

\- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Two copies of an FD 376 are attached to this report for use by the Bureau.

One copy of this report is being furnished to Secret Service locally.

Copies are also being furnished to all offices having activity, members or associates in their area in the past year.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				☐ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐YES ☐NO
						PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐YES ☐NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

8 - Bureau (100-439190) (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC, (RM)
2 - Atlanta (157-5346) (RM)
2 - Charlotte (100-9885) (RM)
2 - Cincinnati (157-4164) (RM)
2 - Louisville (157-35) (RM)
2 - Oklahoma City (157-42) (RM)
2 - San Antonio (157-269) (RM)
1 - New York (100-147963)

100-439190-2294 REC 22

DEC 14 1973

ST-105

REC-105

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	Ickin (135 SAD) 1-55
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	12/21/73
How Fwd.	RB
By	[illegible]

Notations

54 JAN 14 1974

(ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED)

The investigative period of this report overlaps the date of last report. It is noted, however, that information was received by NY after re report was prepared.

The identities of SAS interviewing [redacted] [redacted]n Tulsa, Oklahoma, is not known to NY.

This report is classified "Confidential" to protect the identities of [redacted] and [redacted]

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	NY 100-147963-4772, 4774, 4797, 4807, 4810, 4812, 4814, 4837, 4848, 4855
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	NY 100-147963-4785

(INFORMANTS CONTINUED)

The following are the sources contacted regarding subject organization with negative results during 1973:

[redacted] [redacted]

OBSERVATIONS

In view of the fact that SNCC has no national office, no national officers, has engaged in no significant activities for several years, and that future prospects for such are exceedingly faint, NY is closing this case. It is felt that individuals should be reported on under individual captions and NY will continue to do so. It is noted that NY has files on the following mentioned herein:

[redacted]
THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC)
VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

FD-376 (Rev. 7-9-73)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

DEC 1 1 1973

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

RE: Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

C M Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Enclosure(s) (1)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

DEC 11 1973

Report of: [redacted]
Date:
Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis: SNCC National Office, formerly located St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 W. 20th St., NYC, is non-existent. WILLIAM HUNT, National Chairman, resigned that position; no replacement yet named. SNCC national meetings held 12/23-24/72, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and 11/24/73, in Tulsa, Oklahoma. SNCC publication "National SNCC" not to be published. Name of SNCC to be dropped. Name "Revolutionary Democratic Party" tentatively adopted.

- C -

All information contained herein is classified "Confidential" unless otherwise indicated.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6049
ON 6/15/77 pcfbec.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Declassification
DATE 12/5/77 LG.

NY 100-147963

DETAILS:

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is based on information which indicates that the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is engaged in activities which could involve a violation of Title 18, United States Code (USC), Section 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), or 2385 (Advocating the Overthrew of the United States Government). (Unclassified) (U)

SNCC, formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement. In 1969 SNCC came under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and evolved into a black revolutionary organization. In 1969 H. RAP BROWN announced that he had been elected Chairman of SNCC. BROWN stated that the use of force was necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals and at that time removed Nonviolent from the organization's title. More recent leadership of SNCC has advocated guerrilla warfare to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States. SNCC has been headquartered in New York City since 1969. In early 1973 SNCC was beset with internal dissension which resulted in a purge of some members and its national leader WILLIAM HUNT. (U)

II. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE AND OTHER OFFICES OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

On March 14, 1973, [redacted] advised that SNCC continues to use an office at the church as its National Headquarters. (U)

SNCC no longer uses St. Peter's Episcopal Church for its National Headquarters because the church commenced charging a fee of $50 per month for rent.

[redacted] April 30, 1973

On November 29, 1973, it was determined from [redacted] that SNCC has disbanded and no longer uses space in the church for its offices. [redacted] knew of no activity or other locations for SNCC and believed it to have been disbanded for approximately one (1) year. (U)

SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

The San Antonio SNCC Chapter rents Post Office Box 893, San Antonio, Texas, 78293.

[redacted] November 2, 1973

CINCINNATI DIVISION

There is no SNCC Chapter in Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted] November 7, 1973

CHARLOTTE DIVISION

There is no SNCC Chapter in the Mount Holly, North Carolina, area, according to [redacted] on July 5, 1973. (U)

CHICAGO DIVISION

[redacted], advised that there is no SNCC organization as activity in the Chicago area. (U)

ATLANTA DIVISION

The Atlanta Division reported on November 14, 1973, that there has been no SNCC activity within the past year. (U)

LOUISVILLE DIVISION

The Louisville, Kentucky Office reported on October 19, 1973, that there are no known active SNCC members in the area. (U)

OKLAHOMA CITY DIVISION

The Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Office reported on October 31, 1973, that there is no known SNCC organization in the Oklahoma City area. (U)

III. OFFICERS

WILLIAM HUNT, Chairman of SNCC, sent a letter to the New York SNCC Office resigning from the Eastern Zone of SNCC.

December 15, 1972

WILLIAM HUNT, at a National SNCC meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 23-24, 1972, resigned as Head of the Eastern Zone of SNCC, as Chairman of SNCC, and as a member of the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC) of SNCC (the governing body). A new leader was not named.

December 27, 1972

IV. SNCC MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES

RONALD LEE JACKSON is an SNCC member in New York City.

December 27, 1972

RONALD JACKSON has not been active in SNCC for about a year. (U)

RONALD LEE JACKSON
September 17, 1973

RONALD JACKSON did not attend a national SNCC conference, November 24, 1973, at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

November 27, 1973

CHARLES BROADNAX of New York City attended the SNCC conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 23-24, 1972.

December 27, 1972

CHARLES BROADNAX is not known to be active in SNCC any more.

February 22, 1973

CHARLES BROADNAX did not attend the national SNCC meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 24, 1973.

November 27, 1973.

GEORGE (FIDEL) LOVE of New York attended the SNCC meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 23-24, 1972.

December 27, 1972

LOVE is not known to be active in SNCC lately.

February 22, 1973

LOVE did not attend the SNCC meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 24, 1973.

November 27, 1973

WILLIAM HUNT of New York resigned from the Eastern Zone of SNCC.

December 27, 1972

WILLIAM HUNT has moved to Stanley, North Carolina.

April 17, 1973

HUNT is back in New York.

November 27, 1973

MARIO SALAS of San Antonio, Texas, is Coordinator of SNCC in that city. He heads a chapter estimated to total about seven persons.

November 2, 1973

DONALD PAYNE, formerly of Covington, Kentucky, now attending school in Tulsa, Oklahoma, attended the SNCC national meetings December 23-24, 1972, and November 24, 1973.

December 27, 1972
November 27, 1973

JOHN L. PAYNE of Tulsa, Oklahoma, attended the national SNCC conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 23-24, 1972.

December 27, 1972

JOHN PAYNE is not a member of SNCC. (U)

JOHN L. PAYNE
August 8, 1973

JOHN L. PAYNE did not attend the national SNCC conference in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on November 24, 1973.

November 27, 1973

WILLIAM COLEMAN of Atlanta, Georgia, is an SNCC associate.

November 27, 1973

ROGER BILLINGSLEY of Atlanta, Georgia, is an SNCC associate.

May 17, 1973

JAMES ALEXANDER of San Antonio, Texas, is an SNCC member.

November 30, 1972

JAMES ALEXANDER died of sickle cell anemia on April 16, 1973.

April 23, 1973

V. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

A. SNCC Newspaper - "National SNCC"

At the national SNCC meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 23-24, 1972, a discussion was held to switch "National SNCC" from New York City to San Antonio, Texas.

December 27, 1972

MARIO SALAS announced on March 30, 1972, that "National SNCC" would appear again on May 1, 1973, in San Antonio, Texas, with a run of 3,000 copies.

[redacted] March 30, 1973

SALAS stated that "National SNCC" would not be published due to a lack of writing talent.

[redacted] November 27, 1973

B. Television Program

MARIO SALAS stated that Cox Cable Communications, Incorporated, and American Television and Communication, Incorporated, in San Antonio, Texas, are or were shortly to provide free time on cable television in the San Antonio area. SALAS was attempting to gain some of this time for SNCC.

[redacted] July 25, 1973

SALAS stated without explanation, that the efforts to participate in free television time are now dead issue.

[redacted] November 27, 1973

C. Demonstrations

On July 20, 1973, SNCC sponsored a demonstration in front of the Federal Building, San Antonio, Texas. The demonstration which lasted from approximately 5:30 PM until about 6:15 PM was attended by nine persons. The demonstration was to protest the "Byrd Amendment" which allows the United States to purchase chrome from Rhodesia and to protest Gulf Oil's financial arrangement with Portugal.

[redacted] July 24, 1973

VI. AFFILIATION WITH THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)

The TWWA, which is affiliated with the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was organized by a Black women's caucus within SNCC and is headquartered in New York City. Its announced objective is the elimination of what it considers to be the triple oppression of women in America, imperialism, racism, and sexism and the solution to this triple oppression as being Socialism through armed struggle. (U)

SNCC sent a letter to TWWA members who were formerly associated with SNCC. The letter, dated January 9, 1973, and captioned, "A New Level of Struggle", in part states that all ties between the two organizations are considered severed; all political, economic and/or security matters previously agreed to by the parties are nonoperative; and that there can be no future alliances between SNCC and TWWA.

[redacted] February 1, 1973

VII. ASSOCIATION WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC)

The ALSC was founded in July, 1972, to support the African liberation movement on the continent of Africa and to fight the "pattern of exploitation plaguing African people all over the world." Its national headquarters is in Greensboro, North Carolina. Speaking to a university audience in Washington, D.C., in September, 1972, the National Chairman of the ALSC indicated that black people of the whole world must destroy capitalism, not by mere rhetoric alone but by any means necessary including such action as that taken by the Arab terrorists against the Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich, Germany, in September, 1972. (U)

MARIO SALAS stated that the Texas SNCC now has a good working relationship with the national leadership of the ALSC, a national office of which is located at Post Office Box 14093, Houston, Texas.

[redacted] July 25, 1973

MARIO SALAS and JOHN PAYNE both surmised that if SNCC is unable to meet independently, SNCC should perhaps meet in conjunction with ALSC.

[redacted] October 1, 1973

The Texas SNCC is working closely with the ALSC, according to SALAS.

[redacted] November 27, 1973

VIII. ASSOCIATIONS WITH VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

The VB was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of "New Left" organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel has been to assist the Castro regime in the harvesting of sugar cane, and other agricultural products, and more recently to engage in construction projects, and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country. (U)

SALAS claims to have a good working relationship with the VB. No plans have been made for anyone to go to Cuba, however.

[redacted] November 27, 1973

IX. INTERVIEWS OF SNCC MEMBERS/ASSOCIATES

Date of transcription 9/13/73

After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the inquiry, a male, who identified himself as RONALD JACKSON, refused to open the door to Apartment 13-H, 865 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, New York.

He denied any knowledge of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), H. RAP BROWN, CHARLES BROADNAX, GEORGE HUGHES or FRANCES BEAL.

He was repeatedly requested to allow the Agents to enter the apartment so that neighbors would not be subjected to the discussion, but refused to do so.

After approximately three minutes of discourse in the above-described manner, the interview was terminated and JACKSON was requested to telephonically contact the New York Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Interviewed on 9/11/73 at New York, New York File # NY 157-4842

by SAS [redacted] and [redacted] WJH/ss Date dictated 9/11/73

The Black Liberation Army is a loose-knit, unstructured quasi-military group created to bring about change in the American system of government by terrorist acts including murder and other urban guerrilla tactics.

X. MISCELLANEOUS

An article appearing on page one of the Late City Edition of the August 29, 1973, issue of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York City, New York. This article was entitled, "Civil Rights Unity Gone in Redirected Movement", stated in part "... the organization (SNCC) became one of personalities rather than programs under Rap (H. RAP BROWN) and Stokely Carmichael. Today many of the leaders of the defunct student organization still consider themselves activists, but chiefly from inside the system that they fought so hard to change." (U)

At the national meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, it was decided to phase out the name "SNCC". The new name "Revolutionary Democratic Party" was tentatively adopted.

November 27, 1973

Additional sources familiar with extremist activity in the New York City area were contacted regarding SNCC during 1973 with negative results.

FD-323 (Rev. 8-1-72)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

DEC 11 1973

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Character Extremist Matter

Reference is made to New York report of Special [redacted], dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 13 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 15-17

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Section 15 of 19 sections

12-10

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND	PORTLAND	11/29/63	10/18/63 - 11/27/63

TITLE OF CASE

[illegible]

REPORT MADE BY [redacted]

TYPED BY bsj

CHARACTER OF CASE

13 - C

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Portland, dated 10/14/63.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

[illegible] is classified "Confidential" since it contains [redacted] through [redacted] which could reasonably result in [illegible] identification of confidential informants of continuing value [illegible] future effectiveness thereof.

[illegible]

[illegible]	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

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[illegible], Region III,
[illegible], Oregon (RM)
[illegible] District [illegible], USAF,
[illegible], Washington (RM)
13th Naval District,
[illegible], Washington (RM)
3 - Portland (157 [illegible])

100-439190-40-X1

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

~~100 - 441130 - 2~~ REC 7

DEC 6 1963

REC 44
EX 103

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

Agency	RAO-62-OSI-ONI
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	1-17-64
How Fwd.	R.S.
By	TPR:JJC

NOTATIONS

57 JAN 27 1964

[illegible]

[illegible]	Location
[illegible]	[illegible], DONALD LEE [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] will [illegible] follow and [illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
C O N F I D E N T I A L

Copy to: 1 - G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Portland, Oregon

Date: 11/29/63

Field Office File #: 157-169 Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (FSNCC) was formed during August, 1963, by church and youth representatives to support national civil rights legislation and integration in Portland. Organized trip to Washington, D. C., to participate in 8/28/63, demonstration and local demonstrations in protest of Birmingham, Alabama, bombings. Local CP members active in promoting and participating in sponsored activities. Investigation concerned only with extent of CP infiltration.

\- P -

DETAILS: AT PORTLAND, OREGON

[redacted]

[redacted] 7/18/63

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Group 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

7/18/63

8/3/63

DONALD LEE HAMERQUIST, during 1962 - 1963, has been an active prominent member of the CP and a member of the state board of the CP in Oregon.

1/12/63

8/8/63

An article in the "Oregonian," a local daily publication, September 16, 1963, stated that JASON SMITH, spokesman for the Portland chapter of FSNCC, announced that the group would hold a demonstration to protest recent bombings in Birmingham, Alabama.

ADDRESS OF FSNCC

Highland Congregational Church,
4635 N. E. Ninth Avenue,
Portland, Oregon

CHARACTER OF FSNCC

According to an article in the July 3, 1963, issue of the "Oregonian," a daily Portland, Oregon, publication, four young Portland youths, including Reverend RALPH MOORE, pastor of Highland Congregational Church, Portland, recently returned after having attended the United Church Youth Forum in Atlanta, Georgia. They will form an anti-segregation committee to support national civil rights legislation and integration in Portland. They will attempt to aid the southern integration move by forming a Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The Portland "Oregonian," under date of August 7, 1963, carried the following article:

"About 40 Portland high schoolers have organized into a civil rights group to expedite a correction for racial imbalance in Portland schools. The Portland committee will attempt to determine if Negro children are deprived of equal educational opportunity in Portland, and if so what corrective steps should be taken. It will study means of improving achievement of students in culturally deprived areas, and what the school system can do through educational processes to eliminate racial prejudices in the minds of children."

The "Portland Reporter," a Portland daily publication, under date of September 16, 1963, carried the following article:

"The Negro is determined to have freedom now regardless of aid from whites, according to the Rev. Othal Lakey of Allen temple, Christian Methodist Episcopalian church, while speaking to a group of 60 persons attending a Portland Friends of SNCC meeting there Monday night. The Rev. Ralph Moore, pastor of the Highland Congregational Church and organizer of Friends of SCNN, announced at the meeting that the group hoped to sponsor a bus of freedom riders to Washington, D. C., for the Aug. 28 demonstrations for jobs and freedom."

PD 157-169

MEMBERSHIP

On October 5, 1963, [redacted] ascertained that FUNCO, Portland, Oregon, is an unorganized group, has no official headquarters and no official membership, but does have a mailing list of about 200. Reverend MOORE [redacted] considers himself to be the leader of the group which conducts no regular meetings and is more or less dependent on local college and high school students to spearhead activities.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

OFFICERS

Reverend PAUL MOORE, pastor [illegible] unofficial leader

one

The following were appointed as members of an executive committee of this group on the occasion of the first meeting held on August 3, 1963:

FRECK[illegible]MANN,
9004 [illegible]
P[illegible]
Senior at Wilson High School

CHARL[illegible] GARRY, Senior,
Cleveland High School

OHIO

BILL THOMAS,
75[illegible] Avenue
Student, Cleveland High School [illegible]

JOE [illegible]ERD,
Portland, Oregon

DONALD [illegible]AMERQUIST,
Portland, Oregon

PD 157-169

THE CP PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE

[redacted] 8/12/63

[redacted] 8/21/63

At a meeting of the [illegible] Club of the CP held August 31, 1963, BENJAMIN JACOBSON, a State board member of the [illegible] was [illegible] the CP, the freedom [illegible] Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963, would not have been possible. The Party members collected sufficient money to send four or five Party members from Portland to attend this demonstration.

[redacted] 9/2/63

[redacted] 9/23/63

9/23/63

10/2/63

[illegible] AND CP PAR[illegible]IPATION

[illegible] on Washington, August 28, 1963
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] HENING

The Marc[illegible] Washington was organized by DONALD HAMERQUIST and ALI[illegible] [illegible]ILVERSTONE under the sponsorship of the [illegible]

MARTINA [illegible]URL has been a CP member for several years.

[illegible]/18/63

[illegible]

LARRY [illegible], during 1962 - 1963, has been a member of the CP Youth Club, Portland.

SHEILA VAN HINING is the wife of JOHN VAN HINING, a current member of the Youth Club of the CP, Portland.

ALLEN SILVERSTINE, during 1962 - 1963, was a member of the Youth Club, CP, Portland.

[redacted] 10/18/63

Birmingham, Alabama, Church Bombing Sympathy Demonstration, Portland, September 16, 1963 [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] GINTHER
[illegible] HANERQUIST

The above are all known to [redacted] as active current CP members in the Portland area.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Portland, Oregon
November 29, 1963

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted], captioned and dated as above, at Portland, Oregon.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished realiable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
PORTLAND	PORTLAND	2/7/64	1/2/64 - 2/5/64	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON		[redacted]		gmj
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS-C		

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] Portland, 11/29/63.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is marked confidential since it contains data from [redacted] which could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

SA [redacted] observed the 1/11/64 demonstration. [redacted] maintains close personal contact with Rev. RALPH MOORE and other leaders of this group.

INFORMANTS

100-439190-40-X5

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
3 - Portland (157-169)

7 REC-13

12 FEB 17 1964

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY	ONI	OSI	G-2	ONI(C-60)
REQUEST RECD.				
DATE FWD.	3-4-64			
HOW FWD.	R.S.			
BY	TPR			

NOTATIONS

INT. SEC.

ADD. DISSEMINATION

Identity of Informant	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS

PORTLAND

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will bring the activities of this organization up to date at the expiration of six months.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Copy to: 1 - G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Portland, Oregon

Date: 2/7/64

Field Office File #: 157-169 Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: IS - C

Synopsis: Friends of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (FSNCC), Portland, elected officers at a meeting held 1/19/64. Sponsored demonstration 1/12/64, protesting the segregation policies of Governor GEORGE WALLACE, who was a visitor in Portland on that date. Communist Party (CP) youth group interested and active in the affairs of FSNCC.

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed soley toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of FSNCC.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Group I

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

ADDRESS OF THE FSNCC

The headquarters of this group continue to be the Highland Congregational Church, 4635 N. E. 9th Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

1/22/64

CHARACTER OF FSNCC

An article in the "Oregon Journal", a local daily publication, dated December 18, 1963, stated that BRUCE GORDON, full time Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Georgia, while visiting Portland, remarked that SNCC is an agency organized to stimulate and foster the growth of local Negro protest movements. Its headquarters are in Atlanta, Georgia. The major drives in 1964 would be in the fields of voter registrations, employment and massive demonstrations.

Local newspaper accounts in December, 1963, and January, 1964, reported that BRUCE GORDON made several public appearances while in Oregon, December 15 through 19, 1963 and in January, 1964. His appearances were under the sponsorship of the Portland Committee SNCC. While in Portland, he was a guest at the home of Reverend RALPH MOORE, local coordinator. He appeared before a group of students at Portland State College on January 21, 1964, and before a group of students at University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, on the evening of January 21, 1964.

An article in the January 16, 1964 issue of the "Oregon Daily Emerald Journal", a daily student publication, University of Oregon, Eugene, quoted Reverend RALPH MOORE, race relations chairman for the Greater Portland Council of Churches and coordinator of the Portland FSNCC, in a speech before a large group of University of Oregon students as saying "members of group supporting non-violent equality movements had to take great care in the conduct of their members. When a group gets together and sets a policy, no one deters from this. Members should be told to get out if they can't follow orders."

MEMBERSHIP

The membership of this group as of February 3, 1964, was 110. All persons who have attended at least one meeting andwho have paid the registration fee of $1 are considered members and are entitled to voting rights. Regular meetings are not held and members are advised of each meeting by mail. Plans are under way to hold one meeting per month. The majority of the meetings held to date have been at the Highland Congregational Church, 4635 N. E. 9th Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

2/4/64

OFFICERS

Reverend RALPH MOORE, Pastor, Highland Congregational Church, Chairman;

ALVIN BATISTE, board member;

ROBERT MANDEL, board member;

MERCY WRIGHT, board member;

SKIP BRACKIN, board member;

ERECKA BRAUN, board member;

LUTHER STRONG, board member;

WILLIAM THOMAS, board member;

RAYMOND HOLLOWAY, board member.

2/4/64

WILLIAM THOMAS is currently a member of the Youth Club of the CP, Portland.

[redacted] 1/20/64

THE CP PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE

[redacted] 12/12/63

On December 11, 1963, [redacted] advised that on that date SUSAN HAMERQUIST, 1630 E. Burnside Street, Portland, had made application for use of a meeting room at the Knott Street Community Center for a meeting to be held on December 12, 1963, under the sponsorship of the Portland FSNCC.

SUSAN HAMERQUIST is a member of the Youth Club of the CP, Portland, Oregon.

[redacted] 12/20/63

[redacted] 1/22/64

[redacted] 12 20/63

JASON SMITH is a current member of the Youth Club of the CP.

[redacted], 12/21/63

CP AFFILIATIONS OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

WILLIAM THOMAS, a high school student, is the only elected official of the Portland Committee of FSNCC known to be identified with the CP.

[redacted] 2/4/64

The following persons have been identified as active within FSNCC and CP members: WILLIAM THOMAS; SUSAN HAMERQUIST; DONALD HAMERQUIST; JASON SMITH; ALLEN SILVERSTONE; JOHN TALBOT; JOHN VAN HYNING; SHELIAH VAN HYNING.

[redacted] 2/4/64

ACTIVITY AND CP PARTICIPATION

On January 13, 1964, [redacted], advised that on the previous evening, FSNCC staged a peaceful demonstration at the Hilton Hotel, Portland, during the hours 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., while Governor GEORGE WALLACE, Alabama, was a guest. Purpose of the demonstration was to protest the segregation policies of Governor WALLACE. Approximately 250 persons participated in the demonstration.

A Special Agent of the FBI observed the above WALLACE demonstration and among those recognized were DONALD HAMERQUIST, SUSAN HAMERQUIST, DENISE JACOBSON, and JASON SMITH.

The [illegible]MERQUISTS, JACOBSON and SMITH are current CP members at Portland, Oregon.

[redacted], 2/4/64

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Portland, Oregon

February 7, 1964

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] at Portland, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

9-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND	PORTLAND	9/10/64	8/15/64 - 9/9/64

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON	[redacted]	jlm
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/17/64 at Portland.

\- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is marked confidential since data from [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SS, RAO
DEPT:
DATE FORW:
HOW FORW:

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

5-Bureau (100-441130) (AM)(RM)
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1-OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1-ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
3-Portland (157-169)

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100-439190-40-X7

REC- 58

SEP 11 ...

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY				
REQUEST RECD.				
DATE FWD.				
HOW FWD.				
BY				

NOTATIONS

INT. SEC.

1964

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Copy to: 1 - S. INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington, (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Portland, Oregon
Date: 9/10/64

Field Office File #: 157-169 Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Efforts of Communist Party (CP) to gain control of Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (FSNCC) have apparently been frustrated and now being afforded a low priority. FSNCC has announced a ban on street demonstration and are concentrating on raising funds, clothing and books. Sponsored local appearance of CAROLE MERRITT and DICK GREGORY and held several rallies in connection with Mississippi Summer Project.

- P -

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Group 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Identity of Informant	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS

PORTLAND

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will bring the activities of this organization up-to-date at the expiration of six months.

ADDRESS OF [illegible]

The headquarters of this group continues to be at [illegible] Congregational Church, 4635 N.E. 9th Avenue, Portland, Oregon

CHARACTER OF FSNCC

FSNCC has modified their aims and purposes in recent months and have now banned all public protest demonstrations They will devote efforts to the raising of funds, clothing and books to be used by Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) projects in the South

. 6/24/64

MEMBERSHIP

There has been no apparent change in membership Which Continues to remain at approximately 110 No regular meetings are held and no established meeting places. Members are advised of scheduled activities and meetings through the use of mimeographed announcements sent through the mail

8/30/64

PD 157-169

OFFICERS

Reverend RALPH MOORE, pastor, Highland Congregational Church continues as chairman and is assisted by a board of directors as set out in the previous report of February 17, 1964. OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

8/30/64

1/18/64

2/18/64

2/25/64
2/13/64
2/24/64
2/27/64

4/29/64

5/1/64

7/1/64

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CP AFFILIATIONS OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

WILLIAM THOMAS, a recent Portland high school graduate is the only official of this group known to be a member of the CP.

8/31/64

...is the only ... active in this ... known to be a CP m...

[redacted] 8/...

ACTIVITY AND CP PARTICIPATION

... meeting of FSNCC held ... Highland ... Church, Portland, on February 9, 1964, Rev. ... chairman, stated that the executive board had met twice since the last regular meeting ... that several committee chairmen had been named, including ... HAMERQUIST who ... to be in charge of voter registration. This committee at ... meeting had 21 volunteers to assist HAMERQUIST. ... announced that HAMERQUIST's goal was to register as many people to vote as possible starting in the Williams ... district of Portland. At a subsequent meeting held ... 1964, HAMERQUIST stated that his voter ... project was being held up by legal involvement ... getting authorization from the county to perform ... voter registration.

...BER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] 2/11/64 and 3/3/64

The Portland Committee of the ... sponsored a ... demonstration on March 3, 1964, at the Sheraton Motor Inn, ... Center, Portland, which was reportedly in support of the ... Francisco committee's efforts to gain equal opportunity in employment. Approximately ... individuals participated in this demonstration including JOSEPH ...RIS, ... JOHN TALBOT, JAMES BERLAND, ... THOMAS and JAIME

3/5/64

The individuals named above as participating in this

demonstration as of that date were members of the youth club of the CP, Portland, Oregon.

[redacted], 3/5/64

B. APPR

According to an article which appeared in the "Portland Reporter", a Portland, Oregon daily publication, under date of April 23, 1964, a Miss CAROL MERRITT, age 23, a recent graduate of Vassar College, appeared in Portland under the sponsorship of the SNCC on the previous evening. Miss MERRITT, who has been working in the civil rights movement in Mississippi since 1963, presence in Portland was to raise funds to assist the voter registration project in the State of Mississippi.

Comedian DICK GREGORY appeared in Portland according to an article in the May 17, 1964 issue of the "Portland Reporter" under the sponsorship of the local SNCC. He announced that he had been on a month long tour of benefit performances on behalf of the SNCC.

On the evening of June 15, 1964, Portland Friends of SNCC sponsored a meeting at the Bethel AME Church, 5828 N.E. 8th Avenue, Portland. This meeting was advertised as a "Rally for Mississippi Summer Project." There was a large turnout for this meeting including a number of local youths who were en route to Mississippi to assist in the summer project. Rev. RALPH MOORE spoke on the great importance of this summer project and stated that the Portland Council of Churches was behind this worthwhile project 100 per cent.

[redacted], 6/18/64

On July 8, 1964, a rally sponsored by the Portland FSNCC was held at the Mount Olivet Baptist Church, N.E. 1st and Schuyler, and the parents of several of the youths who were then working in Mississippi provided a report on the activities of their offspring.

[redacted], 7/17/64

A meeting presumably sponsored by the Portland Committee of SNCC was held at Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1624 N.E. Hancock Street on July 29, 196[illegible]. Reverend ROBERT BONTHIUS, pastor of the church where the meeting was held was the principal speaker. Rev. BONTHIUS discussed his recent few days stay in the State of Mississippi and discussed the Negro situation and their battle for equal rights.

7/31/[illegible]

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Portland, Oregon

September 10, 1964

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, Portland, Oregon
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Portland, Oregon

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDER[illegible] INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND	PORTLAND	3/23/65	3/1/65 - 3/18/65

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
[COM]MUNIST INFILTRATION [OF] FRIENDS OF STUDENT [NON]-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON	[redacted]	cfk
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 9/10/64 at Portland.

\- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Special Agent [redacted] in telephonic contact with Mrs. RALPH MOORE on 3/12/65.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant	Location
[redacted]	157-169-189
[redacted]	[redacted]

APPROVED: [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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1 - G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
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1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
3 - Portland (157-169)

REC 5

100-439190-40-1X

16 MAR 29 1965

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; ~~SEC. SER.~~; DEPT, [illegible], CRD, ~~RAO~~
DATE FORW: [illegible]
HOW FORW: [illegible]
BY: J. F. M[illegible]

NOTATIONS

PD 157-169

Security Informants Contacted

Informant	Date Contacted	Contacted By
[redacted]	3/13/65	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/13/65	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/17/65	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/5/65	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/11/65	SA [redacted]

LEADS

PORTLAND

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will continue to follow the activities and submit report at the expiration of six months. If no significant activity developed, will recommend case be placed in a closed status.

Copy to: 1 - G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Portland, Oregon
Date: 3/23/65

Field Office File #: 157-169 Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: No significant activity developed since September, 1964. Efforts of local group devoted principally to raising funds. Local CP has withdrawn interest and support.

- P* -

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.

ORIGIN AND SCOPE

Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Portland, Oregon, was formed in Portland, Oregon in August, 1963 to serve a two-fold purpose; one, to support the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South, providing financial and material assistance for Civil Rights movements on a national scale, and two, to actively work in Portland, Oregon to promote equal opportunities in the areas of employment, housing and education.

FSNCC letter to members dated 2/23/64.

PD 157-169

The Youth Club of the CP, Portland, Oregon, after the formation of FSNCC actively organized, planned and directed all public demonstrations and meetings sponsored by this group from the date of its formation to about January, 1964.

3/21/64 -

AIMS AND PURPOSES

There has been no change in the aims and purposes of this group since at least September, 1964, and its activities have been confined principally to the raising of funds.

MEMBERSHIP

There has been no apparent change in membership, which was last reported as being approximately 110. No membership meetings, as such, have been held since at least September, 1964.

Department - 3/1/65

ADDRESS

Literature distributed by this group in recent months has shown the headquarters of this group as now being 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue of Portland, Oregon. 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue, Portland, is the residence address of R. D. PERRY and wife, JEREATHA.

OFFICERS

Literature distributed by this group in recent months has disclosed that Mrs. JEREATHA PERRY (JERE) as

chairman and Mrs. GERALD L. SWEENEY (CAROLE), 6811 N.E. Hancock, as vice-chairman.

GENERAL ACTIVITY

12/6/64

The February 8, 1965 edition of the "Oregon Journal," a local daily publication, reported that JOHN LEWIS, Atlanta, Georgia, a chairman of the SNCC, was a weekend Portland visitor.

On February 6, 1965, JOHN LEWIS spoke at the Vancouver First Baptist Church, 3138 North Vancouver Avenue, Portland.

2/6/65

This group, sometime prior to January 26, 1965, mailed out letters requesting financial assistance to help carry on the struggle in Mississippi. The letter was signed "JERE PERRY, Chairman, CAROLE SWEENEY, Vice-Chairman, Portland Friends of SNCC, 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue, Portland."

1/26/65

On or about February 23, 1965, the Portland FSNCC mailed out material stating that they were sponsoring the appearance of EARL ROBINSON, folk singer, at Portland State College on the evening of March 6, 1965, proceeds to be used for the Mississippi Freedom Project.

2/25/65

Reverend RALPH MOORE, a leader of this organization, together with several other ministers, on March 11, 1965 publicly announced that the Portland Friends of SNCC were planning a mass sympathy demonstration for March 14, 1965 in a protest to the activities then going on at Selma, Alabama. At another demonstration conducted March 12, 1965 at Portland, it was announced that Reverend RALPH MOORE had cancelled the planned March 14, 1965 demonstration.

3/12/65

A telephone call to Mrs. RALPH MOORE by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on March 12, 1965 disclosed that the Portland Friends of SNCC had withdrawn its support from the planned March 14, 1965 demonstration after it had become apparent that a group of local college students planned to take over the demonstration.

SUPPORT FROM LOCAL CP

During March, 1965, confidential informants of the Portland Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, who are acquainted with some CP members and some CP activities in Portland advised that the CP in Oregon in recent months had made no reference to the Portland Friends of SNCC and had shown no interest in this organization.

U[illegible]D STATES DEPARTMENT OF [illegible]STICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

PD 157-169

Portland, Oregon
March 23, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Portland, Oregon

All sources whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND	PORTLAND	9/20/65	9/1/65 - 9/17/65

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

REPORT MADE BY [redacted]

TYPED BY cfk

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 3/23/65 at Portland.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "Confidential" inasmuch as the information provided by [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
1 - Atlanta (Info)
3 - Portland (157-...)

100-439190-46-3X

REC- 74

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.
MAAG, Army Board, OSI, ONI		12/4/65	RS

Identity of Informant	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS

ATLANTA

A copy of this report is being designated for the Atlanta Office for information purposes in view of their interest in this organization.

PORTLAND

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will continue to follow the activities and submit a report at the expiration of six months.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

1 - G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Portland, Oregon

Date: 9/20/65

Field Office File #: 157-169 Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

This group during past six months has sponsored several outside speakers, including JAMES FOREMAN, PETE SEEGER and FANNY LOU HAMER. Efforts devoted to raising funds. No indication of CP influence or interest.

\- P* -

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

ORIGIN AND SCOPE

Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Portland, Oregon, was formed in Portland, Oregon in August, 1963 to serve a two-fold purpose; one, to support the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South, provididng financial and material assistance for Civil Rights movements on a national scale, and, two, to actively work in Portland, Oregon to promote equal opportunities in the areas of employment, housing and education.

FSNCC letter to members dated 2/23/64.

The Youth Club of the CP, Portland, Oregon, after the formation of FSNCC, actively organized, planned and directed all public demonstrations and meetings sponsored by this group from the date of its formation to about January, 1964.

3/21/64 -

AIMS AND PURPOSES

A news letter prepared and distributed by the Portland Friends of SNCC under date of April 16, 1965 stated the aims and purposes of this organization to be: "Our purpose is to aid the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its direct action by operating as a fund-raising community. This we do by letters of appeal, rallies, concerts, jam sessions and dinners. We are open to suggestions for other means of raising money. We also act as a telephone chain to get letters and telegrams sent to the proper people when needed to protest an action or to support pertinent legislation.

"Our aim is to involve as many citizens in this area as possible in the need for protesting the injustices being heaped upon the colored people in the North, East and West, as well as the South.

"Our policy is to devote ourselves as Portland Friends of SNCC exclusively to the Civil Rights effort and to operate in that field only as an organization."

MEMBERSHIP

Nothing has been received indicating any change in membership, which was originally reported as being approximately 110. This figure represents those names appearing on the mailing list. No general membership meetings have been held since March of 1965. The officers reportedly occasionally meet and arrange for any and all activity.

- 9/13/65

HEADQUARTERS

This group has no official headquarters; however, all mail advising of planned events bears the return address of 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue, Portland, Oregon. This is the residence of JEREATHA PERRY, Chairman.

9/13/65

OFFICERS

A news letter disseminated by this group under date of April 16, 1965 listed the following officers:

Mrs. JEREATHA PERRY, Chairman

Mrs. CAROL SWEENEY, Vice-Chairman

Miss MERCY ANN WRIGHT, Secretary

HAROLD GELLATLY, Treasurer

PD 157-169

GENERAL ACTIVITY

The April 23, 1965 edition of "The Oregonian" local daily publication, carried an article which reported that JAMES FOREMAN, Executive Secretary of the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee told a Portland audience on the preceding evening that the press is fostering a split between Negro Civil Rights groups. This article mentioned that FOREMAN spoke to about ninety persons in the Vancouver Avenue Baptist Church after arriving on a direct flight from Atlanta, Georgia. FOREMAN thanked the Portland Friends of SNCC for sponsoring his trip and giving support. In answers to questions during his Portland appearance, FOREMAN said that any communist influence in the Civil Rights movement would only be that which falls in line with the movement's set objectives. He said he knew of no card carrying communist in SNCC. He stated that the Civil Rights movement has progressed in direct proportion to the amount of Southern white resistance. Difficulties in organizing the Southern Negro stem from fear and the apathy common throughout the nation in protecting the people's rights. FOREMAN estimated only 10 to 15 per cent of the Negro population in the South participates directly in the movement. FOREMAN stated that SNCC [illegible] from other Civil Rights groups in that it takes a [illegible] political approach to reach the objectives. It advocates changes in political structures, where other groups deal only with the upgrading social conditions of Negroes.

The April 25, 1965 edition of "The Oregonian" B. APPROX. carried an article reporting that DENNIS SWEENEY, a 21-year-old Stanford graduate from Portland who had been working in the Civil Rights movement in Mississippi appeared at a meeting at the Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1624 N.E. [illegible] Street, Portland on the previous Sunday. This meeting was under the sponsorship of the Portland Friends of SNCC. SWEENEY, according to the article, reported on his work in the South and his efforts to raise money on speaking trips through the north.

On the evening of July 10, 1965, PETE SEEGER, folk [illegible], appeared at the Portland Auditorium under the sponsorship of the Portland Friends of SNCC. Approximately 1,200 persons were present for this concert.

7/11/65

On July 12, 1965, [redacted], advised that he attended the SEEGER concert, and that there were no speeches made during the concert and that the concert was purely a matter of entertainment.

[redacted]

Under date of July 26, 1965, the Portland Friends of SNCC distributed a letter to people on their mailing list advising that on August 1, 1965, a get-together of SNCC members would be held at the home of Mrs. IRMAGENE REED, 4065 N.E. Rodney, Portland, Oregon; and also advising that on the following week Mrs. FANNY LOU HAMER, a leader of the Mississippi Challenge, would appear in Portland under the sponsorship of SNCC.

The August 12, 1965 edition of "The Oregonian" carried an article reporting that FANNY LOU HAMER reportedly appeared in Portland under the sponsorship of the Portland Friends of SNCC, and that she was seeking financial support for a silent vigil to be held in Washington, D.C., on August 21, 1965. The article stated that Mrs. HAMER first gained national attention with a sensational testimony before the 1964 Democratic Platform Committee.

SUPPORT FROM LOCAL CP
AND FRONT GROUPS

[redacted]

[redacted]
3/9/65

Characterizations of the OF A and MFSA are attached hereto.

[illegible]/65

During September, 1965, confidential informants of the Portland Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, who are acquainted with some CP members and some activities in Portland, advised the CP in Oregon in recent months has made no particular reference to the Portland Friends of SNCC, and as a matter of fact, had shown no interest in this program.

8/13/65

1

PORTLAND CHAPTER,
METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION
aka Oregon Chapter, Methodist Federation for Social Action,
Oregon Federation for Social Action

Sources familiar with this organization have advised that the Portland Chapter, Methodist Federation for Social Action, also known as the Oregon Chapter and the Oregon Federation for Social Action has been in existence from September 23, 1950, to May, 1965, and has consistently reflected a pro-Russian, pro-communist line and that its present leadership, including its executive board, is composed of some former Communist Party members and others who are definitely sympathetic to the Communist Party.

The national headquarters of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is located at Ardsley, New York, and a source close to the Portland Chapter has indicated that the Portland Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is the most active chapter of this organization.

- APPENDIX -

1.

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in its Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91, stated as follows:

"With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action . . ."

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-169

Portland, Oregon
September 20, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Portland, Oregon

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERA BUREAU OF INV STIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND	PORTLAND	3/18/66	3/1/66 - 3/17/66

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

REPORT MADE BY [redacted]

TYPED BY jld

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

SYNOPSIS:

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 9/20/65 at Portland.

\- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

SA [redacted] contacted Mrs. PERRY through the use of a pretext [redacted]

INFORMANTS

The below listed informants were contacted during the course of this investigation:

100-439190-40-3X1

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1-ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
1-Atlanta (info) (RM)
3-Portland (157-169)

REC- 32

18 MAR 23 1966

AGE...

DATE F...

HOW FOR...

BY...

INT. SEC.

5 C APR 1 1966

GPO : 1958 O - 454008

PD 157-169

Informant	Date Contacted	Contacting Agent
[redacted]	3/16/66	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/14/66	SA [redacted]
[redacted]	3/14/66	SA [redacted]

LEADS

ATLANTA

A copy of this report is being designated for the Atlanta Office for information purposes in view of their interest in this organization.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2-G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1-OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1-ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: Portland, Oregon
Date: March 18, 1966

Field Office File #: 157-169 Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: No activity during past six months. Organization allegedly disbanded prior to 1/1/66.

- C -

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.

ORIGIN AND SCOPE

Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Portland, Oregon, was formed in Portland, Oregon, in August, 1963 to serve a two-fold purpose. One, to support the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South providing financial and material assistance for civil rights movement on a national scale, and two, to actively work in Portland, Oregon to promote equal opportunities in the areas of employment, housing and education.

FSNCC letter to members
dated 2/23/64

HEADQUARTERS

On September 21, 1965, FSNCC mailed a letter to all members advising that the headquarters of this organization was about to be moved to 3728 North Commercial, Portland, Oregon.

OFFICERS

On March 1, 1966, Mrs. JERE PERRY, [redacted] Portland, Oregon, last known chairman of FSNCC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI in a pretext telephone call, that FSNCC discontinued all activity just prior to January 1 and moved out of their headquarters located at 3728 North Commercial. She advised that those people who were most active in the organization during its formation, had departed Portland and were actively working for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the South and that the local people had lost all interest in the movement.

[redacted] advised on March 14, 1966, that he has, through sources close to FSNCC, followed this group since its formation in 1963 and that information had come to his attention that the group ceased activity because of lack of interest sometime prior to January 1, 1966. He did indicate, however, that a limited amount of activity was being carried out in some of the local colleges under the direction of SNCC.

During March, 1966, confidential informants who are acquainted with some CP members and some CP activities in the Portland area, were contacted and advised that no information had come to their attention which would indicate any CP interest in this group.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Portland, Oregon
March 18, 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] dated March 18, 1966, at Portland, Oregon, and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Section 16 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	ATLANTA	10/31/67	8/28 - 10/26/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	rs
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta, dated 6/12/67.

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential as information furnished [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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2 - 115th MI Grp (RM)
1 - NISO - 12ND (RM)
1 - OSI - 19D (RM)
1 - San Francisco (100-50885)

100-439190-47-24X1

16 NOV 6 1967

REC- 44

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	
How Fwd.	
By	

9 DEC 4 1967

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	100-50885-738
[redacted]	100-50885-733
[redacted]	100-50885-733
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant Report
[redacted]	" "
[redacted]	100-50885-696
[redacted]	100-50885-696
[redacted]	100-56509-5

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	100-56509-5
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-56810-9
[redacted]	100-56810-10
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-55694
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-57256-6
[redacted]	[redacted]

COVER PAGE

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	100-45437-18
[redacted]	100-45437-32
[redacted]	100-58549-52
[redacted]	100-58549-43
[redacted]	100-50885-736
[redacted]	100-39234-257
[redacted]	100-39234-205
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-46730-203 100-46730-203
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-46730-193
[redacted]	100-46730-195

COVER PAGE

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	100-46730-198
[redacted]	100-57710-12

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA: [redacted]

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to follow and report activities of SICC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2 - 115th MI Grp (RM)
1 - NISO - 12ND (RM)
1 - OSI - 19D (RM)

Report of: [redacted]
Office: SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 10/31/67

Field Office File #: 100-50885
Bureau File #100-439190

Title:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

San Francisco office of SNCC and "The Movement" is located at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, which is the Greek Evangelic Church. Investigation has determined that there are no SNCC organizations in Oakland, Santa Rosa, San Rafael, Palo Alto, and San Mateo, California areas. "The Movement", which is affiliated with SNCC, lists its editorial group as TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIORKA, BROOKS PENNY, PENNY TAFT, GAYLE MARKOW, JULIE MILLER, JOE BLUM, KRIS DYMOND, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN KOONAN, LINCOLN BERGMAN, and MARK KLEIMAN. [redacted] On 9/8/67, San Francisco "Chronicle" stated that headquarters of "The National Stop the Draft Committee" is located at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco. TERENCE CANNON appeared at two rallies held 10/17 and 19/67, in connection with "Stop the Draft Week" at Berkeley, California.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

"Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee" (SNCC)

CONFIDENTIAL

Group I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

is listed in the current San Francisco telephone directory with address of 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, telephone number 662-4577.

A Special Agent of the FBI observed that as of October 26, 1967, 449 - 14th S-reet, San Francisco is a church building identified as the Free Greek Evangelic Church. On the front of this building is a sign reading "SNCC" and "The Movement".

On August 28, 1967, [redacted] advised that there is no SNCC organization at Oakland, California.

On September 15, 1967, [redacted] and [redacted] advised there are no active SNCC organizations in the Santa Rosa, California area.

On September 26, 1967, [redacted] advised there is no SNCC organization in Marin County, California.

On September 1, 1967, [redacted] California, advised there is no SNCC organization in the San Mateo, California area.

On September 12, 1967 [redacted] advised there is no SNCC organization in the Palo Alto, California area.

II. AFFILIATES OF SNCC

The masthead of "The Movement", a newspaper published monthly at San Francisco, California, states that this newspaper is "affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee". Masthead of the October, 1967 issue states that the editorial staff of "The Movement" consists of TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIORKA, BROOKS PENNY, PENNY TAFT, GAYLE MARKOW, JULIE MILLER, JOE BLUM, KRIS DYMOND, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN KOONAN, LINCOLN BERGMAN, and MARK KLEIMAN.

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

TERENCE CANNON

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON, a white male, was born January 10, 1940, at St. Louis, Missouri. The Congressional record of March 16, 1961, lists TERENCE MARTIN CANNON of Cornell University as an undergraduate signer of a petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

On May 22, 1967, CANNON telephoned the San Francisco Division of the FBI and identified himself as Field Secretary of SNCC.

The San Francisco "Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, on May 26, 1967, reported that CANNON, identified as the editor of "The Movement", an "SNCC oriented newspaper", was wearing a .38 "automatic" on his belt at a television press conference held at SNCC offices in San Francisco on May 26, 1967. CANNON reportedly stated to interviewers in this press conference that on the night of May 21, 1967, the office of "The Movement" was burglarized and subscription lists were stolen. CANNON indicated that he would use the pistol to prevent further burglaries.

On October 18, 1967, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that TERRY CANNON is a member of the steering committee of the Anti-Draft Movement which is involved in the "Stop the Draft Week" (October 16-21, 1967), in the San Francisco-Oakland, California Bay areas.

[redacted] advised on October 22, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON spoke at a meeting of the San Francisco State College (SFSC) W.E.B. Du Bois Club on October 19, 1965.

A characterization ot the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America - San Francisco Division is contained in the Appendix.

[redacted] advised on October 27, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON attended and spoke at a meeting on the SFSC campus sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs.

BOBBI CIECIORKA

Mrs. FRANK (BARBARA) CIECIORKA and her husband reside at 613 Clayton Street, San Francisco.

In March, 1963, [redacted] advised that BOB LINDSAY and FRANCIS FINK were active members of the CP.

BROOKS PENNY

On October 24, 1966, [redacted] advised that BROOKS PENNY, 175 Belvedere Street, San Francisco, appeared on a mailing list for the United Committee Against the War (UCAW).

A characterization of the UCAW is contained in the Appendix.

PENNY TAFT

In volume one of "Onan", self-described internal journal of campus Students for a

Democratic Society (SDS), Berkeley, California, PENNY TAFT was named as one of the persons to whom articles for "Onan" could be turned in to.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

JOE BLUM

JOSEPH AARON BLUM was arrested by the San Franicsco, California, Police Department on April 11, and April 17, 1964, in connection with demonstrations purportedly aimed at racial discrimination in hiring practices of automobile dealers. Charges and dispositions are set forth on another page.

JOSEPH AARON BLUM, 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California, who was born June 23, 1941, in New York e BLUM was arrested at a sit-in demonstration by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), California.

advised on April 27, 1965, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a student organization started on campus in the early part of the fall semester of 1964 in which students protested administration regulation of social political activities on the part of the students. This group sponsored several rallies the largest of which was on December 2, 1964, when approximately 1,000 students staged

a sit-in demonstration at the Administration Building. After students refused to leave approximately 780 were arrested. on the morning of December 3, 1964.

The "Daily Californian", UCB student newspaper, in its issue of March 10, 1966, identified BLUM as an ex-member of the steering committee of the Peace Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) and said BLUM was negotiating to procure use of UCB facilities for a PROC meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to plan anti-Vietnam activity in connection with the appearance of Ambassador ARTHUR GOLDBERG at Charter Day ceremonies at UCB.

A characterization of PROC is contained in the Appendix.

On February 2, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM attended a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) at 145 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, to plan a student strike.

A characterization of the VDC is contained in the Appendix.

On February 9, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM supported and attended a VDC demonstration on the UCB campus.

As of June 28, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM was a member of VDC.

As of October 29, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM was among the SDS leaders who prepared a paper on the SDS position which paper was being distributed on the UCB campus.

On October 20, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM attended a general membership meeting of SDS at Oakland, California.

On December 12, 1966, records of UCB disclosed the following: JOSEPH AARON BLUM, born June 23, 1941, at New York, New York, is residing at 3225 Ellis Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, RENEE BLUM. He formerly lived at 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California. His father, DAVID L. BLUM is deceased and his mother, BEATRICE GOULD BLUM lives at 333 E. 79 Street, New York, New York.

KRIS DYMOND

INGRID KRISTIN DYMOND was born August 10, 1948, at Grindavik, Iceland. She graduated from Berkeley, California High School in August, 1965, and was admitted to UCB in January, 1966.

On November 2, 1966, [redacted] advised that DYMOND is the current treasurer of the UCB Chapter of SDS.

The October 28, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes", the weekly publication of SDS, contained a list of SDS Chapter contacts. The contact for the Berkeley SDS was listed as KRIS DYMOND.

BUDDY STEIN

In April , 1967, [redacted] advised that BERNARD L. (BUDDY) STEIN and his wife, SUSAN

COLE STEIN have been active in SDS affairs at the UCB, California from 1965 to April, 1967.

KAREN KOONAN

On June 13, 1966, [redacted] advised that KAREN JO KOONAN, a white female, born August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia, was in June, 1966, a member of the UCLA Youth Club of the Southern California District of the CP, Los Angeles, California.

LINCOLN BERGMAN

[redacted], advised on December 14, 1955, LINCOLN BERGMAN was among the children at the Saturday afternoon program of the California Labor School (CLS) Christmas market held on the weekend of December 10, 1955, in San Francisco, California. BERGMAN was approximately ten years old at this time.

The CLS has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted] advised on May 4, 1965, that LINCOLN BERGMAN attended a May Day rally on April 29, 1961, at San Francisco, at which time the then current chairman of the CP, USA was the main speaker.

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

MARK KLEIMAN

MARK ALLEN KLEIMAN, a white male, was born January 2, 1950, in Chicago, Illinois, and resides at 1701 San Pablo Avenue, Albany, California.

On June 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that KLEIMAN continues to be employed as Field Secretary by the National Office of SDS.

[redacted]

[redacted]

A characterization of the Los Angeles Branch YSA is contained in the Appendix.

[redacted]

SF 100-50885
RNB/rs

GAIL BROWN

GAIL MARLEN BROWN, a white female, was born July 4, 1938, at Brooklyn, New York, and resides at 2124 Derby Street, Berkeley.

On November 21, 1966, [redacted] advised that GAIL BROWN is employed as a secretary by SNCC at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco.

On June 25, 1964, [redacted] advised that GAIL BROWN was observed in attendance at the Founding Convention of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America, June 11-21, 1964, in San Francisco.

On February 7, 1964, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that GAIL BROWN was observed in attendance at the 26th Anniversary celebration which was a benefit for the "People's World" (PW) at the Jack Tar Hotel, San Francisco, California, February 1, 1964.

The PW is a west coast communist newspaper published in San Francisco.

On July 1, 1964, [redacted] advised that GAIL BROWN attended the Fifth Annual Hawaiian Luau for the PW annual fund drive June 27, 1964, San Francisco.

MICHAEL J. MILLER

MICHAEL JAMES MILLER, a white male, born January 24, 1937, resides with his wife, CAROLYN, at 2445 Park Street, Kansas City, Missouri.

On January 9, 1967, [redacted] advised that MICHAEL JAMES MILLER, who previously was the San Francisco Bay area representative of SNCC is now working in Kansas City.

[redacted] on October 3, 1966, [redacted], on October 5, 1966, [redacted], on October 5, 1966, and [redacted] on September 27, 1967, all reported that MICHAEL JAMES MILLER of San Francisco, California, attended the CP, USA National Youth Educational Encampment held at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York, August 29 to September 11, 1-66.

MICHAEL SHARON

MICHAEL JOSEPH SHARON, a white male, was born December 29, 1944, at Midland, Texas.

[redacted], in July, 1967, reported that SHARON attended the national SDS convention at the University of Michigan campus, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25-30, 1967.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY WITHIN SNCC ORGANIZATION

On August 14 1967, [redacted] advised that a meeting regarding the "National Stop the Draft Week" was held at the UCB campus on August 10, 1967. This meeting was called by SDS Anti-Draft Union and the purpose of this meeting was to organize committees which could work together in opposing the draft and closing the Oakland, California induction center during the week of October 16-21, 1967.

In the September 8, 1967, issue of the San Francisco "Chronicle", a local newspaper published in San Francisco, an article entitled, "Oakland Anti-War Protest Set" was published. According to this article anti-war demonstrators announced plans on September 7, 1967, for a four-day seige of the Oakland,

California induction center with the intent of blocking all draft activities by massing people in nearby streets and by sit-ins. The announcement was made by spokesman that the "National Stop the Draft Week" committee has the endorsement of fourteen organizations. The article stated that the committee's headquarters are at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, and that one of the spokesman was identified as TERENCE CANNON of "The Movement".

At a Noon rally in connection with "Stop the Draft Week" held at the UCB campus on October 17, 1967, it was observed by Special Agents of the FBI that TERENCE CANNON was one of the main speakers.

At a monitors meeting on the evening of October 19, 1967, at Provo Park, Berkeley, California, which was also observed by Special Agents of the FBI, it was announced that the meeting was called to plan strategy for the "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations to be held on October 20, 1967.

TERENCE CANNON was present and KAREN JO KOONAN was identified as a monitor captain.

CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE, formerly known as the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), Berkeley

A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DAWSON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMEJO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMEJO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functioned included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and YSA leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES BRANCH - YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

On May 6, 1964, a source advised that in January, 1959, an unnamed organization was formed in Los Angeles by youth members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to support the newspaper "Young Socialist" (YS). This organization was formed as a result of the National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters held in Detroit, Michigan, in December, 1958, where a loose national organization was created around the YS with headquarters in New York City.

The organization remained unnamed, although commonly referred to as the Los Angeles Committee of Young Socialist Supporters (LACYSS) until February, 1960, when they adopted the name Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

A second National Conference of YS Supporters was held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which the national organization YSA was created. The YSA at Los Angeles is an integral part of the National organization and receives its directives from YSA Headquarters in New York City.

The YSA in Los Angeles is actually the youth organization of the SWP and follows the SWP aims and purposes to the letter.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M), formerly known as the May 2 Committee, was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations, and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

APPENDIX

1

PEACE/RIGHTS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

"The Daily Californian", a daily campus newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California (UCB), carried an article on 3/7/66 captioned, "New Student Movement Charter Day Protest Scheduled." The article related in part that Peace/Rights Organizing committee (PROC) was formed after meetings were held on March 5 and 6, 1966, by various UCB liberals in order to:

1. Combat "peevishness" of the UCB Administration with regard to alleged crackdown on campus political activities and

2. To organize a March 25 Charter Day protest with a purpose of protesting the presence of ARTHUR GOLDBERG, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the slated principal speaker.

Charter Day exercises are held during the latter part of March, celebrating the day UCB received its charter.

A source advised on 3/17/66 that BETTINA APTHEKER, MARVIN GARSON, and JACK WEINBERG were among the nine individuals on PROC's Executive Committee.

The "San Francisco, California, Sunday Examiner-Chronicle" newspaper, Sunday, 8/28/66 issue, stated BETTINA APTHEKER was on the Communist Party (CP) National Committee.

A second source advised on 1/5/62 that MARVIN GARSON attended a national Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois, and was elected a minority alternate to the YSA National Committee.

A third source advised on 10/11/64 that JACK WEINBERG attended a general membership meeting of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (WEBDCA) at Berkeley, California. WEINBERG was arrested at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in connection with a sit-in at Sproul Hall on 12/3/64. He was charged with trespassing and resisting arrest, convicted, and on 7/30/65 was sentenced to serve 120 days in jail.

A fourth source advised on 3/25/66 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the YSA, and such individuals as BETTINA APTHEKER, JERRY RUBIN, and JACK WEINBERG, were instrumental in forming PROC.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, 8/9/65 issue, stated JERRY RUBIN traveled to Cuba in defiance of a U.S. Department of State travel ban in the summer of 1964. The trip was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

APPENDIX

2

A fifth source advised on 2/19/65 that JERRY RUBIN enrolled in the fall 1964 semester of the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS).

A sixth source advised on 4/22/66 that the following individuals are among the 13 members of PROC's Steering Committee:

BETTINA APTHEKER
MARVIN GARSON
DENIS MOSGOFIAN
JERRY RUBIN
MIKE SMITH
JACK WEINBERG

On 7/13/65 a seventh source advised DENIS MOSGOFIAN was president of the campus chapter of the May 2nd Movement (M2M) at UCB during the spring of 1965.

MIKE SMITH publicly announced during a conference held by the WEBDCA on 3/7/66 that he had joined the WEBDCA.

An eighth source advised on 4/18/66 that PROC was failing.

On 6/2/66 the sixth source advised PROC is no longer active, and that there are no present indications it will resume activity during the fall of 1966.

On 6/13/66 a ninth source advised that PROC was a one-shot deal aimed at disrupting Charter Day ceremonies 3/25/66 at UCB.

APPENDIX

1. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New york, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

1.

SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, aka
San Francisco School of Social Science,
San Francisco Marxist Study Group,
San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism,
San Francisco School of Marxism

A source advised on February 6, 1962, that the first class of the San Francisco Marxist Study Group (SFMSG) was held on February 5, 1962, at 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco, California, and that the instructor of this class stated that the main purpose of the SFMSG was to train young people for leadership of the people in the event the U. S. wakes up to the advantages of communism.

A second source advised on April 23, 1964, that the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS), has been known as the "San Francisco School of Social Science," "San Francisco Marxist Study Group," "San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism," and "San Francisco School of Marxism."

A third source furnished the Spring, 1964, Bulletin of the SFSSS on October 14, 1964, which reflected that TERENCE HALLINAN and J. P. MORRAY were Co-Directors of the SFSSS.

A fourth source advised on April 9, 1965, that in April, 1965, TERENCE HALLINAN advised that he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP), but considered himself a communist and intended to join the CP as soon as he passed his bar exams.

A fifth source advised March 1, 1963, that HERBERT APTHEKER, a member of the CP, USA, National Committee, advised in February, 1963, that he was to be the East Coast Chairman and JOSEPH P. MORRAY the West Coast Director of a new organization being promoted by the CP, USA, to teach and propagate Marxist theories.

The third source further advised on January 26, 1966, that due to the failure of the SFSSS during its Spring, 1965, term to raise support sufficient to continue all of its scheduled classes, no classes were organized for a Fall, 1965, term. The SFSSS no longer exists.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC), PERMANENT STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (PSCTC), AD HOC STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (AHSCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", a weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York, New York, dated December 12, 1962, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays". This article stated in part that the AHSCTC was formed October 14, 1962.

A source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the Summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba; that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PLM members.

On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABBOT LUCE, a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee, advised the SCTC was formerly known as the PSCTC and the AHSCTC. He stated he was a leader of the 1963 trip to Cuba, an organizer of the 1964 trip, and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC. As of the Spring of 1964, the members of the SCTC Executive Committee were considered members of the PLM. No SCTC sponsored trip was made in 1965.

On February 3, 1967, a second source advised that the SCTC was defunct.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which contains information concerning the PLM, is characterized separately.

APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 19, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1

UNITED COMMITTEE AGAINST THE WAR
aka United Committee,
United Committee to End the War
in Vietnam

The December 1, 1966 issue of the "Activist," self-described as newsletter of the United Committee Against the War (UCAW), advised in an article that UCAW was formed on August 11, 1966, at Berkeley, California. The article further advised that "the aim of the United Committee is to bring together activist independent committees (anti-Vietnam) while at the same time coordinating with all groups for major anti-war projects..."

In October and November, 1966, three sources identified UCAW as an organization in the San Francisco Bay Area whose activities were directed toward protesting United States' policy in Vietnam and which is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In May 1967, the same three sources advised that UCAW's last activity was the sponsoring of an anti-Vietnam demonstration in the San Francisco Bay Area on November 5-8, 1966. The sources stated that UCAW gradually became defunct in early 1967.

APPENDIX

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B.DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka., the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15 - 17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1. YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SPW) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

1. "YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

October 31, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at San Francisco, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	ATLANTA	12/18/67	10/27/ - 12/5/67

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY [redacted] TYPED BY jl

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

ST-119 REC-4

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to San Francisco, 11/17/67.
Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/31/67, at San Francisco, captioned "COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE; IS - C

\- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Anti-draft demonstration at Federal Building, San Francisco, California, 12/4/67, was observed by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] SA [redacted] observed the premises at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, on December 5, 1967.

100-439190-47-24X3

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)
2 - San Francisco (100-50885)

REC-32

DEC 20 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	[illegible]	OSI, SIC	[illegible]	[illegible]
Request Recd.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Date Fwd.	1/8			
How Fwd.	[illegible]			
By	[illegible]			

Notations

INT. SEC'Y

66 JAN 16 1968

Pretexted phone call to 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, on December 5, 1967, was by SA [redacted]

San Francisco indices contain no identifying information concerning JERRY DENSCH, BILL MANDEL, or GAYLE MARKOW.

This report is classified Confidential because information furnished by [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Referenced Bureau airtel instructed that the administrative pages of this report should list the identity of cases opened on individual SNCC members and the current status of these cases. Investigation within the San Francisco Division indicates that SNCC is not a membership organization and that SNCC is not active in the San Francisco Division at this time. [redacted]

[redacted],

Editorial Group As Listed in "The Movement" For October 1967

Name	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
TERENCE MARTIN CANNON	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
BOBBI CIECIORKA	[redacted]	[redacted]	
BROOKS PENNEY	[redacted]	"	"

Name [redacted]

PENNY TAFT [redacted]

GAYLE MARKOW [redacted]

JULIE MILLER [redacted]

JOE BLUM [redacted]

KRIS DYMOND [redacted]

BUDDY STEIN [redacted]

KAREN JO KOONAN [redacted]

LINCOLN BERGMAN [redacted]

MARK ALLEN KLEIMAN [redacted]

Name [redacted]

GAIL MARLEN BROWN [redacted]

MICHAEL J. MILLER [redacted]

MICHAEL JOSEPH SHARON [redacted]

SF 100-50885
RNB:jl

The editorial group listed in "The Movement" for November 1967, included the following in addition to those previously listed in the October 1967 edition:

BILL MANDEL
JEFF SEGAL
JERRY DENSCH

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant	File Where Located
	100-50885-751
	100-50885-751
	100-50385-751
	100-50885- 747, 751
	100-50885- 747,751
	100-50885-747

SF 100-50885
RNB:jl

Identity of Informant	File Where Located
[redacted]	100-50885-747
[redacted]	100-50885-696
[redacted]	100-50885-696
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-56810-9
[redacted]	100-56810-10
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-55694

SF 100-50885
RNB:jl

Identity of Informant	File Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-57256-6
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-45437-18
[redacted]	100-45437-32
[redacted]	100-50861 - 3
[redacted]	100-50861-3
[redacted]	100-50861-9
[redacted]	This report.

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to follow and report activities of SNCC within San Francisco Division.

FD-376 (Rev. 8-1-66)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

December 18, 1967

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. [ ] Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. [ ] Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. XX Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. [ ] U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. X Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

   (a) [ ] Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:
   (b) X Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
   (c) X Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. [ ] Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph [ ] has been furnished [ ] enclosed [ ] is not available
[ ] may be available through ______________________

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service , San Francisco (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

Encl(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2 - 115th Military Intelligence Group (RM)
1 - NISO - 12 ND (RM)
1 - OSI - 19D (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 12/18/67

Field Office File #: 100-50885 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

San Francisco office of SNCC and "The Movement" continues to be at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California. There is no SNCC organization or activity in San Jose, California area. A staff member of "The Movement" stated that SNCC has no official staff members in San Francisco area, SNCC is not active in the San Francisco area, and 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, is really the office of "The Movement," which is affiliated with SNCC. He also stated SNCC has not been involved in any anti-draft or anti-war activity since October 21, 1967. "The Movement", self-described as an affiliate of SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society, in the November 1967 edition, listed editorial group as JOE BLUM, TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIORKA, KAREN KOONAN, BROOKS PENNEY, BILL MANDEL, BUDDY STEIN, PENNY TAFT, LINCOLN BERGMAN, JEFF SEGAL, GAYLE MARKOW, JERRY DENSCH, [redacted]

- P -

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A Special Agent of the FBI observed on December 5, 1967, that 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, continues to be identified as the Free Greek Evangelic Church, headquarters of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and offices of "The Movement."

There is no SNCC organization in the San Jose, California area nor has there been any activity sponsored by SNCC in this area.

on 10/6/67

on 10/5/67

on 9/29/67

on 9/29/67

II. AFFILIATES OF SNCC

On December 5, 1967, a pretext telephone call to the office of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which is listed in the current San Francisco Telephone Directory under that name at 449 - 14th Street, telephone number 626-4577, was made. The person who answered this call identified himself as JERRY DENSCH, a staff member of "The Movement." He stated, under questioning, that SNCC has no official staff members in the San Francisco Bay Area and the office at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, is really the office of "The Movement", an affiliate of SNCC. He said SNCC is not active in the San Francisco area at this time. He added that SNCC does not have members; but when the organization is active, it utilizes volunteer workers from the immediate area with possibly one SNCC staff member in supervision. He said any policy statements concerning SNCC would have to come from SNCC headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. He added

that TERENCE CANNON at one time was an official field secretary for SNCC in the San Francisco area, but at this time CANNON does not hold this title. He said CANNON is on the editorial staff of "The Movement" at San Francisco. However, he added that CANNON is the nearest thing to a SNCC official in the San Francisco area.

Mr. DENSCH said that "The Movement" and SNCC did take an active part in Stop The Draft Week activities of October 16 - 21, 1967, but have been involved in no such activities since October 21, 1967. He said "The Movement" and SNCC were not involved in the anti-draft demonstration at the Federal Building in San Francisco on December 4, 1967, and plan no such activity in the foreseeable future in the San Francisco area. Mr. DENSCH added that TERENCE CANNON can usually be contacted through "The Movement" office in San Francisco.

The masthead of the November 1967 edition of "The Movement" , self-described as affiliated with SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and published monthly by the Movement Press, 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California states that the editorial staff of that newspaper consists of the following:

TERENCE CANNON
BOBBI CIECIORKA
BROOKS PENNEY
PENNY TAFT
JOE BLUM
BUDDY STEIN
KAREN KOONAN
LINCOLN BERGMAN
JEFF SEGAL
GAYLE MARKOW
JEFFREY DENSCH
BILL MANDEL

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix.

SF 100-50885
RNB:jl

TERENCE CANNON

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON, a white male, was born January 10, 1940, at St. Louis, Missouri. The Congressional record of March 16, 1961, lists TERENCE MARTIN CANNON of Cornell University as an undergraduate signer of a petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

On May 22, 1967, CANNON telephoned the San Francisco Division of the FBI and identified himself as Field Secretary of SNCC.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a daily San Francisco newspaper, on May 26, 1967, reported that CANNON, identified as the editor of "The Movement", an "SNCC oriented newspaper", was wearing a .38 "automatic" on his belt at a television press conference held at SNCC offices in San Francisco on May 26, 1967. CANNON reportedly stated to interviewers in this press conference that on the night of May 21, 1967, the office of "The Movement" was burglarized and subscription lists were stolen. CANNON indicated that he would use the pistol to prevent further burglaries.

On October 18, 1967, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that TERRY CANNON is a member of the steering committee of the Anti-Draft Movement which is involved in the "Stop the Draft Week" (October 16-21, 1967), in the San Francisco - Oakland, California Bay areas.

[redacted] advised on October 22, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON spoke at a meeting of the San Francisco State College (SFSC) W.E.B. Du Bois Club on October 19, 1965.

A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America - San Francisco Division is contained in the appendix.

[redacted] advised on October 27, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON attended and spoke at a meeting on the SFSC campus sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs.

BOBBI CIECIORKA

Mrs. FRANK (BARBARA) CIECIORKA and her husband reside at 613 Clayton Street, San Francisco.

In March, 1963, [redacted], advised that BOB LINDSAY and FRANCIS FINK were active members of the CP.

BROOKS PENNY

On October 24, 1966, [redacted] advised that BROOKS PENNY, 175 Belvedere Street, San Francisco, appeared on a mailing list for the United Committee Against the War (UCAW).

A characterization of the UCAW is contained in the appendix.

PENNY TAFT

In volume one of "Onan", self-described internal journal of campus Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Berkeley, California,

PENNY TAFT was named as one of the persons to whom articles for "Onan" could be turned in to.

JOE BLUM

JOSEPH AARON BLUM was arrested by the San Francisco, California, Police Department on April 11, and April 17, 1964, in connection with demonstrations purportedly aimed at racial discrimination in hiring practices of automobile dealers.

[redacted] JOSEPH AARON BLUM, 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California, who was born June 23, 1941, in New York, [redacted] BLUM was arrested at a sit-in demonstration by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), California.

[redacted] advised on April 27, 1965, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a student organization started on campus in the early part of the fall semester of 1964 in which students protested administration regulation of social-political activities on the part of the students. This group sponsored several rallies the largest of which was on December 2, 1964, when approximately 1,000 students staged a sit-in demonstration at the Administration Building. After students refused to leave approximately 780 were arrested, on the morning of December 3, 1964.

The "Daily Californian", UCB student newspaper, in its issue of March 10, 1966, identified BLUM as an ex-member of the steering committee of the Peace Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) and said BLUM was negotiating to procure use of UCB facilities for a PROC meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to plan anti-Vietnam activity in connection with the appearance of Ambassador ARTHUR GOLDBERG at Charter Day ceremonies at UCB.

A characterization of PROC is contained in the Appendix.

On February 2, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM attended a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) at 145 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, to plan a student strike.

A characterization of the VDC is contained in the appendix.

On February 9, 1966, [redacted], advised BLUM supported and attended a VDC demonstration on the UCB campus.

As of June 28, 1966, [redacted], advised BLUM was a member of VDC.

As of October 29, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM was among the SDS leaders who prepared a paper on the SDS position which paper was being distributed on the UCB campus.

SF 100-50885
RNB:jl

On October 20, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM attended a general membership meeting of SDS at Oakland, California.

On December 12, 1966, records of UCB disclosed the following: JOSEPH AARON BLUM, born June 23, 1941, at New York, New York, is residing at 3225 Ellis Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, RENEE BLUM. He formerly lived at 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California. His father, DAVID L. BLUM is deceased and his mother, BEATRICE GOULD BLUM lives at 333 E. 79 Street, New York, New York.

BUDDY STEIN

In April, 1967, [redacted] advised that BERNARD L. (BUDDY) STEIN and his wife, SUSAN COLE STEIN have been active in SDS affairs at the UCB, California from 1965 to April, 1967.

KAREN KOONAN

On June 13, 1966, [redacted] advised that KAREN JO KOONAN, a white female, born August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia, was in June, 1966, a member of the UCLA Youth Club of the Southern California District of the CP, Los Angeles, California.

LINCOLN BERGMAN

[redacted] advised on December 14, 1955, LINCOLN BERGMAN was among the children at the Saturday afternoon program of the California Labor School (CLS) Christmas market held on the weekend of December 10, 1955, in San Francisco, California. BERGMAN was approximately ten years old at this time.

The CLS has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted], advised on May 4, 1965, that LINCOLN BERGMAN attended a May Day rally on April 29, 1961, at San Francisco, at which time the then current chairman of the CP, USA was the main speaker.

JEFFREY BARRY SEGAL

on 4/16/63

A characterization of the CCDBR is included in the appendix.

on 3/29/63

on 11/7/65

III. FINANCES OF SNCC

[redacted]

[redacted] on 10/27/67

IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY WITHIN SNCC ORGANIZATION

On December 4, 1967, an anti-draft demonstration at the Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate, San Francisco, California, was observed by Special Agents of the FBI. There was no indication that any persons affiliated with SNCC were present or that SNCC had any part in organizing the demonstration.

CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMM[illegible]E,
formerly known as the
Vietnam Day Committee (VDC),
Berkeley

A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam wa[r]

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DAWSON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMEJO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMEJO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activitie[s] of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functio[n]ed included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and YSA leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX

1. APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Suite 424, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M), formerly known as the May 2 Committee, was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations, and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

APPENDIX

PEACE/RIGHTS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

"The Daily Californian", a daily campus newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California (UCB), carried an article on 3/7/66 captioned, "New Student Movement Charter Day Protest Scheduled." The article related in part that Peace/Rights Organizing committee (PROC) was formed after meetings were held on March 5 and 6, 1966, by various UCB liberals in order to:

1. Combat "peevishness" of the UCB Administration with regard to alleged crackdown on campus political activities and

2. To organize a March 25 Charter Day protest with a purpose of protesting the presence of ARTHUR GOLDBERG, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the slated principal speaker.

Charter Day exercises are held during the latter part of March, celebrating the day UCB received its charter.

A source advised on 3/17/66 that BETTINA APTHEKER, MARVIN GARSON, and JACK WEINBERG were among the nine individuals on PROC's Executive Committee.

The "San Francisco, California, Sunday Examiner-Chronicle" newspaper, Sunday, 8/28/66 issue, stated BETTINA APTHEKER was on the Communist Party (CP) National Committee.

A second source advised on 1/5/62 that MARVIN GARSON attended a national Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois, and was elected a minority alternate to the YSA National Committee.

A third source advised on 10/11/64 that JACK WEINBERG attended a general membership meeting of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (WEBDCA) at Berkeley, California. WEINBERG was arrested at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in connection with a sit-in at Sproul Hall on 12/3/64. He was charged with trespassing and resisting arrest, convicted, and on 7/30/65 was sentenced to serve 120 days in jail.

A fourth source advised on 3/25/66 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the YSA, and such individuals as BETTINA APTHEKER, JERRY RUBIN, and JACK WEINBERG, were instrumental in forming PROC.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, 8/9/65 issue, stated JERRY RUBIN traveled to Cuba in defiance of a U.S. Department of State travel ban in the summer of 1964. The trip was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

APPENDIX

A fifth source advised on 2/19/65 that JERRY RUBIN enrolled in the fall 1964 semester of the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS).

A sixth source advised on 4/22/66 that the following individuals are among the 13 members of PROC's Steering Committee:

BETTINA APTHEKER
MARVIN GARSON
DENIS MOSGOFIAN
JERRY RUBIN
MIKE SMITH
JACK WEINBERG

On 7/13/65 a seventh source advised DENIS MOSGOFIAN was president of the campus chapter of the May 2nd Movement (M2M) at UCB during the spring of 1965.

MIKE SMITH publicly announced during a conference held by the WEBDCA on 3/7/66 that he had joined the WEBDCA.

An eighth source advised on 4/18/66 that PROC was failing.

On 6/2/66 the sixth source advised PROC is no longer active, and that there are no present indications it will resume activity during the fall of 1966.

On 6/13/66 a ninth source advised that PROC was a one-shot deal aimed at disrupting Charter Day ceremonies 3/25/66 at UCB.

APPENDIX

1. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New york, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that. "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories. the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

1.

SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, aka
San Francisco School of Social Science,
San Francisco Marxist Study Group,
San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism,
San Francisco School of Marxism

A source advised on February 6, 1962, that the first class of the San Francisco Marxist Study Group (SFMSG) was held on February 5, 1962, at 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco, California, and that the instructor of this class stated that the main purpose of the SFMSG was to train young people for leadership of the people in the event the U. S. wakes up to the advantages of communism.

A second source advised on April 23, 1964, that the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS), has been known as the "San Francisco School of Social Science," "San Francisco Marxist Study Group," "San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism," and "San Francisco School of Marxism."

A third source furnished the Spring, 1964, Bulletin of the SFSSS on October 14, 1964, which reflected that TERENCE HALLINAN and J. P. MORRAY were Co-Directors of the SFSSS.

A fourth source advised on April 9, 1965, that in April, 1965, TERENCE HALLINAN advised that he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP), but considered himself a communist and intended to join the CP as soon as he passed his bar exams.

A fifth source advised March 1, 1963, that HERBERT APTHEKER, a member of the CP, USA, National Committee, advised in February, 1963, that he was to be the East Coast Chairman and JOSEPH P. MORRAY the West Coast Director of a new organization being promoted by the CP, USA, to teach and propagate Marxist theories.

The third source further advised on January 26, 1966, that due to the failure of the SFSSS during its Spring, 1965, term to raise support sufficient to continue all of its scheduled classes, no classes were organized for a Fall, 1965, term. The SFSSS no longer exists.

APPENDIX

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC), PERMANENT STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (PSCTC), AD HOC STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (AHSCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", a weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York, New York, dated December 12, 1962, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays". This article stated in part that the AHSCTC was formed October 14, 1962.

A source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the Summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba; that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PLM members.

On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABBOT LUCE, a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee, advised the SCTC was formerly known as the PSCTC and the AHSCTC. He stated he was a leader of the 1963 trip to Cuba, an organizer of the 1964 trip, and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC. As of the Spring of 1964, the members of the SCTC Executive Committee were considered members of the PLM. No SCTC sponsored trip was made in 1965.

On February 3, 1967, a second source advised that the SCTC was defunct.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which contains information concerning the PLM, is characterized separately.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 18,1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

UNITED COMMITTEE AGAINST THE WAR
aka United Committee,
United Committee to End the War
in Vietnam

The December 1, 1966 issue of the "Activist," self-described as newsletter of the United Committee Against the War (UCAW), advised in an article that UCAW was formed on August 11, 1966, at Berkeley, California. The article further advised that "the aim of the United Committee is to bring together activist independent committees (anti-Vietnam) while at the same time coordinating with all groups for major anti-war projects..."

In October and November, 1966, three sources identified UCAW as an organization in the San Francisco Bay Area whose activities were directed toward protesting United States' policy in Vietnam and which is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The SWP has been designated by the
Attorney General of the United States
pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In May 1967, the same three sources advised that UCAW's last activity was the sponsoring of an anti-Vietnam demonstration in the San Francisco Bay Area on November 5-8, 1966. The sources stated that UCAW gradually became defunct in early 1967.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B.DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA) SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source has advised that as of April, 1966, the records of the DCA reflect that the following Du Bois Clubs and/or Chapters in Northern California are affiliated with the parent organization, the DCA:

1. Berkeley Du Bois Club (BDBC), (Chartered)
2. Fillmore Du Bois Club (FDBC), (Chartered)
3. San Francisco Du Bois Club (SFDBC), (Chartered)
4. San Francisco State College Du Bois Club (SFSCDBC), (Chartered)
5. San Jose Du Bois Club (SJDBC), (Chartered)
6. San Jose State College Du Bois Club (SJSCDBC), (Non-chartered)
7. Stanford University Du Bois Club (SUDBC), (Non-chartered)

A second source has advised in April, 1967, that for all intent and purpose, the DCA is defunct in the general San Francisco Bay Area, although certain elements in the Northern California District Communist Party are attempting to revive interest in the DCA.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka., the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15 - 17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1. YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SPW) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

1. "YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	ATLANTA	4/11/68	1/22 - 4/9/68

CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	[redacted]	tjm
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS-SNCC	

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] 12/18/68 at San Francisco.
Bureau airtel to Albany 1/31/68.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

TERENCE M. CANNON was contacted by SA [redacted] by telephone 1/22/68 on pretext [redacted]

The benefit meeting held by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) on 2/17/68 was observed by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

REC-75

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

10 - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
2 - 115th MIG (RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19D (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)
2 - San Francisco (100-50885)

100-439190-4726

16 APR 15 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF classification DATE 8/25/78

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Notations

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	DAO; ISD, CRD, Crim, IDIU
Date Fwd.	4/25/68
How Fwd.	RS
By	PTB/dkv 6X

Classified by 259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

6/22/78

62 JUN 6 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

The premises at 449-14th Street, San Francisco, were observed by SA [redacted] on 1/15/68 and 4/9/68.

It is pointed out that continuing investigation within the San Francisco Division indicates that SNCC is not a membership organization and that SNCC is not active within the San Francisco Division at this time. The only SNCC affiliates known to the San Francisco Division at this time are the staff members of "The Movement", which is self-described as a monthly newspaper affiliated with SNCC and SDS. There are no known Negro staff members affiliated with "The Movement".

[redacted] Listed below are the current staff members of "The Movement" with the required information.

LINCOLN BERGMAN
[redacted]

JOSEPH AARON BLUM
[redacted]

MARILYN JEAN BUCK
[redacted]

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON
[redacted]

BARBARA JEAN CIECIORKA
[redacted]

JERRY DENSCH
[redacted]

KAREN JO KOONAN
[redacted]

SF 100-50885
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CONFIDENTIAL

GAYLE MARKOW
[redacted]

JEFFREY BARRY SEGAL
[redacted]

MORGAN CHARLES SPECTOR
[redacted]

BERNARD LEIKIND STEIN
[redacted]

KAREN LEE WALD LIKBERMAN
[redacted]

ARLENE E. BERGMAN
[redacted]

JEFFREY ALLAN BLANKFORT
[redacted]

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-45437 - 18
[redacted]	100-45437 - 32
[redacted]	100-50861 - 3

CONFIDENTIAL

SF 100-50885
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100-50885 - 747

100-56810 - 9

100-56810 - 10

100-55691

LA 100-40903 - 4716

100-50885 - 696

100-50885 - 747

100-50885 - 747

100-50885 - 747

100-56509 - 25

100-57256 - 6

SF 100-50885
RNB/tjm

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[redacted]	100-50861 - 3
[redacted]	100-50861 - 3
[redacted]	100-50861 - 9
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-59641 - 18
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-56930 - 4
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-44114 - 51
[redacted]	100-50885 - 773
[redacted]	100-50885 - 817
[redacted]	100-50885 - 817
[redacted]	This report.

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

- E -
COVER PAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to follow and report activity of "The Movement" and SNCC within the San Francisco Division.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

Copy to:
1 - 115th MIG (RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19D (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Report of: [redacted] Office: SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 4/11/68

Field Office File #: 100-50885 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

San Francisco Office of SNCC and "The Movement" continues to be at 449-14th St., San Francisco, California. "The Movement", which is self-described as a monthly newspaper affiliated with SNCC and SDS, lists its editorial group as LINCOLN BERGMAN, JOE BLUM, MARILYN BUCK, TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIORKA, JERRY DENSCH, KAREN JO KOONAN, GAYLE MARKOW, JEFF SEGAL, MORGAN SPECTOR, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN WALD, ARLENE E. BERGMAN and JEFFREY BLANKFORT. On 2/17/68 BPPSD held a benefit program in Oakland, California, to raise money for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, BPPSD member charged with murder. Master of Ceremonies LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER of BPPSD announced the merger of BPPSD and SNCC. SNCC officials, including JAMES FORMAN, H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL verified the merger of SNCC and BPPSD and advocated violence. [redacted]

\- P -

DETAILS:

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

Classified by 259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/22/78

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) DATE

Classification 8/25/78

SECRET

SF 100-50885
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On April 9, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed that the premises at 449-14th Street, San Francisco, continues to be identified as the Free Greek Evangelic Church, "SNCC" and "The Movement".

II. AFFILIATES OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTE (SNCC)

The masthead of the April, 1968, edition of "The Movement", self-described as a monthly newspaper published by "The Movement Press" 449-14th Street, San Francisco, California, and affiliated with SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), states that the Editorial Staff of the newspaper consist of the following:

LINCOLN BERGMAN, JOE BLUM, MARILYN BUCK, TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIORKA, JERRY DENSCH, KAREN JO KOONAN, GAYLE MARKOW, JEFF SEGAL, MORGAN SPECTOR, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN WALD, ARLENE E. BERGMAN and JEFFREY BLANKFORT.

LINCOLN BERGMAN

[redacted] advised on December 14, 1955, LINCOLN BERGMAN was among the children at the Saturday afternoon program of the California Labor School (CLS) Christmas market held on the week-end of December 10, 1955, in San Francisco, California. BERGMAN was approximately ten years old at this time.

The CLS has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted] advised on May 4, 1965, that LINCOLN BERGMAN attended a May Day rally on April 29, 1961, at San Francisco, at which time USA was the main speaker.

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JOE BLUM

JOSEPH AARON BLUM was arrested by the San Francisco, California, Police Department on April 11, and April 17, 1964, in connection with demonstrations purportedly aimed at racial discrimination in hiring practices of automobile dealers.

BLUM was arrested at a sit-in demonstration by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), California.

> advised on April 27, 1965, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a student organization started on campus in the early part of the fall semester of 1964 in which students protested administration regulation of social-political activities on the part of the students. This group sponsored several rallies the largest of which was on December 2, 1964, when approximately 1,000 students staged a sit-in demonstration at the Administration Building. After students refused to leave approximately 780 were arrested, on the morning of december 3, 1964.

The "Daily Californian", UCB, student newspaper in its issue of March 10, 1966, identified BLUM as an ex-member of the Steering Committee of the Peace Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) and said BLUM was negotiating to procure use of UCB facilities for a PROC meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to plan anti-Vietnam activity in connection with the appearance of Ambassador ARTHUR GOLDBERG at Charter Day ceremonies at UCB.

A characterization of PROC is contained in the appendix.

On February 2, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM attended a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) at 145 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, to plan a student strike.

A characterization of the VDC is contained in the appendix.

On February 9, 1966 [redacted] advised BLUM supported and attended a VDC demonstration on the UCB campus.

As of June 28, 1966 [redacted] advised BLUM was a member of VDC.

On October 6, 1966 [redacted] advised BLUM attended a meeting of SDS at 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley. He was then a member of the SDS Steering Committee on the UCB campus. He was active in organizing this meeting and is a graduate student in criminology at UCB.

As of October 29, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM was among the SDS leaders who prepared a paper on the SDS position which paper was being distributed in the UCB campus.

On October 20, 1966, [redacted] advised BLUM attended a general membership meeting of SDS at Oakland, California.

On December 12, 1966, records of UCB disclosed the following: JOSEPH AARON BLUM, born June 23, 1941, at New York, New York, is residing at 3225 Ellis Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, RENEE BLUM. He formerly lived at 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California. His father, DAVID L. BLUM is deceased and his mother, BEATRICE GOULD BLUM lives at 333 E. 79 Street, New York, New York.

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MARILYN BUCK

MARILYN JEAN BUCK is a white female born December 13, 1947 at Temple, Texas.

[redacted] on June 26, 1967, reported that MARILYN BUCK, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, was a delegate to the SDS National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, held on June 23 - 30, 1967.

"New Left Notes" official publication of SDS in issue of July 24, 1967, reported that MARILYN BUCK had been appointed to a position on the National Administrative Committee of SDS.

"New Left Notes" of November 6, 1967, contained an article captioned "Resistance-On The Right Side: To Resistance", by MARILYN BUCK.

In this article BUCK described the demonstration in Washington on October 21, 1967, and stated that excessive force was used against the demonstrators. She concluded her article with the following statement:

"The peace movement as such was beaten, nearly to the death. But in that defeat the resistance arose as a political force. The government seemed to be afraid, evidenced by its violation of the rules and boundaries which it had issued for their own benefit, not the Mobilization's. The resistance movement can and will feed itself on the fear and the consequent reppression of its people. The people of the U.S. and the world will gain freedom only through stuggle. The Cubans knew that and they are now free. The Vietnamese know that and they are defeating our Imperialist government. The Blacks in the U.S. know that and now we, the whites of America, are quickly acknowledging this fact. Imperialism can not be defeated by cardboard signs and flowers."

[redacted] on February 2, 1968, reported that MARILYN BUCK, 3368-16th Street, San Francisco,

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RNB/tjm

California, attended a SDS National Council meeting at Stanford University on February 24, 1968. During the meeting she stated "We have not as yet reached a communist state." The context in which this was stated indicated she would be happy when this utopian state was reached.

TERENCE CANNON

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON, a white male, was born January 10, 1940, at St. Louis, Missouri. The Congressional record of March 16, 1961, lists TERENCE MARTIN CANNON of Cornell University as an undergraduate signer of a petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

[redacted] advised on October 22, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON spoke at a meeting of the San Francisco State College (SFSC) W.E.B. Du Bois Club on October 19, 1965.

> A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America - San Francisco Division is contained in the appendix.

On May 22, 1967, CANNON telephoned the San Francisco Division of the FBI and identified himself as Field Secretary of SNCC.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a daily San Francisco newspaper, on May 26, 1967, reported that CANNON, identified as the editor of "The Movement", an "SNCC oriented newspaper", was wearing a .38 "automatic" on his belt at a television press conference held at SNCC offices in San Francisco on May 26, 1967. CANNON reportedly stated to interviewers in this press conference that on the night of May 21, 1967, the office of "The Movement" was burglarized and subscription lists were stolen. CANNON indicated that he would use the pistol to prevent further burglaries.

On October 18, 1967 [redacted] and [redacted] advised that TERRY CANNON is a member of the Steering Committee of the Anti-Draft Movement which is

involved in the "Stop the Draft Week" (October 16-21, 1967), in the San Francisco - Oakland, California Bay areas.

The February 17, 1968, edition of the Oakland Tribune, a daily newspaper published in Oakland, California, reports that seven persons were indicted for conspiracy which included distribution of leaflets and maps describing the organization and conduct of demonstrations to be held at the Oakland Induction Center in October, 1967, and other active participation in the anti-draft demonstrations. TERENCE CANNON is listed as one of the seven persons indicted, however, as of February 17, 1968, he was out of town and had not yet been located.

BOBBI CIECIORKA

Mrs. FRANK (BARBARA) CIECIORKA and her husband reside at 613 Clayton Street, San Francisco.

In March, 1963 [redacted] advised that BOB LINDSAY stated that FRANK CIECIORKA was organizing a W.E.B. Du Bois Club in San Jose, California.

"Insurgent", self-described as a bi-monthly publication of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA). In November, 1965 through June, 1966, issues contained a serialized article entitled "Negroes in American History; A Freedom Primer." The text is attributed to BOBBI and FRANK CIECIORKA.

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referred

KAREN KOONAN

On June 13, 1966, [redacted] advised that KAREN JO KOONAN, a white female, born August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia, was in June, 1966, a member of the UCLA Youth Club of the Southern California District of the CP, Los Angeles, California.

JEFFREY BARRY SEGAL

[redacted] 4/16/63

A characterization of the CCDBR is contained in the appendix.

[redacted] 3/29/63

[redacted] 11/7/65

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RNB/tjm

MORGAN SPECTOR

MORGAN CHARLES SPECTOR is a white male, born November 15, 1947, at Los Angeles, California. His mother is ELIZABETH SPECTOR and his step-father is FRANK SPECTOR of Los Angeles, California

MORGAN SPECTOR was suspended from the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) for his activities during Stop the Draft Week in Oakland, California, in October, 1967.

[redacted] on April 25, 1967, reported that MORGAN SPECTOR 1137 East Ninth Street, Albany, California, is a subscriber to "People's World", a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

BUDDY STEIN

In April, 1967 [redacted] advised that BERNARD L. (BUDDY) STEIN and his wife, SUSAN COLE STEIN have been active in SDS affairs at the UCB, California, from 1965 to April, 1967.

KAREN WALD

KAREN LEE WALD LEIBERMAN is a white female, born December 7, 1943, at New York, New York.

On July 5, 1966, an open Socialist Workers Party - Young Socialist Alliance (SWP) (YSA) sponsored class on Socialism was held at Dwinelle

Hall, UCB. KAREN LIEBERMAN was present for this program. The purpose of the class was to introduce acquaintances of SWP and YSA members to the principals of the Trotskyite Movement.

[redacted] 7/15/66

KAREN LIEBERMAN attended and participated in the SWP - YSA sponsored West Coast Vacation School at Laurel Glen Camp from August 27 - September 5, 1966. LIEBERMAN was active as a member of a panel discussing "Perspectives for the Anti-War Movement" on the evening of August 28, 1966.

[redacted] 9/6/66
9/7/66

A characterization of the SWP and the YSA is contained in the appendix.

An educational meeting was held August 12, 1966, at a private residence, 2106-B McGee Street, Berkeley, California. KAREN LIEBERMAN was among approximately twenty persons present when an educational talk was delivered by BETTINA APTHEKER, a publicly self-admitted member of the CP.

[redacted], 8/16/66

The San Francisco Chronicle, a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, California, on March 15, 1968, reported that "Six young Castro sympathizers" from the San Francisco Bay area were prevented from traveling to Cuba from Mexico and were ejected from Mexico into the United States. One of these individuals was identified as KAREN WALD, a student at UCB.

ARLENE E. BERGMAN

SF 100-50885
RNB/tjm

Records of the Alameda County Marriage License Bureau, Oakland, California, reflect that LINCOLN BERGMAN and ARLENE WILMA EISEN, a white female born November 4, 1942 in New York City, a student at UCB, were married July 7, 1967.

The February, 1968, issue of "The Movement", self-described as affiliated with with SNCC and SDS contains an article captioned "A Proposal for Self Defense" by ARLENE EISEN BERGMAN. This article deals with the ability of demonstrators to protect themselves from the authorities.

JEFFREY BLANKFORT

JEFFREY ALLEN BLANKFORT is a white male born June 4, 1934, at New York, New York.

[redacted] 7/7/67

[redacted], 10/11/67
10/12/67

[redacted] 6/13/67

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RNB/tjm

9/19/67

III. ACTIVITY OF PERSONS AFFILIATED WITH "THE MOVEMENT" AND SNCC

on December 12, 1967, reported that he had occasion to meet an individual at the Berkeley Free Church, Berkeley, California, in September, 1967. This individual identified himself as TERRY CANNON, an official of SNCC. CANNON stated he is in charge of compiling a mailing list of military personnel overseas since SNCC sends literature urging these individuals not to fight.

On January 22, 1968, TERENCE CANNON was contacted by a Special Agent of the FBI using a suitable pretext and CANNON was questioned about the emergence of SDS as an affiliate of "The Movement".

CANNON stated that the extent of affiliation by "The Movement" with SNCC and SDS was just that "The Movement" cooperated with both organizations and accepted material from both organizations. He said the black nationalist movement is changing from an all black movement for blacks only to a movement consisting of both blacks and whites both working for the black nationalist movement.

He added that there are no plans for a merger of SNCC and SDS--just cooperation.

When questioned about what appears to be an increase in articles partaining to the Chicago area, CANNON said it is true that more and more material comes from Chicago. He said "The Movement" has a large editorial staff in Chicago. He stated that "The Movement" is published only at San Francisco, however, there is nationwide circulation. When questioned about the circulation, he said circulation is mainly in the San Francisco Bay area, Chicago area, and the Atlanta area. He added that efforts are being made to establish an editorial staff and circulation in the New York City area.

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RNB/tjm

advised that MIKE JAMES was a principal speaker at Tougaloo College on February 8, 1968, and that TERRY CANNON also spoke briefly during which time he indicated he was involved in the draft resistance movement and is the editor of "The Movement" a SNCC newspaper printed in San Francisco.

JOE BLUM, who accompanied the above individuals, was identified as a "peace activist and also an editor of "The Movement".

The February, 1968, issue of "The Movement" states that JOE BLUM, TERRY CANNON, the founder of the paper, and MIKE JAMES of Chicago are traveling around the country talking to people about "The Movement". It was indicated that the purpose of the trip was to "build contacts and to get committments to write and to distribute the paper".

The Oakland Tribune, a daily newspaper published in Oakland, California, on February 16, 1968, stated that TERENCE CANNON is one of seven individuals indicted for overt acts of conspiracy involving their active participation in anti-draft demonstrations held at the Oakland Induction Center in October 1967. As of February 16, 1968, CANNON was out of town and unavailable to the authorities.

On February 17, 1968, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) held a benefit program in the Oakland, California Municipal Auditorium to raise money for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, a Black Panther member who is presently charged with the murder of a policeman in Oakland. This meeting was observed by Special Agents of the FBI.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, of BPPSD was master of ceremonies and he announced that a merger of BPPSD and SNCC had taken place.

SF 100-50885
RNB/tjm

JAMES FORMAN of SNCC was introduced as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of BPPSD and he urged reprisals for assassinations of any black leaders in the form of destruction of utilities and police stations and the death of police officers.

H. RAP BROWN was introduced as a surprise guest and the title of Minister of Justice of the BPPSD was conferred on him.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman of BPPSD, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at this meeting and all urged militant action against authorities.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was acclaimed by CLEAVER and all present as the Prime Minister of Afro-America to all Africans throughout the world.

ETHEL MINOR from the Atlanta Office of SNCC was also introduced but did not speak.

The program was attended by approximately 4500 individuals, two thirds of whom were Negroes. All speakers were greeted by wild enthusiastic applause and standing ovations.

IV. [redacted]

SF 100-50885
RNE/tjm

[redacted] Howard Quinn Printing Company, 298 Alabama Street, San Francisco, California, advised his company has printed 'The Movement' for some time. In January, 1968, the printing was 10000 copies. In February, 1968, the printing was 15000 copies. The April printing was 10000 copies. [redacted] pointed out that a March edition was not published. He said this was explained to him as an effort to put the paper on the news stands earlier than the published month, a practice which is universal in the publishing business.

A characterization of the BPPSD is contained in the Appendix pages.

A characterization of SDS is contained in the appendix.

1.

APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Suite 424, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A second source advised on October 31, 1960, that a new organization known as the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights was formally launched in Chicago at a meeting on October 26, 1960. The stated primary purpose of the new organization was to seek the abolition of the HCUA, and RICHARD CRILEY was named as its Executive Secretary, after having been the guiding force in arranging the October 26, 1960, meeting.

A third source advised on May 3, 1962, that the CCDBR continues to adhere to the same aims and purposes and operates under the same leadership.

APPENDIX

1

CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE,
formerly known as the
Vietnam Day Committee (VDC)
Berkeley

A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DAWSON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMEJO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMEJO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functioned included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and YSA leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX

1

PEACE/RIGHTS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

"The Daily Californian", a daily campus newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California (UCB), carried an article on 3/7/66 captioned, "New Student Movement Charter Day Protest Scheduled." The article related in part that Peace/Rights Organizing committee (PROC) was formed after meetings were held on March 5 and 6, 1966, by various UCB liberals in order to:

1. Combat "peevishness" of the UCB Administration with regard to alleged crackdown on campus political activities and

2. To organize a March 25 Charter Day protest with a purpose of protesting the presence of ARTHUR GOLDBERG, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the slated principal speaker.

Charter Day exercises are held during the latter part of March, celebrating the day UCB received its charter.

A source advised on 3/17/66 that BETTINA APTHEKER, MARVIN GARSON, and JACK WEINBERG were among the nine individuals on PROC's Executive Committee.

The "San Francisco, California, Sunday Examiner-Chronicle" newspaper, Sunday, 8/28/66 issue, stated BETTINA APTHEKER was on the Communist Party (CP) National Committee.

A second source advised on 1/5/62 that MARVIN GARSON attended a national Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois, and was elected a minority alternate to the YSA National Committee.

A third source advised on 10/11/64 that JACK WEINBERG attended a general membership meeting of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (WEBDCA) at Berkeley, California. WEINBERG was arrested at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in connection with a sit-in at Sproul Hall on 12/3/64. He was charged with trespassing and resisting arrest, convicted, and on 7/30/65 was sentenced to serve 120 days in jail.

A fourth source advised on 3/25/66 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the YSA, and such individuals as BETTINA APTHEKER, JERRY RUBIN, and JACK WEINBERG, were instrumental in forming PROC.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, 8/9/65 issue, stated JERRY RUBIN traveled to Cuba in defiance of a U.S. Department of State travel ban in the summer of 1964. The trip was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

APPENDIX

2

A fifth source advised on 2/19/65 that JERRY RUBIN enrolled in the fall 1964 semester of the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS).

A sixth source advised on 4/22/66 that the following individuals are among the 13 members of PROC's Steering Committee:

BETTINA APTHEKER
MARVIN GARSON
DENIS MOSGOFIAN
JERRY RUBIN
MIKE SMITH
JACK WEINBERG

On 7/13/65 a seventh source advised DENIS MOSGOFIAN was president of the campus chapter of the May 2nd Movement (M2M) at UCB during the spring of 1965.

MIKE SMITH publicly announced during a conference held by the WEBDCA on 3/7/66 that he had joined the WEBDCA.

An eighth source advised on 4/18/66 that PROC was failing.

On 6/2/66 the sixth source advised PROC is no longer active, and that there are no present indications it will resume activity during the fall of 1966.

On 6/13/66 a ninth source advised that PROC was a one-shot deal aimed at disrupting Charter Day ceremonies 3/25/66 at UCB.

APPENDIX

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 18,1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B.DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS).At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1\. YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SPW) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O.Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

SECRET

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 17 of 19 sections

FD-263 (Rev. 5-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
SEATTLE	ATLANTA	2/29/68	1/18 - 2/28/68	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) SEATTLE CHAPTER		[redacted]		cmh
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - SNCC		

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel, 1/31/68.

100-439190-1698X

- P* -

LEADS:

SEATTLE DIVISION
At Seattle, Washington

Will report activities of this organization each 90 days.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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EX-105

3 MAR 1 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ~~NIS~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
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Date Fwd.	HOW FORW: R/S
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 3/4/68
By	BY

61 MAR 14 1968

Notations: 100 Rpt

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential since disclosure of confidential informants [redacted] through [redacted] could minimize their future effectiveness to the detriment of the national security.

[redacted],

Copies of this report are being disseminated locally to interested agencies who have current interest in possible racial unrest.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	100-26956-640 -700
[redacted]	[redacted]

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
	-1624
	-1664
	-1687
	-1703
	-1720
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-26956-475
	-478
	[redacted]

COVER PAGE

L ED STATES DEPARTMENT OI STICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - NISO, Seattle (REG)
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Report of: [redacted]
Office: Seattle, Washington
Date: February 29, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-26956
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEATTLE CHAPTER

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P* -

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL
Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

I. BASIS

This investigation is undertaken to ascertain if the activities of this organization are directed toward violation of laws of the United States. No investigation has been conducted into the legitimate activities of this organization. Information appearing in this report pertains to activity of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Seattle Chapter, since January 1, 1967.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The SNCC, Seattle Chapter, currently maintains headquarters at 1127½ - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. This office was opened on September 20, 1967, and a lease was obtained from owners of the building at this address for a period of one year.

[redacted] (2/13/68)

III. AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SNCC, SEATTLE CHAPTER

During the early part of 1967 the following pamphlet was distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington:

[redacted] (10/11/67)

SNCC's goal is to completely wipe out discrimination. SNCC feels that the best weapon Black America has to combat discrimination is mass action. A thousand Afro-Americans acting as one can shake the white man out of bigotry the same way that the white man has physically, economically, politically, and morally intimidated the black man for 350 years.

SNCC's policy is clear. As long as Black Men are denied the right to enjoy the American way of life, then we are determined that white men will not enjoy it either.

EDUCATION

In almost any city the administration has provided fewer books and other facilities to schools of predominantly Black enrollment. SNCC says that Black power can influence city and school administrators to equalize this distribution.

School systems have been one of the leading factors in maintaining the "white superiority' image. SNCC wants the school system to turn out enlightened Black Youths who are proud to be Black and who are aware of what they can contribute towards the welfare of themselves, their families, and their community.

LABOR

Discrimination in labor has long been used to keep the Black man down. Employing rhw Black Man in only the most menial, low paying jobs has kept him so busy surviving that he has no time to worry about equality. SNCC says that in the Black Man can SNCC an hour of his time per month, we will get him better paying jobs.

VIET NAM

Black Americans are fighting and dying in Viet Nam to strengthen a way of life that vontinues to hold him to ridicule and many forms of intimidation. SNCC will offer support to any Black Man who will refuse induction until racism becomes non-existent.

HOUSING

It is no secret that the white man will not rent or sell houses and apartments to Black Men for no other reason than because they are Black. SNCC says that the Afro-American should be able to decide for himself where he wants to live and not be influenced by the effects of white racism.

White men are taking advantage of Black Men by charging rents that are too high for the quality of the dwelling. SNCC says that BLACK Power can make white men share lower rents or improve the quality of the dwelling.

FREEDOM NOW!
SEATTLE STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
1127 34th Ave.

IV. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

During the early part of 1968 there was no information available reflecting that SNCC, Seattle Chapter, was a bonafide membership organization. No information was available reflecting that an official membership list was maintained or that there was any special procedure in becoming a member of SNCC, Seattle Chapter.

During the early part of 1968 the twice weekly meetings attracted approximately a dozen young teenage Negroes, many of whom attended only one meeting and were thereafter not observed in attendance at subsequent meetings.

Meetings in early 1968 were under the direction of CARL MILLER who is the self-admitted Chairman of SNCC, Seattle Chapter. Membership in SNCC, Seattle Chapter, is believed to be on an informal basis and attendance at meetings and participation in activities sponsored by the group are believed to be evidence of membership in the organization.

(2/13/68)

(12/19/67)

(7/3/67)

(5/26/67)

The August 7, 1967, issue of the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" newspaper carried an article on page 1, column 4 under the heading "Negro Unit Skips Races". This article identified members of the SNCC, Seattle Chapter, as Chairman CARL MILLER, MADELYNE SCOTT, and JOHN EICHELBERGER.

During May, 1967, a leaflet was distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington, announcing a forum to be held on May 20, 1967, at 5257 University Way Northeast. This forum announced a discussion of "civil rights and Vietnam" and listed as one of the speakers LESTER McINTOSH, Educational Director, Seattle SNCC.

(5/20/67)

V. FINANCES

During the early part of 1968, it was reported that SNCC, Seattle Chapter, was having financial problems and that the group was supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

(2/13/68)

(9/28/67)

VI. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

During December, 1967, leaflets were distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle announcing the "Central

Area Peace-Pipe Conference". This conference was scheduled for January 12 and 13, 1968, and was advertised as a civil rights conference jointly sponsored by the NVL, SNCC, Seattle Chapter, and other civil rights groups.

[redacted] (12/1/67)

During December, 1967, a leaflet was distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington, announcing a fund-raising party in support of EARNEST DUDLEY, a Seattle area resident who was then awaiting trial in U.S. District Court on a charge of resisting Selective Service laws. Sponsors of this fund raising affair included SNCC, Seattle Chapter, the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), the Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SCEWV), Young Political Explorers League (YPEL), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), among others.

[redacted] (12/28/67)

The FSP, SCEWV, YPEL, YSA, and SWP are characterized in the appendix section of this report.

During December, 1967, leaflets were distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle announcing a civil rights rally to be held on December 6, 1967, at 42nd and 15th Avenue Northeast in Seattle, Washington. The purpose of this rally was to "inform people about the racist practice of San Francisco State College". Speaker at this rally was identified as CARL MILLER "Chairman of Seattle SNCC".

[redacted] (12/8/67)

On December 9, 1967, the annual Christmas fund-raising bazaar sponsored by the Northwest District Communist Party (NWDCP) was held at Washington Hall in Seattle, Washington. This bazaar was sponsored by the CP as a fund-raising activity and one of the organizations represented by a booth was SNCC, Seattle Chapter.

[redacted] (12/19/67)

On November 4, 1967, a fund-raising dinner was sponsored by the NVL at the Cherry Hill Baptist Church, 22nd and East Cherry Street, Seattle, Washington. This fund raising program was held for the purpose of raising funds to be used in civil rights activity by the NVL, SNCC, Seattle Chapter, and other civil rights organizations. One of the

principal speakers at this affair was CARL MILLER representing SNCC, Seattle Chapter.

[redacted] (11/9/67)

During November, 1967, leaflets were distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington, advertising a benefit party to be held at 3815 - 5th Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, on November 18, 1967. The purpose of this fund-raising party was to raise funds "to help send young militants to the Western Regional Black Youth Conference, to be convened November 23 in Los Angeles, California". This flyer further announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, both national officers of SNCC, would be the principal speakers. SNCC, Seattle Chapter, was listed as one of the co-sponsors for this benefit party.

[redacted] (11/13/67)

On October 21, 1967, a protest demonstration and rally was held in the vicinity of the Federal Building, Seattle, Washington, to coincide with a nation-wide protest demonstration in protest of United States involvement in South Vietnam. Over 100 people participated in this rally and demonstration including CARL MILLER from SNCC, Seattle Chapter, who was one of the principal speakers.

[redacted] (10/25/67)

[redacted] (10/15, 23/67)

During October, 1967, cards containing the following were distributed on the campus of the Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington:

"WHY SHOULD WE HONOR A COUNTRY THAT
DENIES BLACK MEN THE RIGHT TO LIVE
LIKE HUMANBEINGS ....
WE WON'T SALUTE A RAD, OR PLEDGE
OUTSELFES TO A LIE

"WALK OUT WITH US!!!

"FREEDOM NOW
SEATTLE SNCC"

[redacted] (10/17/67)

On October 8, 1967, a civil rights demonstration was sponsored by the NVL in the form of a march from 22nd Avenue and East Union to the steps of St. James Cathedral in downtown Seattle, Washington. During the course of this demonstration, CARL MILLER, representing SNCC, Seattle Chapter, distributed SNCC leaflets and was one of the principal speakers. MILLER told the audience that if Seattle didn't better its race relations picture, Seattle can expect to be another Newark, New Jersey, or Detroit, Michigan.

[redacted] (10/11/67)

On September 31, 1967, a group of Negro civil rights protesters staged a march in Seattle, Washington in support of Father GROPPI's open housing march in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. During the course of this march, CARL MILLER attending as the local Chairman of SNCC, was the principal speaker, and cautioned spectators that "Seattleites should start some open housing action before this city is torn with riots like many other major cities throughout the nation".

"The Falcon", student newspaper at Seattle Pacific College, Seattle, Washington 10/11/67 issue

From August 31 to September 4, 1967, the National Conference on New Politics (NCNP) was held in Chicago, Illinois. This conference was held for the purpose of establishing interest in a third political party to protest U.S. policies in Southeast Asia. During this conference a number of Negro civil rights advocates held a "Black Caucus" and this "Black Caucus" was attended by several hundred Negroes, including CARL MILLER, representing SNCC from Seattle, Washington.

[redacted] (9/12/67)

[redacted] (8/20/67)

During September, 1967, the following press release was distributed to newspapers, radio and television networks in the Seattle area:

"WAYMON WARE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

"1115 14th Avenue
Seattle, Wash. 98122
EA 5-9616

3815 5th Avenue N.E.
Seattle, Wash. 98105
WE 2-7449

"FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION

"Supporters of Waymon Ware, Black Freedom candidate for city council position five, are planning a campaign rally for Sunday at Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Avenue N.E. The event is scheduled to begin at 4 p.m.

"Featured speakers at the rally are the candidate, Ware, and Carl Miller of Seattle SNCC (Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee). Miller, a participant in the black caucus at thr recent New Politics convention in Chicago. will give a first-hand report on developments at the conference.

"Other speakers include central area supporters of Ware's campaign and representatives of organizations which have endorsed Ware: We, the Grass Roots, The Central Area Committee for Peace and Improvement (CAPI), The Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Draft Resistance group of Seattle.

"Following the program a buffet dinner will be served at 6 p.m. Admission to the rally is free."

[redacted] (9/19/67)

On June 10, 1967, an art exhibit was sponsored by SNCC, Seattle Chapter, at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Seattle, Washington. A majority of the exhibits displayed at the exhibition consisted of photographs pertaining to civil rights and anti-Vietnam activities taken throughout the United States.

[redacted] (6/14/67)

The June 7, 1967, issue of the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" newspaper carried an article under the

heading "More Negro Staff Asked for Garfield". The article indicated that the Seattle Chapter of SNCC had made a written request to Seattle School Superintendent FORBES BOTTOMLY for "more black teachers, a black principal and more black counselors at Garfield High School next year". The article further disclosed that the SNCC request included "discontinuance of the voluntary transfer program of Garfield students to white schools and more emphasis on Afro-American history in the schools curriculum".

On April 19, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC, was the principal speaker at a program sponsored by Seattle Chapter SNCC and held at the Garfield High School auditorium. CARMICHAEL's appearance had been previously arranged through the efforts of Mrs. MATTIE BUNDY who during March, 1967, was identified as the Chairman of SNCC, 3238½ Eastlake East, Seattle, Washington. CARMICHAEL spoke to an overflow crowd of approximately 3,700 people at which he condemned American participation in the war in Vietnam and urged Negroes to resist the Selective Service laws.

Following CARMICHAEL's Seattle speech, he traveled in a privately owned automobile to Ellensburg, Washington, where he gave a second speech at Central Washington State College on April 21, 1967.

Both appearances by CARMICHAEL in the Seattle area were arranged by Mrs. MATTIE BUNDY representing SNCC Seattle. During the preliminary arrangements made prior to these speeches there had been no information indicating that a chapter of SNCC actually existed in the Seattle area. It was believed that the Seattle Chapter came into being for the express purpose of arranging for CARMICHAEL's April, 1967, appearances.

[redacted] (4/22/67)

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

Following the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Central Washington State College, Ellensburg, Washington, on April 21, 1967, CARMICHAEL reportedly told an associate that he didn't want to have anything more to do with the Seattle Chapter of SNCC. One of the reasons CARMICHAEL was disenchanted with the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, was the number of interracial romances and marriages involving Seattle SNCC members.

[redacted] (6/14/67)

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington
February 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26956

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) SEATTLE CHAPTER

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SEATTLE	SEATTLE	9/30/68	8/9 - 26/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) SEATTLE CHAPTER		cmh
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Seattle report of SA [redacted] 2/29/68; Seattle letter to Bureau, 6/24/68.

\- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential since disclosure of confidential informants [redacted] through [redacted] could minimize their future effectiveness to the detriment of the national security.

Copies of this report are being disseminated locally to interested agencies who have current interest in possible racial unrest.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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3 - Seattle (100-26956)

REC 26

100

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RPD; ISD	ID 4 U	CPD	CRIM
Request Recd.	ACSI	OSI	SS	
Date Fwd.	10/16/68			
How Fwd.	R/S	1968		
By				

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	157-366-37
[redacted]	This report

UI ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - NISO, Seattle (REG)
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1 - Region III, 115th MIG (REG)

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: [redacted]
Date: September 30, 1968
Office: Seattle, Washington

Field Office File #: 100-26956
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) SEATTLE CHAPTER

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

During latter part of April, 1968, the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, and the Black Panther Party (BPP) held a joint meeting in Seattle, Washington. This meeting was attended by approximately 300 people who heard speeches critical of the Seattle Police Department, and urging acts of violence. CARL MILLER, former Chairman of Seattle Chapter, SNCC, sentenced to six months in King County Jail on 7/1/68. Seattle Chapter, SNCC, reportedly merged with BPP in early Summer of 1968, with remaining group known as the BPP.

\- C -

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

At Seattle, Washington

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is characterized in the appendix section of this report.

On April 29, 1968, a joint meeting of the Seattle Chapter of SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP) was held at 2800 East Madison, Seattle, Washington. Approximately 300 people attended this open meeting at which a number of speakers were highly critical of the Seattle Police Department. During this meeting a number of those present discussed ways and means to combat the Seattle Police Department and those present were urged to commit actions of violence and were given instructions as to how to commit these acts without being apprehended by the Seattle Police Department. During the course of this meeting, some of those present discussed the different methods of making firebombs and the females present were urged to take lessons in nursing so that they could assist others who might be injured during "riotous situations".

[redacted] (5/13/68)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is characterized in the appendix section of this report.

On July 1, 1968, an article appearing in the "Night Final" edition of the "Seattle Times" newspaper, Seattle, Washington, disclosed that CARL MILLER, Chairman of the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, was sentenced by Justice Court JAMES D. DORE to six months in the County Jail. MILLER was described as one of three young men who had previously been convicted for unlawful assembly in connection with a demonstration at Franklin High School in Seattle, Washington, early in the Summer of 1968. MILLER and the two other individuals were released on appeal bonds of $500.00 each.

During the early part of June, 1968, it was reported that the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, and the Black Panther Party would merge with the BPP being the sole remaining group.

[redacted] 6/21/68)

It was reported early in the Summer of 1968 that the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, went out of existence and that its membership and office equipment were all turned over to the Black Panther Party which established an office at 1127½ - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. This same address had formerly been utilized as headquarters of the Seattle Chapter, SNCC.

[redacted] (8/8/68)

The Black Panther Party currently maintains headquarters at 1127½ - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. This group is believed to attract approximately 25 to 30 individuals as members and for the most part is composed of young teenagers who were formerly associated with the Seattle Chapter, SNCC. The Seattle Chapter, SNCC, formerly maintained headquarters at the same address but went out of existence sometime during the early Summer of 1968.

[redacted] (9/20/68)

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX CONFIDENTIAL

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington
September 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26956

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) SEATTLE CHAPTER
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Seattle, Washington.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 14 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 18 & 19

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 18 of 19 sections

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SPRINGFIELD	ATLANTA	3/5/69	1/27/69 - 3/2/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	mpb
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Bureau airtel to Albany 1/31/68.
Springfield letter to Bureau 3/5/68.

\- P -

ENCLOSURES:

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and one copy of an FD-376.

LEADS:

SPRINGFIELD DIVISION

Springfield will follow activities of SNCC Midwest Director CHARLES E. KOEN within this division to be alert for

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None.

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUITTALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [X] YES [ ] NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [X] NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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1 - 113th MI Group, St. Louis Field Office
1 - Secret Service, Springfield
1 - Atlanta (info) (RM)
2 - Springfield (105-1752)

100-439190-52-22

REC-23

MAR 10 1969

EX-114

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], OSI, SEC.SERV. (FD376 5c)
Request Recd.	DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAD, Crim, I DIV
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW: RS
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 3/25/69
By	BY: PJB/dkt

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

COVER PAGE

70 APR 1 1969

SI 105-1752
(LEADS CONTINUED)

possible establishment of SNCC Chapter.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

This report is being classified confidential to protect sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of whom would be detrimental to the national security.

Sources mentioned in this report are as follows:

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - USA, East St. Louis
1 - USA, Springfield
1 - OSI, Chanute Air Force Base
1 - NISO, Chicago
1 - 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois
1 - 113th MI Group, St. Louis Field Office
1 - Secret Service, Springfield

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: SPRINGFIELD
Date: March 5, 1969

Field Office File #: SI 105-1752 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis:

CHARLES ENLOW KOEN, Midwest Director, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has held two conferences recently in the Springfield Division, January 28, 1969, at Springfield, and March 1 - 2, 1969, at East St. Louis, Illinois. These conferences were attended by representatives of other militant Negro organizations from Springfield, Illinois; East St. Louis, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; Chicago, Illinois; and representatives of SNCC from Cincinnati. Among the purposes of these conferences is the furthering of black nationalism and also the possible uniting of the various militant groups under one coordinating board.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF 8/9/78 DATE 8/9/78

DECLASSIFIED BY 3832 ON 8/9/78

DETAILS:

On January 27, 1969 [redacted] advised he had learned January 26, 1969, that CHARLES KOEN, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Midwest Director and leader of a group called the National Black Liberators, in St. Louis, Missouri, had contacted Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Advisor, LEROY COSTON, January 25, 1969, and requested no more than two leadership representatives in Springfield, Illinois, on January 28, 1969, at twelve noon, purpose of meeting and identity of other invitees unknown.

Further information concerning SNCC is attached hereto.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-376 (Rev. 4-25-68)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

March 5, 1969

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

   (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:
   (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
   (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through ______________________

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)
U. S. Secret Service

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

Subsequently, on January 27, 1969, [redacted] advised he additionally learned that EDWARD CRAWFORD from Chicago, Illinois, a member of the Deacons For Defense and Justice, which [redacted] described as a highly militant Black Nationalist organization which originated in Louisiana, and also is president of a believed new organization called the National Negro Rifle Association, would also attend the above meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

Also on January 27, 1969 [redacted] through [redacted] advised they could furnish no information regarding the possibility of a Black Power conference in the near future in the Springfield area.

On January 28, 1969 [redacted] advised that all incoming flights into Springfield, Illinois, including those from the Chicago area had been cancelled indefinitely due to poor weather conditions.

Also on January 28, 1969 [redacted] advised that he observed two individuals, both Negro males, approximately 5'10" tall, one described as stocky build with Afro-type hair, the other individual slender build wearing a dark beret, both carrying attache cases, arrive at the Greyhound Bus Station, Springfield, Illinois, on a Crown Transit Bus, at 11:15 a.m. This bus arrived from Cincinnati via Terre Haute, Indiana.

[redacted] further advised these two Negro males ate lunch in the cafeteria at the bus station and subsequently left through the west entrance after making a telephone call. [redacted] advised they went south to Washington Street and walked east on Washington towards 11th Street.

Upon leaving the Greyhound Bus Station, the above mentioned individuals were observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to enter a Terminal Cab Company taxicab, number 6, bearing Illinois license 025-192, at the intersection of East Washington and North 11th Streets, Springfield, Illinois. Later, on January 28, 1969, a 1968 yellow Pontiac, two-door, hardtop, bearing 1969 Missouri license ME2-207 was observed in the southeast section of Springfield with four to six Negro occupants.

A check at the Illinois State Police, District 9 Headquarters, Springfield, Illinois, revealed the above automobile is registered to Metropolitan Corporation, 10066 Natural Bridge, St. Louis, Missouri.

On the evening of January 28, 1969, [redacted] further advised that the two Negro males mentioned above departed from the Springfield Greyhound Bus Depot at 7:15 p.m., for Cincinnati, Ohio, via Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] also advised that at approximately 7:00 p.m., January 28, 1969, ten to twelve Negro males wearing blue berets arrived at the Greyhound Bus Station. Most of these individuals shook hands with the above mentioned Negro males as they were boarding the bus.

On the evening of January 28, 1969 [redacted] advised that the wearing of blue berets is a characteristic of the Springfield Chapter of the Black Egyptians, a militant Negro youth organization.

On January 29, 1969 [redacted] identified from photographs LEROY COSTON, SNCC Educational Advisor from Cincinnati, Ohio, as being one of the two individuals who arrived and eight hours later departed the Greyhound Bus Station at Springfield, Illinois.

On January 29, 1969 [redacted] advised that at approximately 11:30 to 12:00 noon, January 28, 1969, two Negro males were taken in a Terminal Cab Company Taxicab number 6, from 11th and Washington Streets, Springfield, Illinois, to the 1200 block of South 15th Street near the intersection of 15th and Stuart Streets, in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

Ned Chalker II

On January 30, 1969, [redacted] Aero Rent-A-Car (a division of Metropolitan Corporation), 10066 Natural Bridge, St. Louis, Missouri, advised that a yellow Pontiac Tempest, Missouri license ME2-207 was rented January 21, 1969, and returned January 29, 1969. It was rented by EDWARD G. CHALKER, II, 3506 2nd Street, SE, Washington, D.C., using an American Express Card and District of Columbia driver's license 2518578 (expires 1969) with description, age 38, 5'10½", 150 pounds, black hair, hazel eyes. He is white. He gave as local address 650 N. 10th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois, telephone 271-4023. An additional driver for this car was indicated as HENLAY (possibly HENLEY) FOSTER. He is Negro. This car was driven 530 miles with charges of $80.46.

Foster

CHALKER, with same identification as above, also rented a car with Missouri license KE9-383 with additional driver being JOHN E. CAMPBELL, Negro, 1527 Tudor Drive, East St. Louis, Missouri, telephone 514-4254. This car was rented January 21, and returned January 29. It was driven 462 miles with charges of $70.07.

A third car, Missouri license SG 4762, a two-door Rambler, was also rented by CHALKER, the name on the contract being "NED CHALKER II" with same identifying data as above. [redacted] said that CHALKER is the same in all instances and he may have printed the name, erroneously printing "NED").

The other driver for this car was indicated as FRANK E. BENDER, age 59, Negro, 1633 A St. Louis, East St. Louis, Missouri.

The race of these individuals as given above is from recollection of [redacted]

On January 30, 1969, [redacted] stated he had learned that LEROY COSTON, previously mentioned, and Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES, were the two representatives who attended the previously described meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

[redacted] stated the meeting took place in the living room of the home of LARRY ISAAC, Prime Minister of the "Black Egyptians", 1201 South 15th Street, Springfield, Illinois, who within the past two months had moved to Springfield from East St. Louis, Illinois, and resides at the above address with his wife and two small children.

[redacted] stated the meeting started at about 3:00 p.m., concluded about 6:45 p.m., was attended by about 28 persons, all Negroes, including several females, and the entire meeting was conducted by CHARLES KOEN, leader of the "National Black Liberators", St. Louis, Missouri, with the exception of a short period of time when the speaking was done by KOEN's assistant, also a "Liberator", name unknown, but described as about 28, 6'2", 225 pounds, medium Afro-haircut, clean shaven, neat, with a 3" circular scar on his right cheek.

[redacted] stated some of the invitees were late in appearing, some departed before the conclusion of the meeting, and some did not appear at all, according to KOEN, such as DAN ALDRIDGE from Detroit, Michigan, two persons from Atlanta, Georgia, one from Memphis, Tennessee, and one from Mississippi. As a result of this the total of 28 in attendance is approximate.

KOEN also stated he had received a telephone call from EDWARD CRAWFORD, who told KOEN that because of inclement weather the planes were grounded, and it would be impossible for CRAWFORD to attend the meeting.

stated that at the inception of the meeting KOEN stated that for obvious reasons there would be absolutely no note taking, and unless some of the attendees were already known to each other, no one would be introduced to anyone else beyond a first name basis.

stated he recalled that as far as attendance by groups or organizations, the meeting was attended as follows:

(5) "National Black Liberators" from St. Louis, Missouri, including KOEN, composed of three men and two women, who were among the last to arrive at the meeting.

(10) "Black Egyptians" from East St. Louis, Ill.

(3) "Black Egyptians" from Springfield, Illinois.

(8) "War Lords" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(4) "Vice Lords" from Peoria, Illinois.

stated there were three persons, including one woman, who were identified only as students from a college near Springfield, Illinois, with a name stated sounded like "Cardon" or "Cordon".

[redacted] stated that five of the "Black Egyptians", and four or five of the "War Lords", both from East St. Louis, Illinois, departed from the meeting about one hour before the conclusion.

With regard to the meeting proper [redacted] stated KOEN set forth the following general purposes, and, thereafter, returned to expand on several of the points:

1. To get acquainted with our fellow revolutionaries in different, yet immediately adjacent, territories or areas.

2. Although from different areas, to recognize that it is a common system and a common enemy everywhere.

3. Discuss the divide and conquer policy of the system.

4. Discuss plans to move against the enemy.

5. Discuss bond and court expenses.

6. Roles of the groups and communications.

7. Discuss national meetings of the groups from all areas.

8. Discuss establishment of a central office for their (Midwest) area.

KOEN stated one of the main elements of a "revolution" is for the revolutionary to keep his "mouth shut", and each of the attendees had been invited because he is a revolutionary.

In expanding upon the subjects, KOEN stated that the enemy had recently subjected their groups to extreme harassment and injustice.

KOEN stated very recently the offices of the "National Black Liberators" in St. Louis had been raided by police, without cause, on two or three occasions; the doors of the offices of the "Black Egyptians" in East St. Louis had been kicked down by the police; a primarily women's school in East St. Louis had been raided by police who found only two guns and a knife after a thorough search;but most significant was because of the mass shooting which had occurred the previous week in East St. Louis which resulted in the deaths of four Negroes and the injuring of two others who were presently on the critical list.

KOEN did not restate the details of the above incident except to the extent it involved six magazine salesmen, two of whom KOEN stated were legitimate, and the other four were undercover police officers.

KOEN stated that as a result of the above, one "SWEDE" JEFFREYS, a leader of the "WarLords" of East St. Louis, was unjustly arrested and charged with four counts of murder.

KOEN stated JEFFREYS was arrested on the basis of an identification by one of the men who had been shot and died, but identified JEFFREYS while under the influence of narcotics before death.

KOEN stated that the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, led by one "POPS", in attendance at the meeting, and described as about 40-45 years of age, was planning to follow one of two courses of action:

1. To go with a group directly to the jail where JEFFREYS is located and kill everyone necessary to free JEFFREYS.

2. To commence a planned, but random killing of the enemy one at a time in retaliation.

KOEN stated he, KOEN, believed careful planning should be done; that the possible loss of several might not be worth more than the rescue of only one, but whatever course of action they, the "War Lords", decided to follow, they had the complete support and encouragement of KOEN.

KOEN stated that EDWARD CRAWFORD, who was to have attended the meeting, was to have rendered assistance or advice to the "War Lords" in the course of action they decided to follow.

KOEN stated the number one weapon of their groups is explosives, and that guns are secondary for use as a last resort.

KOEN stated all the groups in East St. Louis have good contacts for explosives in that area, have some available or access to it at the present time, and additionally have a "Black Egyptian" available, who is a former serviceman and a demolition expert, not further identified except located in East St. Louis.

KOEN thereafter discussed the establishment of a Central Office for the Midwest area, and stated that although Chicago is being considered, Springfield is presently the first choice despite the fact there are more transportation problems involved in travel to and from that city.

KOEN stated it is tentatively planned that a Midwest Conference of all groups will be held February 8, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois, meeting site not designated, but one of the purposes will be to name or select a Midwest Council of representatives from the various groups.

KOEN thereafter discussed generalities and stated he had just returned, no specifics disclosed, from a visit and conference in New York City, New York, with H. RAP BROWN, former National SNCC Chairman, and had also just completed a trip to California relative to the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Further information concerning the Black Panther Party is attached hereto.

KOEN stated that he thereafter contacted National SNCC leader PHILIP HUTCHINGS telephonically relative to his California travel and was advised by HUTCHINGS that he, KOEN, had violated SNCC policy in meeting with the BPP.

KOEN stated that partly, as a result of the above, he was leaving within a few days to attend a conference in Connecticut, and would thereafter return to New York City for further conferences, at the conclusion of which he believed he would return to California and attempt to resolve the differences within the BPP.

KOEN thereafter indicated another meeting was to be held at the same address in Springfield in the immediate future with some of the representatives of the various newspapers and publications of the various groups with whom they are associated, and the entire meeting was thereafter concluded.

On February 7, 1969 [redacted] advised that on January 21, 1969, three automobiles were rented in the ordinary course of business in conjunction with the Westinghouse Learning Corporation, East St. Louis, Illinoi[redacted] further advised that HENLAY FOSTER, JOHN E. CAMPBELL and FRANK E. BENDER, employed by the Westinghouse Corporation, rented automobiles in the name of NED CHALKER in his capacity with Westinghouse, due to the fact that their credit would not permit them to rent the cars in their own names.

[redacted] further advised that he had no information concerning where these automobiles were driven and neither could he furnish

any information concerning any recent activity on the part of area militants in Springfield, Illinois.

On February 23, 1969 [redacted] advised that the first SNCC National Political Conference previously scheduled for March 1, 1969, in Atlanta, Georgia, had been changed to East St. Louis, Illinois, on March 1-2, 1969, under the leadership of CHARLES KOEN, SNCC Midwest Director.

[redacted] furnished the following information on March 1-2, 1969:

A SNCC sponsored conference of Black militant youth organizations was held in East St. Louis, Illinois, on March 1-2, 1969. The conference was headed by CHARLES KOEN, former Prime Minister of the militant Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri. KOEN is currently acting as Midwest Director for SNCC, a nation-wide militant Negro civil rights organization. Local militant Negro youth groups were represented at the conference by the following:

CHARLES JEFFRIES - Warlords, East St. Louis;
BENNIE PRICE, Black Culture, Inc., East St. Louis;
CARL BELL, Black Egyptians, East St. Louis;
FRANK WASHINGTON, a General in Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri.

[redacted] advised that three workshops were planned for the conference as follows:

1. To obtain the different view points of different individuals representing the different organizations;

2. To determine the divide and conquer methods which normally used to cause internal strife between organizations and individuals within the movement;

3. To determine resources in the community for survival and local control of Black communities.

According to [redacted] persons addressing the conference concerning the possibilities of the Black community owning low income housing, were Mrs. YVETTER YOUNGE, an East St. Louis Negro Civic leader, and Mrs. IDA B. CURTIS, Deputy Director, North Central Regional Housing Office of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing. ILL

A panel discussion concerning use of the news media was held by the following newspapermen:

EUGENE REDMOND and CLYDE JORDAN of the East St. Louis, Illinois, "Monitor";

ROY WILLIAMS, Editor of "Plain Truth", Champaign, Illinois;

JOHN HOLMES, "Black Unity" newspaper, Carbondale, Illinois.

[redacted] furnished the following information on March 1-2, 1969:

CHARLES KOEN of SNCC organized and acted as Chairman of the conference of Black militant organizations held on March 1-2, 1969, at 455 North 9th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois. The building at that address has formerly been occupied by the Summers College of Commerce and this building has been donated to the Lutheran Church which sponsors the Warlords of East St. Louis.

The nonmilitant Negroes who addressed the conference concerning housing and the news media were informed that the purpose of the meeting was to seek means of avoiding violence and lessening racial tension in the East St. Louis area. However, the tenor of the meeting indicated that it was for the purpose of stirring up Black Nationalism. There was some discussion concerning a trend toward calculating genocide against the Black people and elimination of Black leaders by white people. Approximately 60 persons attended the conference on March 1, 1969. Those in attendance included representatives of all three of the Black militant groups of East St. Louis, Illinois. Those known to [redacted] included the following:

From Black Culture, Inc., were EUGENE REDMOND, PERCY SMITH, DWIGHT SMITH, RAYMOND SHARP and BENNIE PRICE;

From the Black Egyptians were CARL BELL, KALEY PAYTON and FRANK SMITH;

The Warlords were represented by their leader CHARLES "SWEDE" JEFFRIES.

[redacted] furnished the following information on March 2, 1969:

Approximately 45 persons attended the conference on March 2, 1969. The conference was led by CHARLES KOEN. Also in attendance was KATHERINE DUNHAM, listed Negro Choreographer, who is currently employed as artist-in-residence at Southern Illinois University, East St. Louis, Illinois, The general discussion at the conference was for the purpose of settling the differences of the various groups represented at the meeting so that they could unite in the revolutionary struggle for freedom of the Black people. There was also discussion concerning means of acquiring firearms, including burglary of hardware and gun stores. There was discussion concerning ridding the Black movement of "Uncle Toms". Also discussed was the problem of members being arrested and the Black support they are getting. It was indicated that the group intended to publish a newsletter in the near future. No plans were made. A closed session of about 20 persons began about 4:30 p.m.

[redacted] furnished the following information on March 2, 1969:

With the exception of KALEY PAYTON of the Black Egyptians, who is friendly with CHARLES KOEN, the militants of East St. Louis, Illinois, are opposed to CHARLES KOEN. They regard KOEN as an outsider who is attempting to intrude upon their territory. The March 1-2, 1969 conference in East St. Louis, organized by KOEN, was foisted upon the militants of East St. Louis under the pretext that KOEN could bring in some other cities leaders who could advise as to what action should be taken by the local militants, legal or otherwise, concerning the following incident:

CHARLES "SWEDE" JEFFRIES, leader of the Warlords, spent about three weeks in jail in January and February, 1969, after being identified as one of a group of young Negroes claiming to be Warlords, who in East St. Louis fired on a group of young out-of-town Negro magazine salesmen, killing four and wounding three. JEFFRIES was released from jail on that charge after passing a lie detector test. JEFFRIES has since then been considering legal action against the East St. Louis Police Department, St. Clair County States Attorney, and the victims who identified him as their assailant because

of the above arrest. CHARLES KOEN recently lost favor with the group of Black Liberators in St. Louis, Missouri, which had been formed by KOEN. KOEN is now, in effect, a militant without a group. Although KOEN has the title of Midwest Director of SNCC, SNCC has never had any following in the St. Louis area. KOEN is currently using SNCC as a vehicle in an attempt to obtain a power base for himself in East St. Louis. It appears this attempt will be doomed because of resentment against KOEN in the East St. Louis area.

According to [redacted] YVETTER YOUNGE, mentioned previously, is a Negro native of East St. Louis, about 49 years of age, who is an attorney, and is the wife of East St. Louis Negro attorney RICHARD YOUNGE, who represented CHARLES KOEN concerning KOEN's arrest in East St. Louis in the spring of 1968. YVETTER YOUNGE has shown no indication of militancy.

According to [redacted] CLYDE JORDAN, mentioned previously, is editor and publisher of the East St. Louis, Illinois, "Monitor", a weekly Negro newspaper in which JORDAN prints both the conservative and militant Negro points of view. CLYDE JORDAN is also an Administrative Assistant to the Mayor of East St. Louis, is a member of the East St. Louis School Board, and is also a member of the Illinois State Housing Board.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROID BROWN, commonly known as H. RAP BROWN, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice-chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

SI 105-1752

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it.

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. **SI 105-1752**

Title **STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)**

Character **RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC**

Reference **Springfield report of SA [redacted] dated March 5, 1969.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 19 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
WASHINGTON FIELD	ATLANTA	12/31/64	11/27/64 - 12/18/64	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		SA [redacted]		jbr
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - C		

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

REFERENCES: Reports of SA [redacted] at Atlanta, 3/20/64 and 9/28/64.

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Informants contacted in November, 1964, who had no information concerning JAMES and LENORE MONSONIS were:

Informant	Date of Contact	Contacted by
[redacted]	11/3/64	SA [redacted]
	11/5/64	SA [redacted]

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (100-439190)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - MDW-Intelligence, Washington, D.C.
1 - ONI, Washington, D.C.
1 - OSI, Washington, D.C.
1 - Washington Field (100-41626)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

APR 1 8 1965 — REC'D — CC 10

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JAN 4 1965

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~SEC. SER.~~, DEPT, ISD, CRD, ~~RAO~~

DATE FORW: JAN 15 1965

HOW FORW:

BY:

NOTATIONS

COVER PAGE

11/5/64 SA
11/5/64 SA

WFO indices contain no pertinent additional information concerning JAMES MONSONIS or LENORE MONSONIS.

WFO files indicate COURTLAND COX, age 22, was one of three Howard University students who staged a sit-in demonstration in the Attorney General's office in March, 1963, protesting jailing of several integrationists in Louisiana.

An article in "The Washington Post" newspaper 9/15/63, indicates JOEL DRESSLER, age 21, of 1108 Kingswood Drive, Falls Church, Virginia, was one of a group of eight white and Negro picketers arrested 9/14/63, when they refused to leave the Levitt and Sons sales office at Belair, Maryland, where they were protesting the developer's refusal to sell to Negroes. The article indicates five of the picketers including DRESSLER were arrested under identical circumstances the previous week.

WFO files contain an undated list of foreign students enrolled at Howard University, received 4/21/61, which indicates MICHAEL THELWELL, of Jamaica, was a freshman in the Liberal Arts College.

INFORMANTS

Informant	File Where Located
	100-41626-30
	Used to document JOSEPH FORER and LUKE WILSON

100-41626-37

Used to document
LYLE W. [illegible]

Used to document
GEORGE MEYERS

Used to document
[illegible]

SAs who conducted physical surveillance of GEORGE MEYERS on 12/18/64, were SA and SA. Fisur log maintained in WFO 100-[illegible]-Sub [illegible].

Report is classified "Confidential" because information from, through and through could reasonably result in identification of informants of continuing value and impair their future effectiveness.

WFO has no subversive characterization concerning Women Strike for Peace; Neighbors, Incorporated; or Committee of Federated Organizations.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 MDW-Intelligence, Washington, D.C.
1 ONI, Washington, D.C.
1 OSI, Washington, D.C.

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Washington, D.C.
Date: 12/31/64

Field Office File No.: 100-41626
Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: [redacted]

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

On October 8, 1964, JAMES MONSONIS was interviewed at the new Washington, D.C. office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., (formerly located at 3418 11th Street, N.W.) by Special Agent [redacted] MONSONIS advised SA [redacted] the SNCC in

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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Washington, D.C. has no officers; however, his official title is Director and his wife, LENORE MONSONIS, is Associate Director. MONSONIS stated other officers may be added in the future but he does not know when this will take place.

During a hearing conducted by the Subversive Activities Control Board during December, 1963, in New York City concerning the Advance Youth Organization, the counsel for Advance produced JAMES MONSONIS as a witness for Advance. MONSONIS testified that he was at that time on the staff of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in New York City, and had previously been employed by SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. On cross-examination, MONSONIS stated that officials of SNCC were aware of the fact he was testifying in behalf of the Advance Youth Organization.

> The above hearing was being conducted on the basis of a petition filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Advance Youth Organization to register as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 in that the organization was a Communist Party front.

> Characterizations of the Young Socialist Alliance and the "Young Socialist" appear in the appendix of this report.

"The Evening Star", Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, edition of October 10, 1963, page B-1, carried an article which indicated JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, would speak at a civil rights discussion that evening at the American University, Washington, D.C. Other speakers listed were AUBREY WILLIAMS, President Emeritus of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC).

According to this article, plans to charge admission with the proceeds going to the Washington Area Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (WACAHUAC) were vetoed by the University President.

Characterizations of the NCAHUAC, WACAHUAC and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF) are contained in the appendix section of this report.

JOHN BUTLER of Dallas, Texas, in testimony before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 19, 1954, as a former CP member, testified he was introduced to AUBREY WILLIAMS in 1932 as "Comrade WILLIAMS;" that he participated with WILLIAMS in a conference of communist affairs about one month later; and he had heard WILLIAMS mentioned often as a communist. PAUL CROUCH, identified at the same hearing as a former CP organizer, testified he was introduced to WILLIAMS by HERBERT BENJAMIN, whom he identified as a charter member of the CP, as one of the "Chief National Leaders." CROUCH further testified that he would not have made statements to WILLIAMS unless "I had been informed that he was a secret member." WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, a self-confessed communist, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) on August 3, 1948, stated he did not know AUBREY WILLIAMS but he had heard communists mention WILLIAMS as a friend of the CP. At a hearing before the United States Internal Security Subcommittee on March 19, 1954, WILLIAMS denied ever having been a member of the CP.

ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, of San Diego, California, in public testimony before the HCUA on December 7, 19[illegible], identified FRANK WILKINSON as having been a member of the CP sometime during the period August, 1951, to January, 195[illegible].

[redacted], advised that on September 17, 1952, FRANK WILKINSON was a member of the Los Angeles County CP as of September, 1952.

On November 8, 1962, [redacted] identified FRANK WILKINSON as Executive Director of the NCAHUAC.

The Washington, D.C. office of the SNCC, 3418 11th Street, N.W., purchased a one year subscription to the "Peoples World" in February, 1963.

[redacted] 2/13/64.

The "Peoples World" is a West Coast communist newspaper, published weekly in San Francisco.

[redacted] 2/16/64.

A characterization of the CJCS appears in the appendix section of this report.

On January 21, 1954, [redacted] identified LEWIS ZIEGIBECK as a current CP member. [redacted]

The May, 1964, issue of "Shalom", monthly publication of the CJCS, self-identified as such, contained an article which stated MIKE THELWELL, representing the SNCC, discussed the purpose and program of his organization at the March 22 Seniors meeting. The article quotes THELWELL as stating the present project is to get the voter registration moving, and solicited support for his organization.

[redacted] 3/26/64.

The Senior Group students of the CJCS are active in the SNCC.

[redacted] 3/7/64.

WFO 100-41626

On March 4, 1964, the CJCS made a contribution of $25 to the SNCC to be used for "Mississippi Relief".

[redacted] 3/24/64.

[redacted] 11/5/64.

A meeting was held at the residence of JOSEPH and FLORENCE FORER, 711 Horton Drive, Kemp Mill Estate, Silver Spring, Maryland, on February 28, 1964, for the purpose of hearing two leaders of the striking coal miners in Eastern Kentucky. About 65 persons including 18 Seniors of the CJCS, attended the meeting. A collection of $175 was taken to be given to the miners. JOEL DRESSLER of the SNCC got up and said everyone should help. He said he would be at the SNCC to receive letters, foodstuffs, and money for the striking miners.

[redacted] 2/29/64.

About 40 to 45 persons attended a meeting at the residence of JOSEPH FORER, 711 Horton Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland, on February 28, 1964, which featured BERMAN GIBSON, who represented the striking coal miners in Eastern Kentucky.

JOEL DRESSLER, who is affiliated with the SNCC in Washington, D.C., attended this meeting and stated he would be a committee of one to conduct legislative research on bills in Congress relating to miners' conditions.

[redacted] 2/29/64.

"The Washington Post", daily Washington, D.C. newspaper, on April 27, 1964, on the first page of the Appendix section, contained an article entitled "Gregory Predicts Social Revolution". The article stated that comedian DICK GREGORY spoke at a pre-show cocktail party on Saturday, April 25, 1964, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. LUKE W. WILSON on the grounds of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, (9100 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Maryland). The article stated that the WILSONS, who donated the NIH site to the Government, asked friends - many of whom were members of the Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or the Women Strike for Peace, both of which Mrs. WILSON is associated with - to meet GREGORY and the Freedom Singers and to help raise money for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). GREGORY and the Freedom Singers were in Washington, D.C., to appear in a show Saturday, April 25, 1964, to benefit the SNCC's Mississippi summer project.

On December 18, 1964, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed GEORGE MEYERS enter the Washington, D.C. office of SNCC at 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., at 3:25 p.m. and depart at 3:55 p.m.

On June 15, 1964, [redacted] identified GEORGE MEYERS as a member of the CP, USA National Executive Committee and Chairman of the CP District which includes Maryland, Washington, D.C., Virginia, and North Carolina.

[redacted]

[redacted], 12/18/64.

Confidential informants who are familiar with certain phases of CP and related activities in the Washington, D.C. area were contacted in November, 1964, and could furnish no information concerning JAMES and LENORE MONSONIS or COURTLAND COX, of Howard University, who has been identified as a member of the Executive Committee of the SNCC.

Criminal and subversive files of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., were checked on November 3, 1964, by [redacted] and contained no record of JAMES and LENORE MONSONIS or COURTLAND COX; at all times an indefinite number of unidentified records are out of file and not available for review.

WFO 100-11026

APPENDIX

COOPERATIVE JEWISH CHILDREN'S
SCHOOL OF GREATER WASHINGTON
Also known as
WASHINGTON JEWISH CHILDREN'S SCHOOL, SHULE

The 1962-1963 Yearbook of the Cooperative Jewish Children's School of Greater Washington (CJCS) self-described as such, stated that the school was organized in 1947, that it is cooperative because the parents are the management, and secular since it does not single out any particular principles of the Jewish religion for instruction. This Yearbook lists the address of the school as 4402 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., and that the school year extends from October through May. Classes for the children are held on Sunday only.

District of Columbia Government records, as of May 7, 1964, reflect that the premises at 4402 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., are occupied by the Jewish Culture Society (JCS).

Sources, on May 7, 1964, identified the 1964-1965 CJCS officers. Other sources have identified four of the officers as Communist Party members in the past.

In June, 1963, a source identified the current editor of "Shalom," self-identified as the monthly publication of the CJCS, as a then member of the Communist Party.

The JCS has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE
HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists."

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p.5)."

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27 and 28, 1963.

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

[redacted]

[redacted] who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past, he has considered James Dombrowski, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

WASHINGTON AREA COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

A second source, on September 12, 1962, advised the WACAHUAC is affiliated with the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). On April 14, 1964, the first source advised the WACAHUAC is still in existence and continues to be affiliated with the NCAHUAC.

A third source has identified Selma Rein, Selma Samols and Ethel Weisser as Communist Party (CP) members during the period 1953 - 1954.

The NCAHUAC is characterized separately in the Appendix.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 6, 1964, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 6, 1964, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWPmembers.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" (YS) is a monthly publication self-described in the April-May, 1964, issue of this newspaper as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YS maintains the mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York, 10003.

The Young Socialist Alliance is described elsewhere in the Appendix.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Washington, D.C.

December 31, 1964

Title : COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Washington, D.C.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
WASHINGTON FIELD	ATLANTA ~~WASHINGTON~~	3/25/66	3/7 - 3/14/66	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE - WASH, D.C.		SA [redacted]		hab
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - C		

100-439190-567

REFERENCES: Rep of SA [redacted] dated 2/4/66, at Atlanta.
Bulet 4/5/65. 100-439190-207

- P* -

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Review of pertinent information regarding the Washington, D. C., district office of SNCC does not disclose a basis for continuing investigation of COMINFIL SNCC as stipulated in the Manual of Instructions. WFO will continue to evaluate information concerning this organization and furnish same to the Atlanta Office.

A copy of this report has been furnished to the Baltimore office, since activity in behalf of Washington SNCC has been reported in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D. C., in the past.

100-439190-53-5

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- Bureau (100-~~34190~~) 349190
- Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (100-41626)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

~~100-349190-60~~ REC- 81

~~100-439190-601X~~

MAR 29 1966

Classified by 3832

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER.; ISD, CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 4/13/66

HOW FORW: R/S

BY:

Notations

CONFIDENTIAL

- A -

COVER PAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-41626

This report is classified "Confidential" inasmuch as data reported therein from [redacted] and [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date Activity	Location of Informant
[redacted]	6/25/66	[redacted]
[redacted]	8/9/65	[redacted]
[redacted]		Characterization of HENRY WINSTON
[redacted]	11/7/65	[redacted]
[redacted]		
[redacted]		Characterization of Betty + Bill Hays
[redacted]		
[redacted]		Char of Selma Rein
[redacted]	Protect by request	Char. of LEO ORBACH

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Washington, D. C.
Date: 3/25/66

Field Office File #: 100-41626
Bureau File #: 100-34190

Title:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

- P* -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF Class 4p DATE 5/9/78

[redacted], 6/25/65

[redacted] advised in January, 1966, that CHARLES GIFT is a current member of the Communist Party of the Washington, D. C. area.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

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Classified by 3832
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Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/1/78

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WFO 100-41626

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. Will continue to evaluate information pertaining to COMINFIL SNCC, and submit appropriate communications to the Bureau and Atlanta.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Political Affairs" is self described as a theoretical organ of the CPUSA.

8/9/65

advised in June, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and organizer of the southern region of the CPUSA.

HENRY WINSTON was convicted in U. S. District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949 for violation of the Smith Act of 1940.

8/24/64

A memorial meeting was held November 7, 1965 for Dr. MARCUS I. GOLDMAN, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C. DAVID REIN was Master of Ceremonies, and speakers were GEORGE MURPHY and JOE FORER. A request was made for those attending to contribute to SNCC if they so desired.

11/8/65

On August 23, 1955, HERBERT FUCHS, a self-admitted former member of the CP, advised

DAVID REIN was a member of a secret government CP group at the Labor Relations Board during 1937 to 1942.

[redacted] advised in June, 1964, that Dr. MARCUS GOLDMAN had referred to his wife and himself as Communists. GOLDMAN died October 2, 1965.

[redacted]

DC

"The Evening Star," a Washington daily newspaper, in an article November 13, 1956, stated that GEORGE MURPHY, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on November 12, 1956, admitted being a sponsor of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. (ACPFB)

The ACPFB has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The Worker," in an article dated October 21, 1962, described JOE FORER as "Washington attorney. . . . has been one of the main attorneys in the CP's defense against the Mc Carran Act, and is attorney for the ACPFB."

DC

[redacted]

DC

WFO 100-41626

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

DAVID and SELMA REIN
Mr. and Mrs. LEO ORBACH

12/15/65

DC

advised SELMA REIN was a member of the CP from 1945 to 1947. DC

stated that in 1948-49, LEO ORBACH was openly critical of the United States, and at the same time praised the Soviet Union. DC

1/10/66

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535

March 25, 1966

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Washington, D. C.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted], with whom insufficient contact has been had on which to evaluate them.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
WASHINGTON FIELD	ATLANTA	MAR 24 1967	10/25/66 - 3/17/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE - WASHINGTON, D.C.	SA [redacted]	kss
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/11/66, at Washington, D.C.

\- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

A copy of this report is being furnished to the Baltimore Office for information since SNCC activity in the Washington, D.C., area included SNCC interest in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., in the past.

This report is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from [redacted] current confidential informants whose identities if revealed to

100-439190-53-8

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO (100-41626)

100-439190-1068 REC-1

EX-103

MAR 27 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.
DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORW: 3/30/67
HOW FORW:
BY:

Notations

INT. SEC.

100 922 9 D

APR 3 1967

\- A -

COVER PAGE

unauthorized persons might hamper the investigation of subversive activities and endanger the national defense of the United States.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location of Information
[redacted]	[redacted] Used to Characterize CHARLES GIFT
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. Will evaluate information pertaining to COMINFIL SNCC and submit appropriate communications to the Bureau and Atlanta.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: MAR 24 1967

Office: Washington, D.C.

Field Office File #: 100-41626

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P* -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE 8/19/74 ACS/LP

CONFIDENTIAL

~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of declassification Indefinite
8/9/78 LS/sm

COPIES DESTROYED
286 NOV 2 1970

WFO 100-41626

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Washington, D.C., headquarters of SNCC are located at 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

[redacted] 9/26/66)

INDIVIDUALS WITH CP BACKGROUND ASSOCIATED WITH OR REPRESENTING SNCC

[redacted] 9/26/66)

CHARLES GIFT was a member of the CP of the Washington, D.C., area in January, 1966.

[redacted] January, 1966)

PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN WASHINGTON, D.C. BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL represented SNCC at a meeting concerning "Black Power" at Crampton Auditorium, Howard University, Washington, D.C., on the evening of October 26, 1966. STOKELY CARMICHAEL mentioned Lowndes County, Alabama, as being eighty per cent Negro, and that it was important for Negroes in Washington, D.C., to lend support to Lowndes County Negroes attaining power in their county government. He said that they were going to have a rally in Washington, D.C., to lend support to Lowndes County. CARMICHAEL was critical of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, for having constructed a new stadium in an area which forced the Negro children to attend school in three shifts.

[redacted] 10/27/66)

The "Washington Post and Times Herald", a Washington, D.C., daily newspaper, issue of October 27, 1966, contained an article captioned "Revival of Blackness is Applauded at Howard". This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, one of the two proponents of "Black Power" clearly carried the audience with them in presenting their side of the debate on the question "Can Any Good Come Out of Black Power?"

The article quoted CARMICHAEL as saying "White America cannot condemn herself. So we have done it. We condemn her...You are black brothers and sisters and you better come home...If you don't come on home, the gate is going to be closed".

CARMICHAEL was quoted as asking whether it was not "hypocritical for a country that's bombing the hell out of Vietnam to talk about non-violence". In reference to the Reserve Officers Training Corps program at Howard University, CARMICHAEL stated, "they teach you to be hired killers each Thursday and you don't protest".

The January 16, 1967, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" contained an article on Page A-4 captioned, "CARMICHAEL to Quit as SNCC Chairman". This article reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke on January 15, 1967, at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C. CARMICHAEL stated that he would step down as Chairman of the militant SNCC in May and return to field organizing in the South. CARMICHAEL was reported as saying he would remain active in the policy making roll in SNCC and speculated SNCC would remain a militant organization. CARMICHAEL was quoted as saying: "If you think I'm rough, you're mistaken. I'm the most moderate one in SNCC". CARMICHAEL pledged himself and SNCC to "Black Power" and called for its application in Washington. "We must take over our own community" and suggested that Washington's police

"be controlled by the people". He also said "I say let's have the people in the 13th Precinct pick their own (police) captain, sergeants and lieutenants". CARMICHAEL continued, "Let's pick our own officers and make them live in the community; that will really eliminate police brutality".

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535
March 24, 1967

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
WASHINGTON FIELD	ATLANTA	OCT 9 1967	3/20-9/21/67

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

WASHINGTON, D.C.

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: mav

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 3/24/67 Washington, D.C.

- P* -

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified "Confidential" since it contains information from confidential informants [redacted] through [redacted] through [redacted] and [redacted] through [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could adversely affect the security of the United States.

SAs [redacted] and [redacted] observed that SNCC Headquarters in Washington, D.C., had moved on 3/28/67.

100-439190-53-13X

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED: [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

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1 - OSI, Washington, D.C.
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1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
1 - Richmond (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO (100-41626)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190 - 1516 REC 3

OCT 10 1967

EX 106

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACENCY: CSI, MIL, OSI; SEC. SER. DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAD, State
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 10/18/67
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:
By	

Notations

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66 OCT 30 1967

1cc Mrept. 816 9+D

13X

CONFIDENTIAL

SA [redacted] observed that Headquarters on 9/21/67.

On 7/13/67, SAs [redacted] and [redacted] observed first SAM ABBOTT, and then STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the SNCC office in Washington, D.C.

SA [redacted] heard H. RAP BROWN's comments about the District of Columbia on 6/22/67.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	File Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-41626-530 A
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-41626 Sub C-16,22,24
[redacted]	100-41626-517
[redacted]	100-41626-502
[redacted]	100-41626-506-511
[redacted]	100-41626-606

CONFIDENTIAL

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[redacted]	Characterization of National Conference for New Politics
[redacted]	Characterization of SAM ABBOTT
[redacted]	Characterization of Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-41626-612
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-41626 Sub C-20

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. Will continue to follow the activity of SNCC.

Information copies of this report have been furnished Baltimore and Richmond because of the proximity of the territory of those offices to Washington, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D.C.
1 - NISO, Washington, D.C.
1 - OSI, Washington, D.C.

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Washington, D.C.

Date: OCT 9 1967

Field Office File #: 100-41626 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

DATE 8/9/78

Synopsis: [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Classified by 3832
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Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/9/78

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WFO 100-41626

- P* -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

WFO 100-41626

I. LOCATION

On March 28, 1967, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed that the Washington, D.C., Headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had moved from 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., to 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC)

SNCC moved from 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., because the landlord refused to make necessary repairs.

[redacted], 6/7/67)

On September 21, 1967, a Special Agent of the FBI observed that the SNCC office is still located at 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

II. OFFICERS

On May 6, 1967, LESTER G. MC KINNIE, Director, SNCC, WDC, was identified as the only officer of the organization in WDC.

[redacted] 5/13/67)

MC KINNIE is a rather dedicated, sincere civil rights worker who has personally been involved with the civil rights struggle so long that he needs a rest. He needs to get away from it for a while, to re-evaluate his personal motives and program.

[redacted] 6/7/67)

III. PROGRAM

In a report to the National Headquarters of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, on May 6, 1967, LESTER G. MC KINNIE, Director, SNCC, WDC, stated his organization had:

1. Established an anti-draft program that entailed:

    a. Meeting every Saturday with twenty to twenty-five young people;

    b. Working with students to persuade them not to register or volunteer for military service, and

    c. Preparation of a four page pamphlet relating the Vietnam war to conditions in WDC.

2. Initiated a campaign against police brutality by holding rallies, getting petitions signed, and distributing complaint forms and buttons reading "Beware of Cops."

3. Considered the establishment of a school, and were looking for a location.

4. Planned to launch a campaign in May, 1967 to obtain the right to vote in WDC.

[redacted] 5/13/67)

SNCC, WDC, published a leaflet announcing that anyone who wanted to learn about their right to stay out of military service, could appear at SNCC Headquarters, WDC, on March 18, 1967.

[redacted] 3/20/67)

By letter dated, "April, 1967," under the letterhead of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia and New York, New York, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Chairman of SNCC, made an appeal for contributions. In this letter, CARMICHAEL stated, "This summer, SNCC is conducting a major project in Washington, D.C., where almost a million people, the majority black, have long been denied a voice in government--in their own affairs."

WFO 100-41626

(WF T-4, 5/22/67)

An article appearing in the May 2, 1967 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, WDC, quoted CARMICHAEL as saying that the national staff of SNCC would discuss the possibility of an intensive "black power" drive in WDC, and the possibility of making Washington its "target city" during the Summer of 1967.

An article appearing in the May 17, 1967, issue of "The Evening Star" newspaper, WDC, reported on a speech made by CARMICHAEL at a public meeting in WDC on the night of May 16, 1967. According to this article, CARMICHAEL confirmed earlier reports he would work in WDC during the Summer of 1967, with the local office of SNCC. He also stated that SNCC would start teaching Negro high school students in WDC to oppose the draft.

One of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's undertakings during the Summer of 1967, would be to organize in WDC a party similar to the Black Panther Party of Lowndes County, Alabama.

[redacted] 5/19/67)

[redacted] 6/7/67)

On the same date, this informant also indicated that recent newspaper publicity reporting that CARMICHAEL would spend the Summer of 1967 in WDC, was in the nature of a psychological or propaganda move by SNCC to force an

awareness of the lack of opportunities for Negroes in Washington, and to force community action through fear to correct these delinquencies.

This informant also reported on June 7, 1967, that SNCC, WDC, did not actually have a program for the Summer of 1967, and, in fact, is quite disorganized.

IV. CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP) AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. PUBLICATIONS

SNCC, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., WDC, appeared on the current mailing list of the Weekend Edition of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper.

[redacted] 4/18/67)

SNCC, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., WDC, appeared on the current mailing list of the Midweek Edition of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper.

[redacted] 4/22/67)

SNCC, WDC, is receiving bulk mailings of "New Politics News," the official publication of the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP), Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] 7/21/67)

> "The Worker," an east coast Communist Party (CP) newspaper, issue of May 24, 1966, contained an article reflecting "The newly-organized National Conference for New Politics called last week for support in its efforts to project the peace and civil rights issues nationwide into the forefront of the coming election campaigns."

According to this article the NCNP was created to assist in aiding "local alliances of issues-oriented liberals, student activists, peace and civil rights workers, and grass-roots movements of the poor."

6/26/67)

B. INDIVIDUALS

7/12/67)

On July 13, 1967, Special Agents of the FBI, observed CARMICHAEL enter the office of SNCC, 1234 U Street, N.W., WDC, at 2:44 p.m., and to depart from that office at 2:49 p.m., the same date.

Earlier on that same date, July 13, 1967, Special Agents of the FBI observed SAM ABBOTT at the office of SNCC, WDC. ABBOTT entered the office at 2:25 p.m., and remained less than five minutes. He then lingered on the sidewalk in front of the office a few more minutes before departing from the area.

The July 19, 1940 edition of the "Buffalo Courier Express" newspaper disclosed that SAM ABBOTT was a candidate for Congress on the CP ticket in the 1940 elections for the 40th Congressional District of New York.

3/11/58)

C. ORGANIZATIONS

The Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, formerly known as the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam

The Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (WMC), is the WDC branch of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which was formerly known as the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC).

8/3/67)

The SMC is described in the publication entitled, "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967)", a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, dated March 31, 1967. Under "Conclusions", page 53, the

the report states in part, "Communists are playing dominent roles in both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee."

According to an article in the May 17, 1967 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, WDC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, was one of the featured speakers at a public meeting sponsored by the SMC on the evening of May 16, 1967.

The above meeting was held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC.

During his speech, CARMICHAEL called for a massive resistance movement by the nation's young people to end the war in Vietnam. He advocated going to jail for five years rather than going into military service and fighting in Vietnam. CARMICHAEL stated sixteen people in SNCC had said, "Hell, No!", and ended his speech with, "Hell, No, We Won't Go."

6/27/67)

7/10/67)

The WMC, in conjunction with SNCC, sponsored a rally in Lafayette Park, WDC, on the afternoon of August 6, 1967. About two hundred and fifty people were present with only about twenty people representing SNCC. The several speakers spoke against United States participation in the war in Vietnam.

[redacted] 8/6/67)

D. MISCELLANEOUS

An article appearing in the August 12, 1967 issue of the "Washington Afro-American" newspaper, WDC, identified LESTER MC KINNIE as Director, SNCC, WDC, and quoted him as denying any alliance between Communist Cuba and SNCC. In this article MC KINNIE defended the right of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to visit Cuba, and stated he knew of no communists in SNCC.

V. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY BY SNCC, WDC

SNCC leaders have been around to different sections of WDC attempting to line up neighborhood leaders who would be willing to become agitators to stir up local residents if a riot or disturbance did occur.

[redacted] 5/26/67)

[redacted] 6/12/67)

A "Soul Session" for the benefit of SNCC was held in the basement of St. Stephens and the Incarnation Church, WDC, on the evening of June 21, 1967. Comedian DICK GREGORY was the only attraction. A total of twenty-nine people attended.

D.C.

DC VA N.Y. Md [redacted] 6/22/67)

The "Washington Afro-American" newspaper, WDC, in its issue of June 24, 1967, reported on a press conference held by H. RAP BROWN, the current National Chairman of SNCC at SNCC Headquarters in WDC on June 22, 1967. BROWN was quoted as accusing the Metropolitan Police Department, WDC, of "brutality against black people," and charging that racism is the only reason that Congress does not grant home rule to Washington.

BROWN attacked the police shooting of "six black people in the past three months," and referred to the MPD as "Chief LAYTON's gestapo police." This article quoted BROWN as saying that SNCC should be organizing an anti-draft movement among high school students, because young black students in the ghetto are very vulnerable to the draft.

BROWN also stated that SNCC could not organize political parties in the black community because the District of Columbia is voteless, but he did say that "freedom organizations" would be developed.

The June 23, 1967 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, WDC, in reporting on the same press conference quoted BROWN as saying that Negroes will get home rule in Washington, "and if it must be gotten by going into the streets, that will be dictated by LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON." He asserted repeatedly that if violence erupts, it will be the fault of the white community, and said "The white man won't get off our back, so we're going to knock him off." He said that, "If America chooses to play Nazi, black people don't choose to play Jews. Destruction and violence are not determined by the victims, but by the oppressors."

According to this article BROWN did not say how his organization would seek to achieve home rule for WDC, except to say it would form "freedom organizations" to apply pressure on Congress.

When asked if he would encourage Negroes to resort to arms BROWN said, "If it comes to the point that black people must have guns, we will have means and ways to obtain those arms." According to the article each reference to force by BROWN, was couched in terms of a defense needed against the "esculating genocide" of Negroes by the "white power' structure of the Nation."

During this same public press conference, a Special Agent of the FBI, heard BROWN, while speaking of WDC state, "If D.C. don't come round, the black man will burn it down." He described WDC as a "project area" in which SNCC staff members are working, but he said that any type of violence is up to the black man in WDC. BROWN was also heard to say, "Violence is as American as cherry pie."

[redacted] 7/3/67)

CARMICHAEL departed WDC July 3, 1967, without taking part in any SNCC activity.

[redacted] 7/5/67)

[redacted] 8/7/67)

H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC, spoke at a "Black Power Rally" at St. Stephens and the Incarnation Church, WDC, on the night of July 27, 1967. During his speech, BROWN noted that black people are in the majority in WDC, and stated that if the "hunkies" don't come around you should burn the city down. He also told those present they should get guns and be ready, because no one knows when the "hunkies" will attack.

[redacted] 7/28/67)

H. RAP BROWN was one of several speakers on the night of July 27, 1967 at St. Stephens and the Incarnation Church, WDC. The speakers represented several organizations, but the organization sponsoring the meeting, was not announced.

During his speech, BROWN stated that the black man must control everything in the black community, and several times stated that if America and/or WDC "don't come around, the black man will burn it down." BROWN advocated more shooting than looting, adding, "If you loot, loot a gun store." He described President JOHNSON as the most violent man in the world. BROWN also said he did not consider himself obligated to follow the laws of the United States because he did not participate in making them.

Following this meeting one unknown Negro male tried to organize a march, but only about six people appeared interested.

[redacted] 7/28/67)

On the evening of July 30, 1967, SNCC, WDC, sponsored a fund raising party at the Burning Brush, 2612 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC. A $1.00 donation was solicited at the door, but only about ten people were present.

[redacted]/31/67)

"The Evening Star" newspaper, WDC, in its issue of September 13, 1967, following the arrest of H. RAP BROWN in Alexandria, Virginia on that date, reported that LESTER MC KINNIE, SNCC, WDC, announced that a rally would be held on the night of September 13, 1967, in WDC, to raise funds and to protest the arrest.

The SNCC rally on September 13, 1967, was held at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N.E., WDC, and was attended by about one hundred ten people, five of whom were white. LESTER MC KINNIE acted as the moderator, and the several speakers critized BROWN's arrest. A collection was taken to assist BROWN, but the amount collected was not announced.

[redacted] 9/13/67)

VI. LITERATURE

The following have been distributed by SNCC, WDC:

A leaflet captioned, "Uncle Sam Wants You Nigger," states that free individual help in dealing with a draft board, and films about Vietnam and the draft would be available at SNCC, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., WDC, from 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., Saturday, March 18, 1967.

Referring to "Uncle Sam" this leaflet states, "He wants you to become a member of the world's highest paid black mercenary army...to support White Power -- travel to Vietnam (you might get a medal)...receive valuable training in the skills of killing off other oppressed peoples!" It also states, "Find Out How To Avoid The Draft (Legally)", and "Learn About Your Right To Stay Out Of The Army!"

[redacted] 3/20/67)

An undated appeal for contributions by LESTER G. MC KINNIE, Director, SNCC, Washington, D.C. MC KINNIE

pointed out that SNCC has a special scholarship program to help SNCC personnel return to school. He also pointed out that SNCC workers have some vital needs such as cars, two-way radios for protection, bail funds, paper, and other supplies.

[redacted] 5/9/67)

A leaflet captioned, "BLACK AMERICA: IN DANGER." This leaflet states, "It seems that White America is doing everything in its power to destroy Black America:

"1. Police Brutality (10 Black People shot down in the streets in the last year)

"2. Vietnam (Black soldiers go to the front in time of war)

"3. Poor Housing No right to vote
EQUALS

"4. Ghetto Slums No power over our lives and conditions."

[redacted], 5/29/67)

An eight page booklet captioned on the front page, "UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU NIGGER", and "HELL NO! AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND." This booklet contains photographs of bombed churches in Mississippi, burned homes in Vietnam, and children injured and burned in both these areas

It also states, "You Do Not Have To Be Drafted. There Are Many Legal Ways To Avoid Being Sent To Vietnam. Free Advice On How To Deal With Your Draft Board Is Available From SNCC."

[redacted] 6/12/67)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

OCT 9 1967

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted] with whom insufficient contact has been to determine reliability.

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
WASHINGTON FIELD	ATLANTA	11/18/68	7/11-11/12/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	arw
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 7/16/68 at Washington, D. C.

\- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report has been classified "Confidential" since it contains information from confidential informants [redacted] through [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could adversely affect the security of the United States.

Information attributed:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - Atlanta (Info) (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Baltimore (Info) (100-23331) (RM)
1 - Richmond (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO (100-41626)

100-439190-53-96 REC-12

22 NOV 20 1968

EX 110

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	PAO, ISD, IDIU, CRIM, CRD
Request Recd.	SS, ACSI, OSI
Date Fwd.	11/26/68
How Fwd.	NS
By	PTB/DEF 242

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

cc 806 910

59 NOV 27 1968

* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O—273-077

WFO 100-41626

INFORMANTS:

IDENTITY OF SOURCE:	FILE LOCATION:
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-46918-97 157-368 Instant Report 100-41626 Sub C-93-95
[redacted],	100-41626-1386
[redacted]	Instant Report

LEADS:

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will continue to follow the activities of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Information copies of this report have been furnished Baltimore and Richmond because of the proximity of the territory of these offices to Washington, D. C.

B*

COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D. C.
1 - NISO, Washington, D. C.
1 - OSI, Washington, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: WASHINGTON, D. C.
Date: November 18, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-41626 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

Washington, D. C. (WDC), Office of SNCC, formerly located at 2208 14th Street, N. W., WDC, with LESTER MC KINNIE as Director was closed as of 9/13/68 after exchange of gun fire between factions of MC KINNIE and those supporting STOKELY CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL reported "fired" from SNCC as of 8/21/68. Financial condition of SNCC, WDC, continues to be poor. SNCC literature handed out critical of police and inflammatory in nature.

- P* -

DECLASSIFIED BY 3832 ON 8/9/78

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF [handwritten] DATE [handwritten]

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

On September 13, 1968, the Washington, D. C. Office of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which was located at 2208 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., was closed and padlocked due to the internal differences between several factions within the Washington, D. C. (WDC), group, one loyal to LESTER MC KINNIE, Head of WDC, SNCC and the other loyal to STOKELY CARMICHAEL. [redacted]

~~GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~ (9/13/68) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A characterization of SNCC is included in the appendix section of this report.

B. Washington SNCC Director and Staff

On March 6, 1968, LESTER G. MC KINNIE was identified as Director, SNCC, WDC.

[redacted] (3/6/68)

Because of the internal problems in the WDC office of SNCC, LESTER MC KINNIE, Director of Washington, D. C., SNCC group became frightened and left the city.

[redacted] (9/18/68)

Due to the fact the SNCC office is now closed there is no longer any volunteer office staff. It is difficult to determine if there are any active sympathizers of SNCC in WDC, inasmuch as there is no SNCC office and no program of activity by SNCC in the area.

[redacted] (11/5/68)

An article appearing in "The Evening Star", a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, stated on page B-3 in the edition dated September 9, 1968, that HASSAN JERU-AHMED BEY, leader of the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation (BVAL), advised newsmen at a press conference that the BVAL had been requested to defend the local SNCC headquarters from attacks.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.

WFO 100-41626

SNCC Unit Here to Split With National

The Washington chapter of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will soon announce its independence from the national organization, it was learned yesterday.

A newly painted sign on the local office at 2208 14th St. NW is the giveaway. It now reads, "Washington Independent SNCC."

Lester McKinnie, local SNCC director, declined to discuss the matter at a press conference yesterday which he called to announce that the office had been fired upon three times during the past three days by SNCC opponents.

McKinnie said an announcement about the new status of his organization would be made soon.

The Washington chapter reportedly feels that the national group is not relevant to the needs of Washington's black community, and will therefore declare its autonomy.

At yesterday's press conference, Hassan Jeru-Ahmed Bey, leader of the local Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation who has publically differed with SNCCs policies in the past, said the attacks reported by SNCC put him in a "perplexing situation. He said this was because "many people know "I never supported Stokely Carmichael or SNCC or the plans that came out of SNCC."

But Hassan said he felt that the Washington SNCC chapter, at least, has changed its policies, and that he joined in the defense of the local headquarters from the attacks, "because violence would give the Black Panthers a tremendous strength in the ghettos."

"The Washington Post" mentioned previously, contained an article on page A-1, dated September 9, 1968, regarding an exchange of shots between members of the BVAL and individuals alleged to be affiliated with the Black Panther Party.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is included in the Appendix section of this report.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.

Volley of Gunfire Hits SNCC Office

By Robert F. Levey
Washington Post Staff Writer

A volley of shots was exchanged across the alley behind the Washington office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee yesterday morning in the third outbreak of violence there in as many days.

The violence is an apparent culmination of a dispute over the leadership of local SNCC, involving president Lester McKinnie and former allies who want him ousted.

Yesterday morning at least six shots were fired at the office and an equal number of shots returned by "guards" inside the building.

Early Friday and late Saturday, other shots were fired at the SNCC office at 2208 14th st. nw. On Saturday three firebombs apparently were thrown. There were no injuries and minimal damage in the three incidents.

Police yesterday began a special, one-man patrol of the 2200 block of 14th Street to provide added round-the-clock protection until officials feel the situation has cooled off.

According to McKinnie, the trouble began Wednesday when three men—whom he identified as members of the California-based Black Panther Party—entered the SNCC office and demanded that McKinnie turn it over to them.

McKinnie said he refused, and left the office. He said he returned an hour later to find the front door padlocked.

"I went in through a back entrance and asked the men to leave," McKinnie told a press conference yesterday. "They said we (the SNCC staff) had to leave or my life wasn't worth a dime."

On Wednesday night, McKinnie said, he enlisted the support of two local Negro leaders, Marion Barry of Pride, Inc. and a former chairmen of local SNCC, and Col. Hassan Juru-Ahmed Bey of the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation. Accord-

See SHOOT, A6, Col. 1

SHOOT, From A1

ing to the three men, they and about 15 of their men have stood guard inside SNCC's office and on nearby rooftops since that night to guard against a Black Panther attack.

Contacted in Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver said there were no Black Panthers in Washington and denied that the Panthers are trying to "take over" SNCC.

He said an alliance between SNCC and the Panthers—originally arranged by former SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael without consent of SNCC's board of directors—has been broken, and that the Black Panthers "are not interested at all in SNCC."

National SNCC sources said the resistance against the Kinnie is being led by former local SNCC staff members who think McKinnie is an ineffective leader.

Bey charged that the takeover attempt is being led by William M. (Mickey) Lassiter, whom Bey identified as a Black Panther. Lassiter could not be reached for comment yesterday.

But national SNCC sources said Lassiter is a former aide of McKinnie's in Washington SNCC and is not associated



The Washington Post

This window was shot out in exchange of gunfire near SNCC office.

with the Panthers. The sources said Lassiter has recently been critical of McKinnie.

Carmichael, who is in Dakar, Senegal, was aware of the Washington situation when he left the country Wednesday, his personal secretary said yesterday. He did not back either the McKinnie of the Lassiter factions, she said, "but he asked them not to have black people fighting black people."

Bey said at the press conference yesterday that "we have been attacked three times and have attacked no one." He said hostile fire was returned only yesterday morning by men inside SNCC.

Mrs. Daniel Lewis, a resident of the apartment house from which the shots were allegedly fired at the SNCC office, told police she was awakened by the gun fire returned by Bey's men. She said she was asleep on the sofa when a bullet came through her window, missing her by not more than a few feet. She, her husband and their 14-year-old son crawled out of the apartment on their knees, she said.

Lt. John Sady of the Thirteenth Police Precinct said Bey and two of his men had voluntarily turned over three guns to police after yesterday's shooting.

Lt. Sady said the trajectory of the shots that struck the SNCC office indicated that they came from a five-story apartment building at 1407 W st. nw., which is about 50 feet from the rear door of SNCC across an alley.

He said "between eight and ten" spent cartridges were found in a vacant fifth-floor apartment in the building, and that six shots had struck the SNCC office. All were .38 caliber, Lt. Sady said.

Lt. Sady said the three guns turned over by Liberation Army members were a .22 caliber pistol, a .380 caliber automatic pistol and a 20-gauge shotgun.

He said the weapons belonged to Col. Bey, Capt. Wali Ssul Hamah El and Lt. Jabil Ameen El, all listed at 1642 Newton st. nw. Lt. Sady said all three would appear at a hearing at 10 a.m. today in the Corporation Counsel's office.

Bey said that guards would remain on duty in and around SNCC headquarters. Asked if they would be armed, he replied that he was "running an army, and an army had better be prepared."

Barry said it was "tragic that black people are fighting each other," but warned that the SNCC "guards" were not "playing games."

"We are in a spot," Barry said. "If we do anything we get our guns taken. If we don't, we get killed."

Asked to analyze the motives of the Black Panthers if they really are the aggressors, Bey said the Panthers were engaged in a nationwide power struggle with SNCC.

He said that if the SNCC "guards" allowed the Panthers to take over, "they would gain tremendous strength in the ghettoes of this country."

This account was assembled by Washington Post Staff Writer Robert F. Levey from reports by staff writers George Davis and Leon Dash.

WFO 100-41626



By LeRoy Woodson Jr.—The Washington Post

Lt. Jabil Ameen El, left, and Lt. Rajan Muhammed El, members of the Black Man's Army of Liberation, guard the local SNCC headquarters after attacks.



By LeRoy Woodson Jr.—The Washington Post

Colonel Bey, Barry and McKinnie, from left, charge that SNCC headquarters was attacked by Black Panthers.

"The Washington Post" mentioned previously, contained an article on page P-4, dated September 11, 1968, stating that prosecution had been dropped in the shooting incident at SNCC headquarters involving the BVAL.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.

WFO 100-41626

B-A

Prosecution Dropped in SNCC Case

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Federal prosecutor warned the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation yesterday that the city "just will not tolerate" any attempt by private groups to usurp the protective duties of the police.

Joel D. Blackwell, chief assistant U.S. attorney, told officers of the Volunteer Army that he would not prosecute them for opening fire on Sunday during a reported attack on the Washington office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

But Blackwell said he would keep the three guns turned over to police investigating the incident by the Army's leader, Col. Hassan Juru-Ahmed Bey, and two of his assistants.

The three began shooting Sunday morning when violence broke out near the SNCC office for the third time in three days. Bullets and fire bombs struck the building.

"Nobody questions that it was self-defense," Blackwell said after a hearing on the incident. "Since you were there you had a right to defend yourself. But I question your right to be there."

He said it was the job of the police to give protection in such cases.

Hassan and his men acknowledged shooting "with serious intent" during the incident Sunday, firing from the SNCC office at 2208 14th st. nw. into an apartment house at 1407 W st. nw.

They were there, Hassan said, to protect SNCC—a task he took on reluctantly because "I saw a lone man being intimidated by a new kind of organization."

The "lone man" was local SNCC leader Lester McKinnie, who said earlier that he called in Hassan for protection because members of a militant group known as the Black Panthers had demanded that he turn the office over to them. McKinnie was not at the hearing.

The Panthers, who are based in Oakland, Calif., have denied that they are active in Washington.

Some SNCC sources report that the attacks are part of an internal dispute over McKinnie's leadership.

Hassan was accompanied to the hearing by his attorney, Raymond Brownlow, and by five other members of his Army, clad in their uniform of black trousers, dark green tunics with tricolor patches on the shoulders, and black berets.

Hassan told Blackwell that McKinnie has "left town" and that the SNCC office has been abandoned because it cannot be defended. He said his men would heed Blackwell's warning against taking the law into their own hands.

WFO 100-41626

II. [redacted]

[redacted] (10/25/68)

III. PROGRAM

Due to the fact the SNCC Office is now closed there is no SNCC program in WDC at the present time.

[redacted] (11/5/68)

IV. INTERNAL DISSENTION

LESTER MC KINNIE, head of WDC SNCC, complained at the National SNCC Staff meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, June 11-14, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was conducting himself in a way which was detrimental to the SNCC organization in the District of Columbia. He stated that CARMICHAEL was exercising a disruptive influence in the affairs of the office and seemed almost intent on destroying SNCC in WDC.

MC KINNIE also said that newspaper accounts of CARMICHAEL and his wife buying a $70,000 house in WDC had resulted in many phone calls to the SNCC office from people who stated they would send no further contributions to SNCC since it was obvious SNCC did not need the money.

(6/16/68)

On August 21, 1968, the New York Office of SNCC announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been "fired" from SNCC. Three reasons were cited for this action:

(1) Failure of CARMICHAEL to report to SNCC on the details of his personal life.

(2) Failure of CARMICHAEL to report on the details of activities in connection with SNCC, WDC.

(3) CARMICHAEL's threat to the SNCC leadership in WDC.

(8/29/68)

"The Washington Post", in an article on page B-1 of the September 20, 1968, issue carried a story entitled "SNCC Falters Without Carmichael", which set out information concerning an alliance and the subsequent split between SNCC and the Black Panther Party.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.

THE WASHINGTON POST
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968
Page B-1



Forman



Carmichael

SNCC Falters Without Carmichael

By Robert Maynard
Washington Post Staff Writer

Stokely Carmichael's departure from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has left the organization badly split nationally and almost nonexistent in Washington.

Carmichael, currently traveling in Africa, is now a high-ranking official (they call him Prime Minister) of the Oakland-based Black Panther Party.

"SNCC is dead and Carmichael is alive and well in the Panthers," one former colleague said recently in New York.

Coalitions and new alliances in the Black movement are occurring like many games of ideological musical chairs all over the Nation. The closing of Washington SNCC is an example of the scramble as Carmichael moved from SNCC to the Panthers.

The Black United Front, the civil rights coalition Carmichael put together here in January on his return from a world tour, is also faltering, according to several members, one of whom explained it this way:

"Black United Front is close to falling apart. The issues they tried to avoid at the beginning cannot be avoided any longer. The basic problem is that any action you take carries ideological implications."

Civil rights ecumenism became impossible, that source said, because each issue the Front tackled brought the membership face to face with their differing ideologies.

The story of SNCC, Carmi-

WFO 100-41626

8

THE WASHINGTON POST
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968
Page B-1

chael, the Panthers and the Front emerged after interviews with a score of persons in Washington and across the country.

However, the overwhelming majority of those interviewed requested that their identities remain undisclosed. Some felt that the black radical and nationalist movements are in the throes of a basic realignment and they did not wish to confuse the issues.

Others were frankly frightened. "When you get into stuff involving the Panthers, I think discretion is the better part of valor," a West Coast activist said.

Well-armed and dressed in forbidding black leather jackets, the Panthers have cut out a place for themselves in several black communities as protectors and defenders of blacks.

They sprang from the abrasive situation between the Oakland Police Department and the black community, a situation that threatened trouble for years, a threat that was finally realized with the shooting last year of a policeman by one of the founders of the Panthers, Huey P. Newton.

Because of their urban genesis, the Panthers are a very different breed of activist from the Southern rural SNCC workers.

A relatively young organization, the Black Panthers have developed a mighty reputation among radicals in the past three years. A major portion of that repu

See SNCC, B8, Col. 1

WFO 100-41626

THE WASHINGTON POST
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968
Page B-8

SNCC Falters as Stokely Quits

SNCC, From B1

tation is for violent resolution of conflict.

An example is a violent confrontation between members of the Panthers who accompanied Carmichael to a SNCC meeting in New York and James Forman, who has been running the SNCC operation in New York.

That meeting was the last straw for Forman and SNCC, insofar as Carmichael was concerned. Crmichael was fired shortly aferward and Forman would up first in a hospital and later in Puerto Rico, suffering from nervous collapse.

The incident occurred at a July meeting in New York during which representatives of the Panthers and SNCC were discussing their difficulties over what had been publicly announced as a merger.

Forman, Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, then SNCC chairman, had taken posts in the Panthers earlier this year, but the SNCC Central Committee vetoed the pact for a number of reasons, one of them being a reference by a Panther to SNCC workers as "black hippies."

The Central Committee in June said emphatically that SNCC wanted no merger with the Panthers. Brown and Forman quit their Panther posts, but Carmichael did not.

At the July meeting, in an argument over whether SNCC would support a Panther program, the heated discussion resulted in Panthers drawing guns on Forman.

Julius Lester, a SNCC worker and author of "Look Out, Whitey: Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama," said in an article in the National Guardian:

"The shoot-out was averted, fortunately, but there was no doubt in the minds of any members of either organization that whatever merger or alliance may have existed was finished."

Carmichael had already cast his lot with the Panthers and moved completely into their organization after the July incident.

The actual announcement of his firing was a formality when it finally came late in August

More recently, Washington SNCC was allegedly under sniper fire and again the talk turned to the Panthers as the culprits.

"From now on," said a friend of Carmichael, "whenver you see a black cat with a gun he's gonna be a Panther. This is ridiculous, black folks been shooting at each other since the the Chinese discovered gun powder, but all of a sudden nobody shoots but Panthers."

Whether from real or fancied danger, Lester McKinnie, who has been ordered to leave the SNCC office by friends of Carmichael, decided it would be wise to leave town for a short time.

Knowledgeable informants disagree on the question of Panther organization in Washington. Friends of McKinnie, the ousted Washington director, say Panthers are becoming active here, and Carmichael's closest associates say they are not.

A neutral observer, a minister, doubts there is any Panther organizing here and gives this reason, referring to Carmichael:

"He'd have been foolish to try to develop a Panther organization in Washington. First of all, there's no sentiment for it here, and secondly, it's too close to the Feds. They'd be busted in a minute."

Those claiming there are Panthers simply point to the fact that Carmichael's new organizational affiliation is the Black Panther Party. Some of his former SNCC followers, these sources reason, will go into whatever organization Carmichael goes into.

"For them," one former SNCC worker said, "The principal ideology is Stokely Carmichael."

V. PUBLICATIONS

Some literature handed out at the Washington Office of SNCC is as follows:

A mimeographed sheet captioned "Gestapo Police Strike Again," which contains inflammatory statements concerning the manner in which a Negro was shot and killed by a white policeman. The leaflet stated in the last paragraph that "continued Gestapo tactics of this nature will not be tolerated."

(7/18/63)

Another piece of literature which was distributed publicly by SNCC on July 23, 1968, was captioned "I'm Coming From A Black Thing" and announced a SNCC party planned for July 27, 1968.

(7/26/68)

Another piece of literature distributed by SNCC was captioned "Liberation School" which stated in effect that the staff of SNCC planned a summer school for the young children of Washington.

(7/26/68)

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latim America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

WFO 100-41626

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, ''The Black Panther Party-Black Community News Service,'' states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro orginization which preaches black supremacy.

Headquarters of BPP is located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

November 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Washington, D. C.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-1...)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
WASHINGTON FIELD	ATLANTA	10/11/66	9/19/66 - 10/10/66

TITLE OF CASE

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: dan

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

CC TO:
REQ. REC'D 6-30
JUL 11 1967
ANS.
BY:

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 3/25/66 at Washington, D. C.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Review of pertinent information regarding the Washington, D. C., district office of SNCC does not disclose a basis for continuing investigation of COMINFIL SNCC as stipulated in the Manual of Instructions. WFO will continue to evaluate information concerning this organization and furnish same to the Atlanta Office.

A copy of this report has been furnished to the Baltimore Office for information since activity in behalf

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

8-Bureau (100-439190)
1-Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
1-Baltimore (RM) (Info)
1-Washington Field (100-41626)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-53-7

REC-28

OCT 14 1966

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER.
Request Recd.	DEPT: ISD, CRD, RACODIA
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 10/24/66
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: RS
By	BY:

Notations

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/9/78

CONFIDENTIAL COVER PAGE

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. INFORMATION

of Washington SNCC has been reported in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D. C., in the past and also because of visits of GEORGE MEYERS to the Washington office of SNCC. MEYERS is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA and a Baltimore subject.

This report is classified "Secret" to protect [redacted] In the absence of above, this report should be classified "Confidential" since information from [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location of Information
[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Identification of GEORGE MEYERS
[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	
[redacted]	
[redacted]	

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will continue to evaluate information pertaining to COMINFIL SNCC, and submit appropriate communications to the Bureau and Atlanta.

C*
COVER PAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UN[ITE]D STATES DEPARTMENT OF [JU]STICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SE[CR]ET

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: 10/11/66

Office: Washington, D. C.

Field Office File #: 100-41626

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P* -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH CPUSA

In March, 1966, the following name and address appeared on the current mailing list of the weekend edition of "The Worker":

SNCC
107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

[redacted] 3/14/66)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF CG 55 60
DATE 8/11/90

SE[CR]ET

Classified by 3832
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/9/78

WFO 100-41626

"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.

The current Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area Telephone Directory lists the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) address as 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.

"The Washington Post and Times Herald", dated August 27, 1966, on page D16, reported under caption "DuBois Clubs Plan 2 Days of Rallies," an interview with HUGH FOWLER, identified in the article as Executive Secretary of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA). He said 1,000 members of the organization would attend rallies in Washington, D.C., and would camp out in Maryland's Patapsco State Park, using camping gear supplied by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

The DCA is described in the appendix.

[redacted]

[redacted] 3/8/66)

[redacted] advised in June, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and organizer of the southern region of the CPUSA.

PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN WASHINGTON, D. C. BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"The Evening Star," a Washington, D. C. newspaper, in an article on page B-2 of the August 22, 1966 issue

published an article by KENNETH IKENBERRY, Star staff writer, captioned "Carmichael Hits Police, D.C. Power Structure." This article quoted STOKELY CARMICHAEL as commenting on Washington's voteless status as follows:

"I don't think black people ought to wait to get the vote, because you're waiting for the white man to give it to you and he's not about to do that.

"You ought to get together and tell the man that if you don't get the vote you're gonna burn down this city. Tell him, 'If we don't get the vote you're not gonna have a Washington, D. C.'"

The article reported that CARMICHAEL, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, made above statements at a rally at 10th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., on August 21, 1966.

"The Washington Afro American and Washington Tribune," a Washington, D. C. newspaper, in an article dated August 23, 1966, captioned "Carmichael Holds Rally in Southeast", reported on the same rally mentioned above from "The Evening Star." The Afro-American article quoted CARMICHAEL as saying, "If you tell them you're going to burn down the city, I bet you get the vote." D.C.

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[redacted] /12/66)

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27,1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535
October 11, 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.